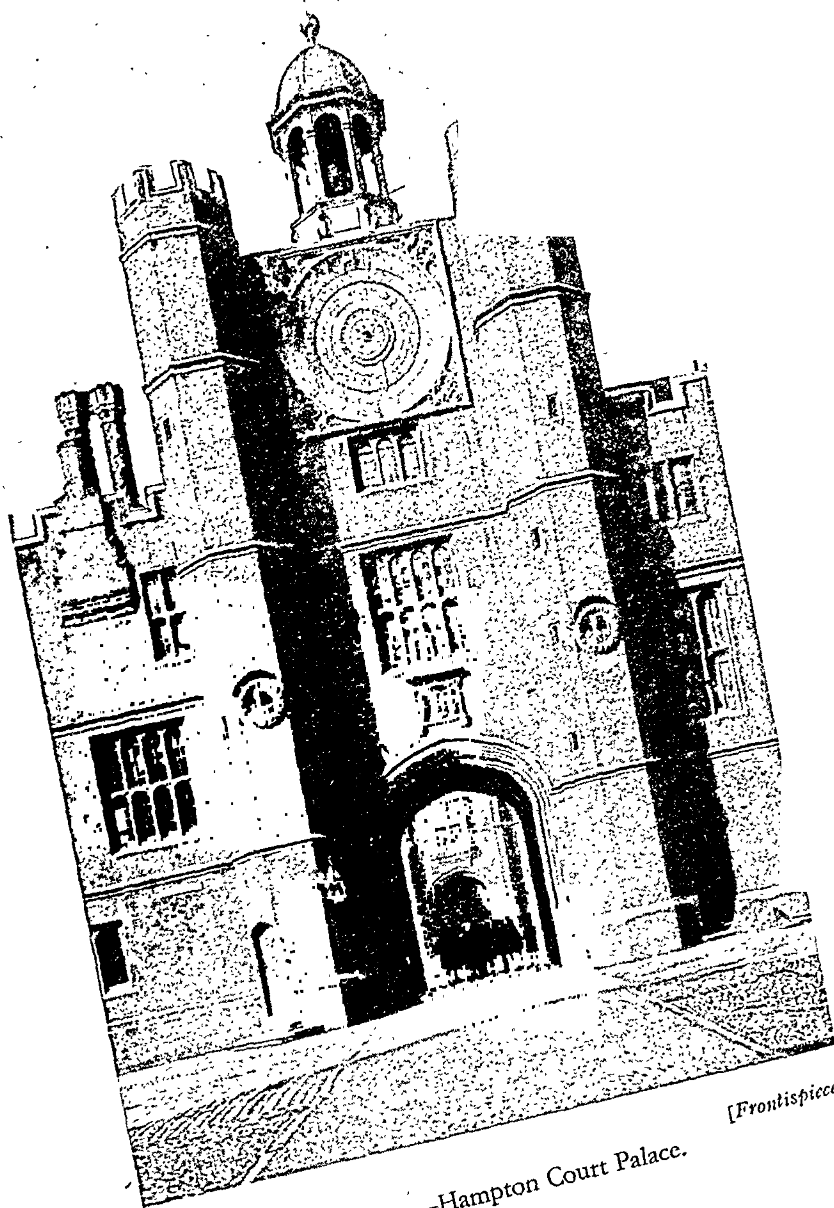


[*Frontispiece*

PLATE 1.—Hampton Court Palace.

ILLUSTRATED REGIONAL GUIDES TO

ANCIENT MONUMENTS

under the ownership or guardianship of

His Majesty's Office of Works

Volume III

ENGLAND: EAST ANGLIA and MIDLANDS

BY

THE RT. HON. W. ORMSBY GORE, F.S.A., M.P.
Secretary of State for the Colonies,
formerly First Commissioner of Works.



LONDON: HIS MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE
1936

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ILLUSTRATIONS

PREFACE

In Volumes I and II of this series I endeavoured to provide a general historical background to the monuments of those areas, more particularly for the prehistoric and Roman periods. In the first volume I also added a short account of the various Monastic Orders of the Middle Ages. Accordingly, in this third volume I think it unnecessary to repeat what has already been covered in earlier guides, and have tried to confine the survey more closely to the individual monuments in the care of the Office of Works.

In the Midlands and Eastern area these include such interesting prehistoric sites as Grime's Graves in Norfolk, Arbor Low in Derbyshire, and megalithic barrows in the Cotswold area. In the Roman period the walls and site of Verulamium (St. Alban's) are of the greatest importance. As examples of mediæval work we have the two fine Shropshire abbeys of Buildwas and Haughmond and the beautiful Cluniac priory of Castle Acre in Norfolk. The castles include such notable examples as Goodrich and Framlingham. We have also in this area Kirby Hall, Northamptonshire, one of the most important large country houses of Elizabethan and Jacobean date.

In addition to buildings and remains handed over to the care of the Office of Works by private owners under deeds of guardianship, I include in this volume some of the most notable "historic buildings," *i.e.* buildings which are the property of the Crown. These include the Tower of London, Hampton Court,

Kensington Palace, and the Chapter House of Westminster Abbey.

This volume completes the survey of the monuments in England, but it is hoped to publish volumes dealing with Wales and Scotland in due course.

June, 1936.

W. ORMSBY GORE.



PLATE 2.—Arthur's Stone, Dorstone.



Plate 3.—Arbor Low.

PREHISTORIC PERIOD

NEOLITHIC

The oldest monuments in the guardianship of the Office of Works in the area dealt with in this volume are the remains of the elaborately constructed burial places of the neolithic peoples who invaded our island about 4,000 years ago. These usually took the form of long barrows, sometimes of stone and earth, sometimes of timber and earth, sometimes of earth alone. Many of them involved the use of large monoliths surrounding and covering the sepulchral chamber or chambers. True dolmens, *i.e.* mounds containing a gigantic capstone superimposed on a few standing stones, seem characteristic of our extreme western coasts, notable concentrations of such monuments being in Cornwall, Pembroke, the Lleyn peninsula of Caernarvon, and above all Anglesey. We can, accordingly, be safe in assuming that this earliest "megalithic style" was due to the impact on our western coasts of an Atlantic civilization having its origin in the Iberian Peninsula or the Mediterranean region. This culture established itself even more firmly in Ireland, the west and extreme north of Scotland, and in Denmark. There can be little doubt that it spread sporadically eastwards into England and there came into contact with other invaders from the Baltic, the Low Countries, and north-eastern France.

One of the principal concentrations of neolithic long barrows involving the use of the "megalithic idea" is in the Cotswolds of Gloucestershire. Differing in the arrangement of their internal megalithic chambers and in the details of their design, they conform funda-



PLATE 3.—Arbor Low.

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burial chamber containing the bones of at least eight persons and fragments of Neolithic and early Beaker pottery. The tapering sides of the long mound were marked by two rows of timber posts, similar to the lines of stone monoliths found in Ireland and the Isle of Man.

Arthur's Stone, Dorstone (Plate 2), a fine megalithic burial mound about twelve miles west of Hereford, also dates from late in the neolithic period. It consists of the remains of an oval mound with a large stone burial chamber and passage. The gigantic capstone is 19 feet long, by 11 feet wide, and 1¾ feet thick at its greatest thickness. It now rests on five upright stones of the original nine which formed the chamber walls. North of this chamber is a corridor or entrance passage formed of megaliths.

But even more important than these sepulchral remains of this early period is Grime's Graves in the parish of Weeting, about six miles from Thetford in south-west Norfolk, one of the most remarkable monuments of prehistoric man in England. In an area now being re-afforested by the Forestry Commission, the Office of Works has become guardian of about 30 acres which may be described as the "Sheffield of the Stone Age." Just as to-day we are dependent on iron and steel for our tools and weapons, ancient man was dependent on stone, and more especially on flint, for axes, arrowheads, scrapers to clean the skins of animals, knives, picks, etc. In the Neolithic Age, if not earlier, he discovered that the best flint for these many purposes was to be obtained from the floor-stone strata in chalk deposits, and accordingly he mined for such flint. Neolithic flint mines have been brought to light at several places in Sussex, notably at Cissbury, at Easton Down near Salisbury in Wiltshire, and elsewhere, but the most remarkable and extensive are at Grime's Graves,

where flint was not only mined but manufactured into useful articles in vast quantities over a very long period of time. It is clear from the large area of finds of the period in the Brecklands of Suffolk and Norfolk that these were densely populated in the Neolithic Age, and that Grime's Graves was the industrial centre of this occupation. At Grime's Graves we can identify three successive periods or types of flint mining and manufacture. In this part of Breckland the chalk is generally covered with an overburden about 10 feet thick of glacial clay containing hard quartzite pebbles under a layer of blown sand. It so happens that at Grime's Graves there is an ancient dry valley where this overburden had been washed away, revealing outcrops of flint floorstone on its sides. It is in this valley that we find the first type of flint mining, by means of lateral scraping away of the valley bank. For tools the earliest miners used straight pieces of bone held in the hand and heavy wedge-shaped pieces of flint from selected specimens of floorstone. The manufacturing floors associated with the earliest pits have yielded implements of apparently palæolithic type. Moreover, on certain bits of flint crust there have been found remarkable engravings of deer and other animals. But geological and other evidence makes archæologists doubt whether this early phase of mining and manufacture is in fact palæolithic, *i.e.* of any pre-glacial age.

Next we come to the so-called intermediate phase, consisting of buried shafts sunk down from the top of the overburden. They lie south of the primitive pits and their whereabouts is not now observable from the surface. They are shallow and only go down to the first layer of flint floor and have no galleries at the bottom. In these we find both straight bone hand-picks and deer horn implements. Heavy choppers and picks of flint were also used for breaking up the clay

and chalk. The size and weight of these tools required the use of both hands. Associated with this phase of mining we find axes, blades with oblique ends and various types of scraper. The axes have a chisel-like cutting edge called "tranchet." The deer antler tools found were peculiar and much worn, and were evidently driven into the chalk with heavy hammers and not used as picks as in the later period.

The latest pits are much larger and more elaborate affairs. The shafts are deeper and symmetrical, mined down to the lower and better strata of flint floorstone, and at the bottom are worked into a complex series of radiating galleries, leaving here and there pillars of undisturbed chalk to support the roof. In these side galleries the neolithic miners used chalk lamps, while their tools were the same as those of the diggers of the great fosse at Avebury: for picks they used the antlers and for shovels the shoulder-blade bones of the red deer. When one shaft became worked out they began another, filling up the old shaft with what they dug out of the new one. In this filling process animal, and even human bones, fragments of pottery and the remains of ancient camp fires, as well as discarded flint cores, flakes and implements were all mixed up with loose chalk. On the manufacturing floors associated with these latest pits have been found neolithic pottery of "Peterborough" type, and single-barbed arrowheads as well as flint implements of late neolithic form. The workers used hard quartzite pebbles to fashion the mined flint.

Traces of Early and Middle Bronze Age occupation at Grime's Graves and its neighbourhood are rare, but late in the Bronze Age or early in the Iron Age it is clear that man again lived on the site. In one place, known as the Black Hole, a large communal workshop and cooking place, about 30 feet in diameter, has been discovered. This has yielded charcoal ash, pottery of

Late Bronze Age types, bone tools, vessels of chalk, personal ornaments, and calcined flints. It is clear that these people, who occupied the site at least a thousand years after the last neolithic miners, not only made their own flint products, but collected and used the " antiques " of their far predecessors.

The whole site of Grime's Graves has not yet been excavated, but enough examples of the recent excavations have been left in a state which enables visitors to see the various types of pits, galleries, chipping floors, etc. An iron ladder provides access to a typical pit. There are probably few prehistoric monuments of greater interest.

We have at present no clear idea as to who these Grime's Graves miners were, or what contacts their vast industry established with other parts of England. The Icknield Way, past Newmarket, Royston, Dunstable, Princes Risborough, Goring, and Uffington to Avebury, seems to connect East Anglia with the other great concentration of neolithic activity in Wiltshire, which appears to have been the meeting place of so many of the converging impacts of successive culture in the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age periods.

The existence of comparatively isolated long barrows at Dunstable and Royston on the line of the Icknield Way also suggests a very early date for the establishment of this most famous of our early prehistoric roads.

BRONZE AGE

The megalithic circles which can now be attributed to the earliest phase of the Bronze Age, in our guardianship in the Midlands area, include Arbor Low (Plate 3)



PLATE 4.—Castle Acre Priory, Porch and Prior's Lodging.

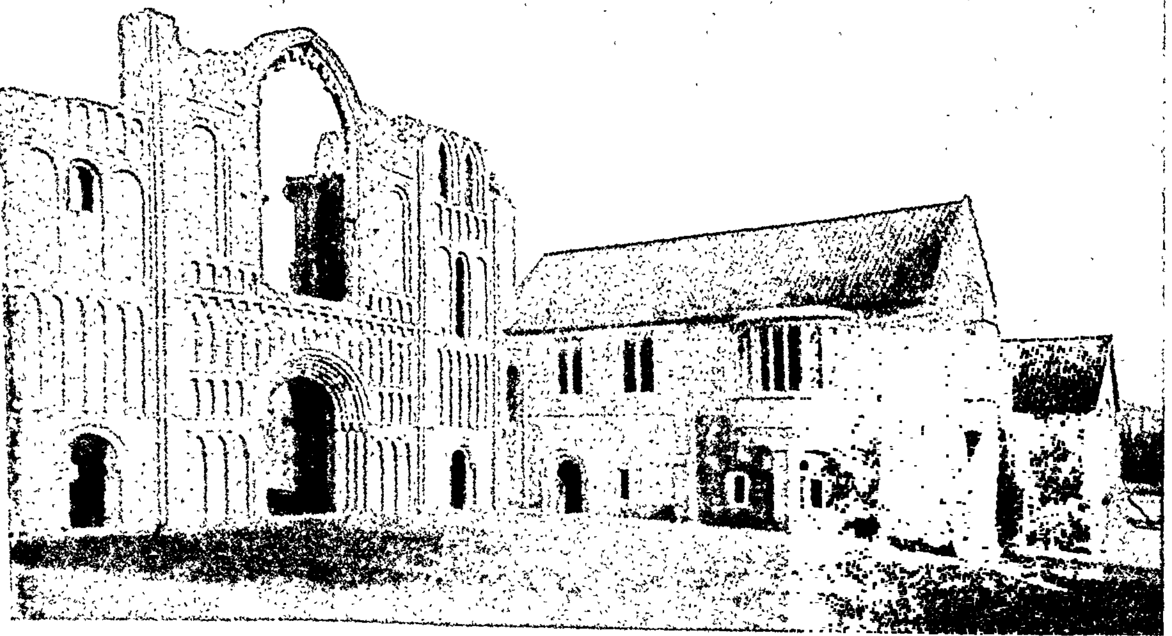


PLATE 5.—Castle Acre Priory, West Front of Church and Prior's Lodging.

in Derbyshire and the Rollright Stones in Oxfordshire. The former is of the utmost importance on account of the evidence it affords us as to the age in which such structures were made. Situated over 1,200 feet above sea level on the limestone plateau of West Derbyshire, between Hartington and Youlgreave, Arbor Low lies about one mile east of Parsley Hay Station. It consists of a roughly circular central area surrounded by a wide and deep ditch on the outer margin of which is a rampart formed of the throw-out, both being discontinued on opposite sides at points north-west and south-east to form entrances. The diameter from crest to crest of the rampart is 250 feet. Near the inside edge of the ditch are forty megaliths now all recumbent, the largest being 13 feet long. At the centre are the stones of a fallen cove or similar megalithic structure close to which an uncremated human skeleton was found. No trace of metal has been found at Arbor Low, but flint flakes (natural flint is unknown in the district), a flint knife and a barbed and tanged flint arrow head of the type used by the Beaker folk have been excavated from the lower layers of silt in the ditch.

On the south-east side of Arbor Low, adjoining the external face of the rampart and constructed with its material, is a large round barrow, obviously a later addition. This barrow was excavated in 1845 by Mr. Thomas Bateman, who then discovered a six-sided limestone cist containing the calcined human bones of one skeleton, a bone pin, flints, a small sphere of iron pyrites and two small pottery urns. The shoulder blade and antler of a large red deer were also found in the tumulus. These finds would point to a date early in the Middle Bronze Age for the barrow. Arbor Low has obvious analogies with Avebury, and this area of Derbyshire is known from finds elsewhere to

have been intensively occupied by the Beaker folk, who doubtless constructed the circle.

The Rollright Stones, about three miles north of Chipping Norton on the boundary of Oxfordshire and Warwickshire, consist of—

(1) a large megalithic burial chamber of four uprights and a fallen capstone, commonly called the Whispering Knights;

(2) about 400 yards west of this structure, a stone circle of over sixty stones, approximately 100 feet in diameter, commonly called the King's Men;

(3) the King's Stone, an isolated standing stone 8½ feet high, about 70 yards north-north-east of the stone circle.

All the stones are much weathered and damaged, as until 1882 they were unprotected, and visitors are known to have chipped pieces off them, especially from the King's Stone, as mementos. In that year the owner replaced many of the fallen and scattered stones of the circle in what he conceived to be their original position. It is clear that the circle has been a good deal tampered with, and if a drawing in an old edition of Camden's "Britannia" is reliable, much reduced in size. Stukeley, in 1724, assumed that the King's Stone had formed part of a destroyed long barrow, of which the slight adjacent mound was all that remained; but a more recent examination of this mound has shown that it is not a barrow. The King's Stone is probably an outlier to the circle, such as can be found in many other cases.

The three other stone circles in our area and guardianship are of less importance. Two in Derbyshire are the circle on "Wet Withrens" Moor near Eyam and the "Nine Ladies" near Stanton. The former

consisting of 16 stones, is nearly 100 feet in diameter and has a slight annular bank surrounding it. Associated with the circles is a large Bronze Age round barrow immediately to the north of the circle. "Nine Ladies" is smaller and is now surrounded by a modern circular stone wall.

In the parish of Chirbury on the Shropshire-Montgomeryshire border we have guardianship of a stone circle 85 feet in diameter called "Mitchell's Fold." There is no record of any excavation of this circle.

IRON AGE

Immigrant groups of late Hallstatt culture from the Rhinelands probably entered East Anglia in the fifth century B.C. It is generally held that they were predominantly Celtic in culture. Though the hill forts of East Anglia and the Midlands are less numerous and less striking than those of our southern and western counties, it is probable that many of those in Essex (Loughton and Ambresbury), in Herts (Arbury and Willbury), and Cambridgeshire (Wandlebury and War Ditches) date from this migration.

During the second century B.C. La Tène civilization with its definitely Celtic art reached our south-western shores from France and spread by land up the Severn Vale and across the West Midlands to the Fens and Norfolk. Known hill forts of this period in the Midland area are Meon Hill, Salmonsbury, and Lydney in Gloucestershire; Bredon in Worcestershire; and Hereford Beacon near Malvern. Other hill forts such as Titterstone Clee Hill Camp (Shropshire) and similar structures in the same county and farther north, although lacking the material culture of the southern settlements, seem to belong to this period.

The Belgic invasion of *circa* 75 B.C. affected only a

In A.D. 43 Claudius invaded Britain, and his first objective was Camulodunum. It is possible that the triple line of earthworks, known as the Lexden straight road earthworks, were thrown up at this time to protect the capital. A portion of these earthworks is now the property of H.M. Office of Works, but is in the custody of the Corporation of Colchester.

The capture of Camulodunum by Claudius was the end of the Belgic dominion, but the non-Belgic Iceni of Norfolk and Suffolk came readily to terms with Rome, and Prasutagus their king was left as a tributary prince till his death, when he bequeathed his kingdom jointly to the Emperor Nero and Boadicea.

ROMAN PERIOD

The Midland and Eastern area was rapidly conquered by the Romans after the main resistance of the kingdom of the Catuvellauni had been broken by the capture of Camulodunum. It is more than probable that the great road known as Watling Street which runs from London to Viroconium (Wroxeter) near Shrewsbury and thence to Chester was constructed as the main line of communication for the advance of the armies to the north-west. Another great Roman road, known as the Fosse Way, runs from Lincoln to Seaton in Devonshire, crossing the Watling Street at High Cross in Leicestershire, and this road was most probably constructed as a temporary frontier during the earliest stages of the existence of the Roman province. In A.D. 61 the great rebellion of Boadicea, queen of the Iceni, very nearly lost the province to the Romans, but after its suppression military activity passed beyond the limits of this area to the north and the west, and the traces of the Roman occupation are of a civil rather than of a military character. In this area were three of the four Roman *coloniæ*, namely, Colchester (Camulodunum), Gloucester (Glevum), and Lincoln (Lindum), where one of the Roman gateways still stands. All these were founded before the end of the first century. Another important Roman city in this area was Verulamium, the city of Tasciovanus, which was given the status of a self-governing *Municipium* before A.D. 61, when it was sacked and burnt by Boadicea, as were also Colchester and London. However, Verulamium rose again and the still visible walls and outer defences were constructed in the first half of the second century. The circuit of these walls is about two

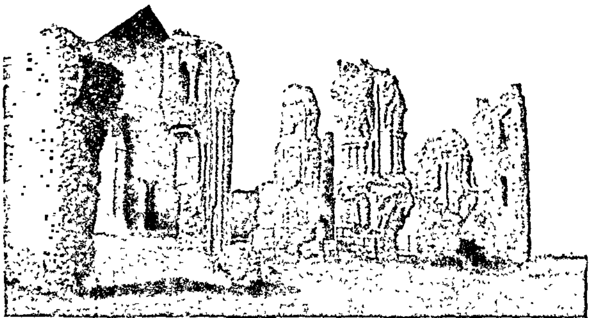


Plate 6.—Binham Priory

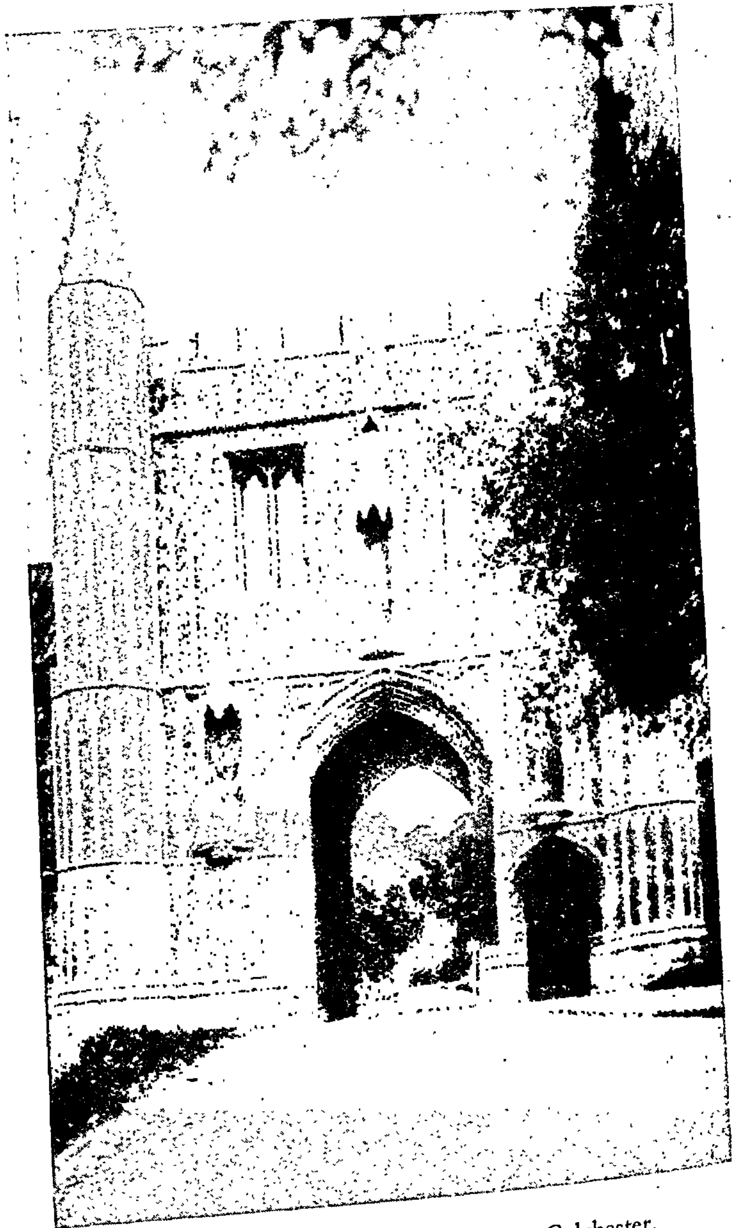


PLATE 7.—St. John's Abbey Gate, Colchester.

miles, and a part of them at the southern end of the city is in the guardianship of the Office of Works. They were constructed of flint with bonding courses of brick, but they and many of the buildings were much robbed for material when the Norman Abbey Church was being built. Verulamium remained an important city until the end of the Roman rule in this country, and since its site is one of few that have not been built over by a modern town (for the later town grew up round the abbey), its preservation is of the utmost importance. Only part of the scheduled area has been excavated, but near the centre of the city the considerable remains of the theatre—the only one known in Britain—have been laid bare, and in the southern part several fine mosaic pavements have already been found. One of these is preserved *in situ* and others may be seen in a museum on the site. Doubtless much of importance remains to be discovered throughout the remaining area of the city, whose boundaries are clearly defined.

That London (Londinium) originated in the early years of the Roman occupation is now generally agreed, and it was already a considerable port when Boadicea burnt it in A.D. 61. So far as is known, it was not given municipal status, but it rapidly became the largest city in the province, and in the fourth century it had the honourable name of Augusta. Most of it is buried deep below the modern city, but fragments of its walls can be seen on Tower Hill, and in the cellars of the General Post Office at St. Martin's le Grand.

Four other Roman towns in this area were the capitals of tribal administrative districts. Caistor by Norwich (Venta) capital of the Iceni (who were absorbed into the province after Boadicea's revolt), Cirencester, (Corinium) capital of the Dobuni, Wroxeter (Viroconium) near Shrewsbury, capital of the Cornovii,

where considerable remains of the public baths and of the Forum are still to be seen, and Leicester (Ratae), capital of the Coritani.

At Leicester the so-called Jewry Wall is in the guardianship of the Office of Works. This is a block of Roman masonry 75 feet long, 35 feet high, and 8 feet thick, constructed of rubble and mortar with bonding courses of brick, and it consists of four large arched recesses, two of which are pierced by smaller arched openings. The arches were turned in brick. The wall almost certainly formed part of some public building, and excavations which are now going on may throw some further light upon its history. On the opposite side of the modern street two mosaic pavements are preserved *in situ* in the basement of a shop, and another may be seen not far distant under the L.N.E.R. station.

A feature of Roman civilization, perhaps more important than the towns, are the villas, which were, in fact, large country houses of the well-to-do Romano-Britons. The Cotswold district is particularly rich in them, and perhaps the most notable is that at Chedworth, north-east of Cirencester, which is in the custody of the National Trust. The villa at Woodchester, near Stroud, possesses the most remarkable mosaic pavement in England; it is situated in the churchyard, and is periodically opened up for the inspection of visitors. The Office of Works is guardian of a Roman villa at Witcombe near Brockworth, about twelve miles north of the Woodchester villa. It was excavated by Lysons in 1818 and proved to be a large villa occupying three sides of a courtyard. The western wing contained a suite of baths of the usual Roman type, and three of those rooms contained mosaic pavements. Some fragments of white marble cornice which were found at the same time were removed to Witcombe

Park nearby. Most of the villa has been covered in again, but the three mosaic pavements, with hypocausts below are now roofed over and can be seen.

One other monument of the Roman period in this area is in our guardianship and is of a military character. Burgh Castle (Garianonum) near Great Yarmouth, was one of the series of coastal fortresses, known as the forts of the Saxon Shore, which were built in the late third or early fourth century along the east and south coasts from the Wash to the Isle of Wight to guard against the raids of Saxon pirates. (There were three other forts of this series in East Anglia, namely, Brancaster (Branodunum) in Norfolk, at the mouth of the Wash, Bradwell (Othona) in Essex, and Walton Cas[illegible]

of [illegible] semicircular bastions, remain in very fair condition. No trace of any western wall fronting the River Waveney is visible. It is of the same character as the better preserved forts of the same series in the south-east (*e.g.* Richborough, Pevensey, and Portchester).

It is in East Anglia that we find the best examples of Roman barrows. Such a form of burial was rare in the Roman period, but at Bartlow, in north-west Essex, there is a fine group of mounds which, on excavation, proved to be Roman burial-places of the end of the second century A.D., similar to the Roman barrows of such date in Brabant in Belgium. The "six hills" familiar to motorists on the Great North Road as they approach Stevenage, in Hertfordshire, from the south, are also Roman barrows.

ANGLO-SAXON PERIOD

Archæologists now attribute the great dykes which cross the Icknield Way at right angles in Cambridgeshire, notably the Devil's Dyke on Newmarket Heath, to an early post-Roman date, doubtless constructed in connection with the rivalries of different groups of Anglian and Saxon invaders.

In the Dark Ages much of our area became for a time subject to the central kingdom of Mercia, whose civil capital was at Tamworth, its ecclesiastical capital after the pagan period being the neighbouring city of Lichfield. This kingdom, which, under Offa, extended from Wales to the Wash and from the Thames to the Humber, declined under the Vikings' invasions and the steady expansion of the leadership of Wessex. For a time, the Roman Watling Street seems to have formed something of a frontier between the pagan Danelaw and the Christian Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Wessex.

We have no monuments in the Midland area in our guardianship dating from the centuries between the end of the Roman rule and the Norman Conquest, and few, in fact, exist. Perhaps the most notable are the remarkable eighth-century church at Brixworth in Northamptonshire, the late Saxon tower at Earl's Barton in the same county, the Mercian crosses at Sandbach in Cheshire, various crosses in Derbyshire churchyards, and the outstanding Saxon sculptures at Breedon in Leicestershire.

MEDIÆVAL PERIOD

MONASTIC REMAINS

The three priories in the county of Norfolk in our guardianship are of exceptional interest. From the point of view of the tourist by far the finest is Castle Acre, handed over to us by the owner, Lord Leicester, in 1929. Great care has been taken in the excavation and conservation of this important monument.

The Cluniac priory of Castle Acre, the second House of this Order in England, was founded in the last years of the eleventh century by William de Warenne, second Earl of Surrey. The ruins are entered through a fine late fifteenth-century gateway of brick and flint bearing shields of the Royal Arms, Warenne, FitzAlan, and Maltravers. The church, with its magnificent late twelfth-century west front of interlacing arcades, was constructed of flint encased in finely worked ashlar. Of special interest are the remains of the sacristy, which lies to the north of the north transept, and contains a small brick oven for baking the sacramental wafer. The claustral buildings are extensive and all the features of a great monastic institution can be traced. Happily the prior's lodging (Plate 4), chapel, and associated chambers, which adjoin the west front of the church (Plate 5), are well preserved and form a most picturesque group of buildings of various dates.

Not many miles distant is another important Cluniac priory in the town of Thetford. This has only recently come into our charge. Though it is more ruinous than Castle Acre, excavation in the last two years has brought to light much that is of outstanding interest, including important pieces of mediæval

sculpture and the finely carved fragments of a large, early Renaissance tomb which can safely be dated about the year 1540. This tomb was being prepared by the third Howard Duke of Norfolk, either for himself or for his kinsman by marriage, Henry FitzRoy, Duke of Richmond, the natural son of King Henry VIII. Both of these persons were subsequently buried in the church of Framlingham in Suffolk.

The Cluniac priory of Thetford was founded in 1103 or 1104 by Roger Bigod—first on the site of the Saxon cathedral of Thetford, and then, in 1107, on the present site. It is known that the monks moved into their new church and quarters at Martinmas 1114. The eastern apses of this Norman church, both of the aisled Presbytery and of the two transepts, have been brought to light by excavation. In the thirteenth century the east end was enlarged and rebuilt in the Early English style, and a large lady chapel erected in the north side of the choir to accommodate the miraculous image of the Virgin which attracted numerous pilgrims to Thetford. Thetford Priory was the burial place of its successive important patrons, first the Bigods, Earls of Norfolk, then the Mowbrays, Dukes of Norfolk, and finally the Howard Dukes. The claustral buildings to the south of the church are now being uncovered, and several interesting features have already been revealed. On the north side of the north transept a sacristy and oven similar to that at Castle Acre have been unearthed.

Our third Norfolk priory, Binham (Plate 6), was a cell of the great Benedictine Abbey at St. Alban's, also founded about the year 1100 by one Pierre de Valognes, a nephew of William the Conqueror, and his wife Alfreda. The nave of this priory with its beautiful and elaborate late thirteenth-century west front, is happily preserved as the parish church, and a recent

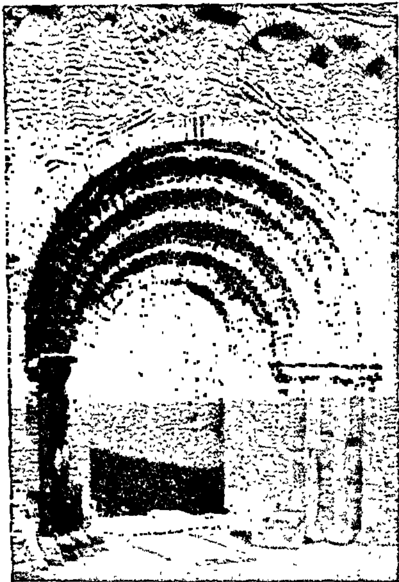


Plate 8.—St. Botolph's Priory, Colchester.



Plate 9.—Buildwas Abbey.

grant from the Pilgrim Trust [illegible]
restoration to proceed, while [illegible]
now taking in hand [illegible]
of the extensive ruins of the [illegible]
conventual buildings.

In the adjoining County of [illegible]
guardianship of the remains of [illegible]
priory at St. Olave's, [illegible]
This priory was founded by [illegible]
the year 1200. The remains [illegible]
church with transepts, cloister [illegible]
south range which has a [illegible]
last forms the principal [illegible]
it has an exceptionally [illegible]
mediæval brickwork dating [illegible]
thirteenth or early years of [illegible]

The chief monastic house [illegible]
was the [illegible]
[illegible]
in the fourteenth and fifteenth [illegible]
abbot, Thomas Beche, was one [illegible]
Henry VIII's victims at the [illegible]
the monasteries. He was [illegible]
1st December, 1539, for al[illegible]
and the abbey and all its pos[illegible]
King on Beche's attainder [illegible]
ruthlessly destroyed, and all [illegible]
fine early fifteenth-century [illegible]
our guardianship. It is a [illegible]
Anglian flint and stone "[illegible]

The other monastic establishment [illegible]
the Augustinian priory of St. Julian and St. [illegible]
(Plate 8), founded between [illegible]
fortunate at the dissolution, as [illegible]

church became a parish church. Unfortunately, it was severely damaged in the siege of Colchester during the wars of the Great Rebellion in 1648, and from that date until it was taken over by the Office of Works in 1912 it remained derelict. The circular piers of the Norman nave and the elaborate late twelfth-century west door remain to testify to its former architectural importance. The walls and piers are built of flints and small stones and all the arches and quoins of red brick, nearly all of ancient Roman manufacture taken from buildings in Roman Colchester, just as the material for the central tower of St. Alban's Abbey which came from Verulamium.

In Nottinghamshire the Department is fortunate in having custody of the somewhat exiguous remains of a Gilbertine priory at Mattersey. It is the only Gilbertine ruin in our guardianship, and as such is of special interest, for the Order was founded by St. Gilbert of Sempringham in Lincolnshire, and did not spread beyond Great Britain. Some of the Gilbertine houses were designed for both canons and nuns. Mattersey, however, founded by Roger de Mattersey in 1185, was for six canons only. The excavated plan shows a square cloister having buildings on all four sides, the aisleless church occupying the northern side. The eastern range, of thirteenth-century date, was vaulted in two spans on the ground floor and in seven bays with octagonal piers. The southern range, which contained the refectory on the first floor, had a ground storey vaulted like the eastern range, with a large square kitchen on the south-west of the range.

Our two remaining Midland abbeys are larger, and their extant remains are more interesting to the ordinary visitor. They lie not many miles apart in Shropshire.

Buildwas Abbey (Plate 9) is beautifully situated in the valley of the Severn, near the foot of the Wrekin,

and is a fine and fairly well preserved example of the severe early Cistercian style of the third quarter of the twelfth century. It was first founded by Roger de Clinton, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, as an abbey of the Order of Savigny in 1136. Like other Savignac foundations (Furness and Basingwerk Abbeys are other examples), it became merged some fourteen years later in the greater Order of Citeaux. The buildings are nearly all of one date, but the interior of the fine chapter house may not have been completed until early in the thirteenth century. It is a good example of the "transitional" style, with pointed arches on circular Norman piers. The severe central tower and three deep lancet windows of the east end add greatly to the dignity of this fine building

Haughmond Abbey, about three miles north-east of Shrewsbury, is charmingly situated on the side of a tree-clad escarpment commanding magnificent views of the Welsh hills. Its layout and remains are much more complex than Buildwas, and it has only recently come into our guardianship. The work of excavation and conservation is still proceeding.

The abbey was founded by William FitzAlan about 1135 for Augustinian Canons Regular. Practically nothing remains of the actual church except the foundations at the northern end of the monastery, but the fine twelfth-century façade of the chapter house (Plate 10) has survived. The cloister was separated from a southern court by the frater, at the west end of which the fine kitchen remains in good preservation. On the south side of this court are the fine fourteenth-century infirmary hall, and the abbot's lodging (Plate 11) with its early sixteenth-century bow window. When the work of conservation is complete Haughmond should prove to be one of the most attractive and interesting of our monastic monuments.

At first sight it may seem an anomaly that portions of Westminster Abbey are in the care and custody of the Office of Works and not of the Dean and Chapter. The reasons are historical. The Chapter House and neighbouring Pyx Chamber (it is not a Chapel) are maintained by the Office of Works as Crown property. King Henry III undertook the building of the Chapter House in 1245 separately from the abbey church and employed a different Master for the work. It was the meeting place of his Council and it is recorded that this body assembled there in March 1257. When in the middle of the fourteenth century, Parliament became divided into Upper and Lower Houses the Chapter House became the home of the House of Commons, and so it remained until 1547, when it removed to St. Stephen's Chapel in the Palace of Westminster. Thereafter the building was converted into a Record Office, the windows being built up and a floor or gallery inserted. The original thirteenth century vault was destroyed in 1740. In 1866 the records were removed and the Chapter House drastically restored by Sir Gilbert Scott. The central column and vault were rebuilt and new glass inserted. The sculpture of Christus Regnans over the entrance doorway is entirely new, but the fine full-length figures of the Annunciation are thirteenth century originals. Happily the magnificent tiled pavement laid down in 1255 still remains in wonderful preservation, the finest of its kind now existing. Almost equally important in the history of English art are the series of paintings in the panels of the wall arcade. Those of the Last Judgment and the Apocalypse were the gift of a monk named John of Northampton, who lived at Westminster from 1372 to 1404. The angels occupying the heads of the arches and the lower course of animals and birds are later additions dating from about 1500.

Large polygonal chapter houses, such as this example at Westminster, are a peculiarly English development in Gothic architecture. They are unknown on the Continent. The earliest examples were at Lincoln and Beverley, the latter now destroyed. The other extant examples, all of them buildings of great beauty, are at Wells, Salisbury, York, and Southwell.

Approached from the same east walk of the abbey cloister is the Pyx Chamber, also in our custody. This occupies two bays of the undercroft of the Dorter, which is the oldest portion of building in the abbey now visible and may date from the reign of Edward the Confessor, but more probably from the early years of William the Conqueror. It has a groined vault of rubble in two bays, each bay resting on sturdy cylindrical columns north and south, and on plain square responds east and west. Two of the capitals of the Pyx Chamber have ornaments carved on them *in situ* at a later date. This chamber seems to have been a royal treasury, which incidentally was robbed by one Richard Podelicote in 1303. The entrance doorways from the cloister are clearly early fourteenth century in date.

The last monument that may be conveniently mentioned under this heading is the Queen Eleanor memorial cross (Plate 12) in our guardianship at Geddington on the Kettering–Stamford road in Northamptonshire. This was erected after her death in 1290 by King Edward I to mark one of the resting places of his queen's body on its journey from Hardby in Nottinghamshire to London. Geddington is one of the best preserved and least restored of these beautiful monuments. Indeed, it is the most graceful of all those of which we have either remains or knowledge.

CASTLES

The castle was essentially an introduction of our Norman conquerors. Earlier defensive works were limited to earth and palisades and even after 1066 it was some years before the Norman kings and lords erected their magnificent keeps and walls in stone. The earliest Norman fortresses consist of an earthen mound or "motte" surmounted by a wooden tower or keep with an outer court or bailey defended by a stockaded bank and ditch. There are few finer or larger remains of an early Norman motte without any later masonry additions than the great mound of Bigod's Castle at Thetford still some 80 feet high.

Of all the historic buildings for whose care and maintenance the Office of Works is responsible (but in this case sharing its responsibility with the War Office) none is better known or more visited than the Tower of London. Still garrisoned by the King's Guards, and by the Yeomen in their picturesque uniform dating from the reign of Henry VII, the ancient Tower is the most famous of our mediæval fortresses.

The building of the Keep or White Tower, which now contains the royal collection of armour, was begun by William the Conqueror in the south-east angle of the Roman wall of London. Gundulf of Bec, Bishop of Rochester, was in charge of the work, and his design determined the form not only of the Tower of London, but of other Norman stone keeps in many parts of England. Though the White Tower was much restored in the reign of Henry VII and its windows and doors were remodelled in the seventeenth century, the main lay-out in plan and four storeys dates from the eleventh century. The superb apsidal-ended chapel of St. John (Plate 13) which occupies the south-



PLATE 10 —Haughmond Abbey, Chapter House

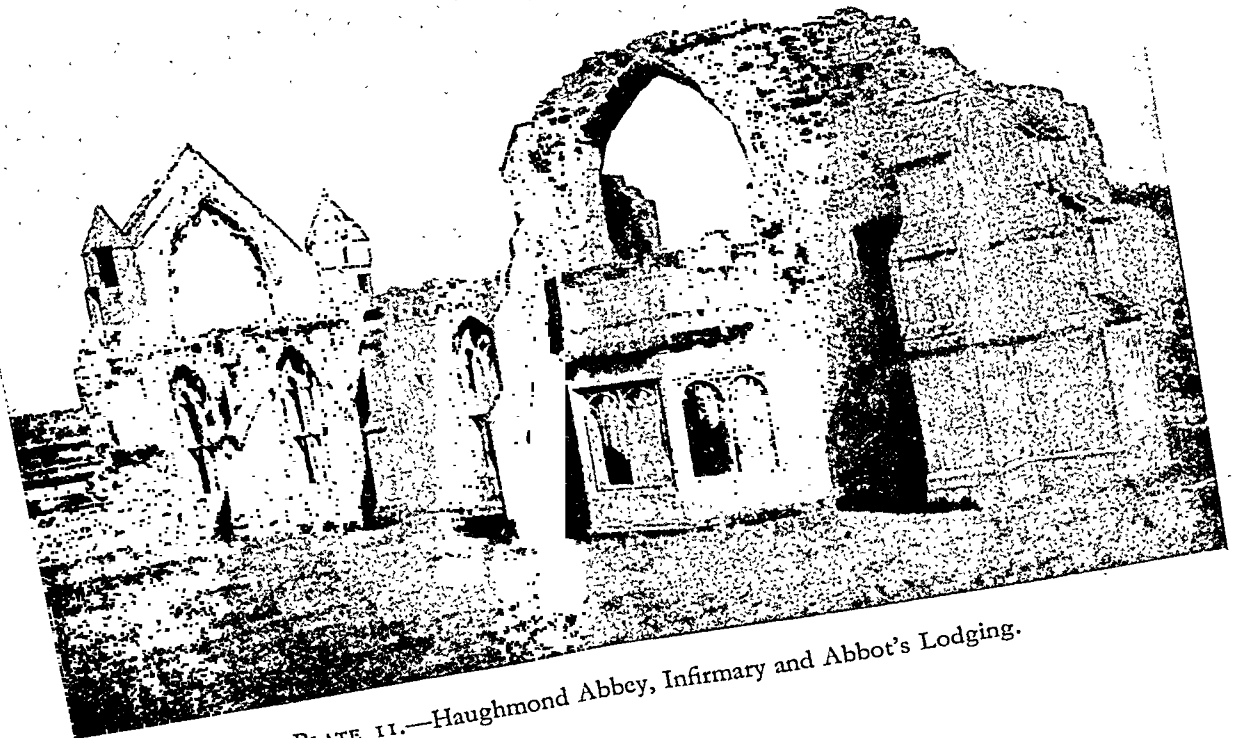


Plate 11.—Haughmond Abbey, Infirmary and Abbot's Lodging.

eastern corner and two storeys of the keep, is among the earliest examples of Norman architecture surviving in the country, and is the finest and largest Norman keep chapel in existence. The keep is the second largest of our Norman keeps, being exceeded in length and breadth only by Colchester. It is known as the White Tower, because from 1241 onwards for several centuries the exterior was kept whitewashed.

Records show that Richard Cœur de Lion expended £2,881 on additions to the fortifications, but the greater part of the curtain wall of the inner ward and most of its towers, including the Wakefield Tower (where the Crown Jewels are now kept) were the work of Henry III. Edward I added the Byward, Develin, and Beauchamp Towers. The Crade Tower or Water Gate was added by Edward III. Henry VIII carried out much work on the outer line of walls and towers, and the angle bastions, named Brass Mount and Legge's Mount, were built in his reign. The chapel of St. Peter ad Vincula in the north-west corner of the inner ward was entirely rebuilt in 1532. In 1692 William III built a great storehouse and sundry residences within the tower, but on the burning down of this building in 1841 the modern Waterloo barracks were constructed on the site by the War Office, in 1845.

Our next largest and most remarkable castle in the area covered by this guide is Goodrich (Plate 14), on the River Wye, near Ross in Herefordshire. To its natural defences of a rocky escarpment rising from the river, has been added a wide rock-cut moat rendering it one of the most formidable of our mediæval fortresses. There are no visible remains of "Godric's Castle" mentioned in the records of a document of 1101 or 1102. It was probably built by Godric Mappestone, the Domesday tenant of Howl who lived on the opposite bank of the Wye. Later it came into



PLATE 11.—Haughmond Abbey, Infirmary and Abbot's Lodging.

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riv [illegible]
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mentioned in the records of a document of 1101 or 1102. It was probably built by Godric Mappestone, the Domesday tenant of Howl who lived on the opposite bank of the Wye. Later it came into

the hands of the Crown, and the existing square Norman keep was erected soon after 1150. In 1204 King John granted the castle to William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke. In the troublous reign of Edward II there was much dispute regarding possession of the castle, which finally fell to Richard Talbot in 1326. The Talbots were later created Earls of Shrewsbury, and, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Goodrich became one of the principal residences of the Earls of Shrewsbury. On the death, in 1616, of the seventh Earl without male issue, Goodrich passed to his daughter, Elizabeth, who married Henry Grey, Earl of Kent, and it remained with the Earls of Kent until sold by them in 1740. Thereafter it passed through many hands until it was placed under the guardianship of the Office of Works.

Apart from the Norman keep, the greater part of what we see to-day was built at the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth centuries, and consists of a large rectangular inner court with round towers at the angles. On the west side is the magnificent Great Hall, a room 65 feet long by 27½ feet wide, with fine windows. The gatehouse and chapel tower occupy the north-east corner, but the windows of the chapel are later fifteenth-century insertions. The barbican beyond the drawbridge in front of the gatehouse, and the outer curtain are of fourteenth-century construction.

Peveril or Peak Castle, near Castleton in Derbyshire, is one of those castles which came eventually into the possession of the Duchy of Lancaster and was handed over to us for preservation in 1932. It, too, is a Norman castle with a square keep dating from the reign of Henry II. But the north curtain wall of the bailey dates from the earlier years of the twelfth century. The castle takes its name from William Peverel, who

was made Constable of Nottingham in 1068 by William the Conqueror. William Peverel II was disinherited in 1155 for poisoning Ranulf, Earl of Chester, and the castle was retained by Henry II, who is known to have visited it on three occasions. It became known as the Castle of "Peak." In 1256 it was granted to the famous Simon de Montfort, but after the battle of Evesham and the death of this Earl it reverted to the Crown. Edward III granted it to his son, John of Gaunt, and it thus became a possession of the historic Duchy of Lancaster.

Berkhampstead Castle in Hertfordshire was handed over to the Office of Works in 1930 by the other Royal Duchy, that of Cornwall. It had been granted in 1336 to Edward the Black Prince on his creation as Duke of Cornwall. It is celebrated as the castle in which King John of France was kept prisoner after the Battle of Poitiers. But long before that it is connected with a famous episode in our history. After the Battle of Hastings William the Conqueror marched north-westward, crossed the Thames at Wallingford, and prepared to attack London by the Ivinghoe gap from the north-west. On reaching Berkhampstead he received there the submission of Edgar Atheling, Earls Edwin and Morcar, and the Archbishop of York.

The large earthworks of the castle, even in their present state, are its most notable feature and are of the Norman motte and bailey type, which implies a date very soon after the Conquest. There are records of tower buildings in the time of Richard, Earl of Cornwall, in 1254, but the flint rubble walls are all that remain of the masonry structures.

Framlingham Castle (Plate 15) in Suffolk is a well preserved monument of much importance It stands on a site of great natural strength, but there is no

evidence that it was occupied in pre-Conquest times. In 1101 Framlingham was granted by the King to Roger Bigod, the patron and founder of Thetford Priory. His son and successor, Hugh Bigod, was involved in the rebellion of Stephen's reign, and in 1175 Henry II ordered the demolition of the castle. Hugh, however, died in 1176 or 1177, and his son Roger was restored to his estates. The existing castle was built by him soon after this date. In 1306 it fell to the Crown for lack of an heir, but was granted by Edward I to his son, Thomas de Brotherton, created Earl of Norfolk. From him it passed through two heiresses to the Mowbrays, who were created Dukes of Norfolk, and through the Mowbrays to the Howards, Dukes of Norfolk. The Howards sold it in 1635 to Sir Robert Hitcham, who left it in the following year to Pembroke College, Cambridge, directing that everything except the stone outer walls should be pulled down and a poorhouse built within the courtyard out of the materials. In 1913 Pembroke College made over the castle to the guardianship of the Office of Works, who have since the war expended considerable sums in conserving the structures and improving the amenities of their surroundings. The interesting seventeenth-century poorhouse has been partly converted into a custodian's house.

The castle is entered by a bridge and gateway with a sixteenth-century sculptured escutcheon of the second Howard Duke of Norfolk, above it.

The main curtain walls and twelve towers are those built by Bigod between 1177 and 1215. The only other owners who have left their mark on the building are Thomas Howard, second Duke of Norfolk, who added the existing battlements and cut brick chimneys, and Pembroke College who erected the poorhouse in accordance with Hitcham's will. In effect, the castle

may be described as perhaps the finest extant example in England of the late twelfth-century castle of the enlarged shell keep type.

If Berkhampstead has played an interesting part in our military history, Acton Burnell (Plate 16) in Shropshire is the scene of an important step in our parliamentary development. In 1283, there assembled there a Parliament summoned by Edward I, and it was at this Parliament that the Commons first appear to have had a share in legislative authority, namely, in framing the Statute of Merchants, commonly called the Statute of Acton Burnell. Unfortunately, we have evidence that the licence to build and crenellate the existing castle was not granted until the following year! The origin of the castle is of some interest. The Tutor and Secretary to King Edward I was one Robert Burnell, a native of Shropshire. He was rewarded by the King with the Bishopric of Bath and Wells and the grant of the Manor of Acton in Shropshire. The castle was begun in 1284, but it is unlikely that it was completed by 1293, when Bishop Burnell died. It is a rectangular structure 75 feet by 54 feet in plan, with four square angle towers. It has no ditch or outer defences and is one of the earliest examples of a "mansion capable of some defence" rather than a true military castle. The three ground floor entrances and traceried windows tend to emphasize this point. Henry VIII gave Acton Burnell to Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, for his services at Flodden. Thence it passed to the family of Lee and through a Lee heiress to Sir Edward Smythe in the reign of Charles II His descendant, Sir Edward Smythe, handed over the monument to the Office of Works in 1930. Near the castle is a small rectangular chapel known as Langley Chapel, also in our guardianship. It too was almost certainly built by Edward I's Bishop Burnell. After

the Reformation it fell into decay but was re-roofed and refurnished by Sir Humphrey Lee in 1601. The internal fittings are largely of this date and form an interesting example of the arrangement in vogue in the early years of the seventeenth century.

Minster Lovell Hall, in the valley of the Windrush between Burford (Oxon) and Witney, has only recently come under our guardianship. It was built between 1425 and 1450 by William, seventh Lord Lovell. He was the brother-in-law of Ralph Lord Cromwell, Lord High Treasurer to Henry VI, and builder of Tattershall in Lincolnshire and South Wingfield Manor in Derbyshire, both contemporary with Minster Lovell. The property was purchased in 1602 by Sir Edward Coke, the famous lawyer, afterwards Lord Chief Justice, and his descendant Thomas Coke of Norfolk, created Earl of Leicester, received as his first title in 1728 that of Lord Lovell of Minster Lovell. On the completion of his great new house at Holkham in 1746 Minster Lovell was abandoned and gradually became a ruin. The fifteenth-century house was built round a quadrangle, the highest surviving part being an unusually lofty hall on the north side. To the west of this hall was the solar room and to the east the kitchens. The south-west corner tower remains and has two rooms with traceried windows. The south range had an oriel looking over the river. Nothing but foundations remains of the eastern range.

Ashby de la Zouch Castle in Leicestershire (Plate 17) is also under our guardianship. Most of the existing ruins date from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but these incorporate some scanty remains of a Norman manor or castle which was granted by William the Conqueror to Hugh de Grantmesnil. About 1160 it passed by marriage to Alain de la Zouch, and it



PLATE 12.—The Eleanor Cross, Geddington

They were inspired with the belief that the *Panth* (the general body of the Sikhs), which stood for fighting the wrongs of the world, was the creation of God, who was always present with them, and therefore every Sikh, working in the cause of the *Panth*, was bound to be victorious.

Service involved two principles—discipline and sacrifice. The Sikhs were to undergo physical, mental and spiritual discipline. They were to exercise a strict control over their desires, passions and emotions, to offer implicit obedience to their leaders, and never to think in self-interest but always in terms of the *Panth*. As members of the *Panth* they were to serve it with the faith that they were pleasing God thereby, and were to fear no foe however strong he might be. Each Sikh working in the righteous cause was to consider himself a tower of strength equal to the power of one lakh and a quarter hosts and was never to give way to despair. He must trust in God who had created him for victory and depend upon steel which would never betray him. He must always be prepared to lay down his life because his victory lay in the moment of his death.

To such inspired and optimistic disciples Gobind Singh gave the name of *Khalsa*—the purified ones.[1]

5. *The Khalsa in their New Career (1699—1708)*

The creation of the Khalsa was an epoch-making event in the religious and political history of the Panjab. It marked the beginning of the rise of a new race of leaders and warriors, destined to play the rôle of a hero against all oppression and tyranny. The severities of the high-caste Hindus over their brethren—the Shudras—were set at naught as soon as one joined the ranks of the Khalsa, where

[1] The regular proclamation of the birth of Khalsa is said to have been made by Guru Gobind Singh on the first of Baisakh, Sambat 1756 Bikrami (Thursday, the 30th March, 1699).

all were equal and ready to render one another all help and useful service.[1] Their only difficulty lay in destroying the organised oppression of Mughal despotism, under which the Hindus and the Sikhs had been acutely suffering. It was a gigantic task for the small community of the Khalsa, in which they stood aloof, without sympathy from the Hindus who could never think of displeasing the mighty Mughals, whose very name struck terror in their hearts.

But the inspiration under the leadership of Guru Gobind Singh himself was enough to outdo all such difficulties and influences. Despondency and fear could not live with the Guru. Faith and hope were the leading currents in the minds of the Khalsa. Under the direction of the Guru, the Khalsa took up the profession of arms and the results were most surprising. The people, lowliest of the low, such as sweepers, cobblers, water-carriers and barbers who had lived for centuries under complete servility of the higher classes as well as of the Government, now became valiant warriors, the praises of whose physique and valour are sung by all the world including their bitterest foes.

The followers of the Guru had risen to several thousands in number. He had also built two forts at Paonta and Anandpur at the foot of the hills to serve as suitable bases for his operations.

The Guru further increased his military resources by building four new forts of Lohgarh, Anandgarh, Phoolgarh

[1]The philanthropic activities of the Sikhs were not confined to the *Panth* but were extended to all, as is testified by Sujan Rai— "They treat their own men and strangers alike, and make no difference between friends and foes. They show neither favour to friends nor hostility to enemies. The belief they cherish in their leader does not exist in other sects. They keep the name of their guide always on their lips, and they look upon service as the highest form of worship. If a stranger knocks at their door at midnight, and utters the name of Nanak though he may be a thief, robber or wretch, he is considered a friend and brother, and is properly looked after." *Khulasat*, 70.

and Fatahgarh.[1]

Then began a series of battles in which the Guru often had to face the combined forces of the hill rajas and the Mughal *subahdars*, and in most cases the victory was on the side of the Khalsa.[2] The most serious conflict occurred at Anandpur in which heavy odds were ranged against the Guru. The Governors of Lahore and Sirhind were deputed to nip the rising power of the Sikhs in the bud. The hill rajas, the Ranghars and the Gujars of the neighbourhood had also joined the Imperial troops. The place was closely besieged and all ways and means of communication were entirely cut off. The Guru, though reduced to extreme straits for want of provisions, maintained the fight heroically. His forces melted away from day to day, and with such rapidity that he was compelled to abandon the place. Eventually, finding the situation hopeless, he escaped, one night, from the fort with his family and some disciples. Alarm was soon raised and the Mughal troops immediately pursued them. In the darkness and confusion, the Guru's mother and his two sons were separated from him. They were caught, and later on the sons were bricked up alive in a fort wall at Sirhind, while their grandmother died of this shock in prison.

The Guru, together with his two other sons and a handful of followers, took refuge at Chamkaur, which was immediately besieged by the enemy. In the struggle that ensued here, Guru Gobind Singh lost both of his sons and almost all his disciples. The Guru then managed to escape to Machhiwara from where he retired towards Malwa. At

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[1] M'Gregor on p. 85 of Vol. I gives the following names: "Anundghur, Fattehghur, Soghur and Mooghulghur." The forts of Fatahgarh and Lohgarh were situated in the town of Anandpur. *Sunder Singh*, 35.

[2] Ten battles are mentioned by the author of the *Battles of Guru Gobind Singh*, which were fought by the Guru after establishing the Khalsa. Of these five took place at Anandpur, two at Chamkaur and three at Nirmoh, Basali and Muktsar. pp. 32-68.

a place now called Muktsar, the pursuing Mughal troops again fell upon him, but in view of the oppressive heat and scarcity of water, food and fodder, they retired

The Guru settled at a place in the heart of the desert named by him Damdama, where he is said to have spent about a year in peaceful preachings of his religion. Here he received a letter from Aurangzeb demanding his presence at his court in the Deccan, to which he gave a spirited reply in Persian verse in which he administered to the Emperor a sharp rebuke [1]

Aurangzeb died soon after and his son and successor Bahadur Shah invited the Guru to Delhi where he went at the head of two or three hundred soldiers. The Emperor treated him respectfully, conferred upon him a robe of honour and took him to the Deccan, where he was going to crush the rebellion of his younger brother, Kam Bakhsh.[2] The Guru left the company of Bahadur Shah after some time and halted on the banks of the Godavari where he met Banda Bairagi leading the life of a hermit. Guru Gobind Singh had already heard of his wide-spread fame and was struck by his personal appearance which showed an iron will and unswerving determination under his saintly clothes. The Guru, finding in him the most suitable person for carrying on his work in the Panjab, entrusted him with his mission in the presence of his Sikhs.

Shortly afterwards, the Guru was seriously wounded by a Pathan. Finding his end near he called together his disciples and gave them his last injunctions. They were to have no Guru thenceforward, as he had delivered the Khalsa to

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[1] This reply termed *Zafar Namah* (Epistle of Victory) forms a part of the *Dasam Granth*.

[2] It is believed that Guru Gobind Singh lent some help to Bahadur Shah in the battle of Jajau, supplying him with a contingent of his soldiers. Khafi Khan, however, does not mention any such help given by the Guru but says that he joined Bahadur Shah at the head of two or three hundred soldiers, when the Emperor was marching to the Deccan. *Muntakhab Al Lubab*, 652.

Akalpurkh (God), and were to look upon the *Granth* as the Guru. He further gave them to understand that the Guru would be present in spirit wherever five Sikhs assembled, to decide an important question affecting the whole Panth or a part of it. On such an occasion a Sikh congregation was to be held and from the whole assembly five[1] *pyaras* (beloved ones) were to be elected and their decision was to be regarded as the verdict of the Guru. It was then to be passed by the whole assembly[2] and its execution was binding upon the whole *Panth*. Any infringement was to be considered sacrilegious. They were finally impressed upon that the *Wah Guru* had destined them to be the future rulers of the country for which they must continue the struggle unabated.[3]

The Guru then peacefully passed away with satisfaction that in the free and independent hearts of his followers there were germinating the seeds of a general revolution. He felt sure that their revolutionary spirit would break forth with greater fury if the sacredness of their rights was not admitted and if they were not allowed a free hand in the matter of their conscience.

6. *Secular Leadership of Banda (1709—1715)*

Banda had witnessed the ruthless despotism of the Mughals in general and their oppression against his own community in particular. He had also seen the unsuccessful revolts against Mughal absolutism, one in the Panjab (Banda's original home) and the other in Maharashtra (Banda's residence). The narration of his sufferings and the work done

[1] In India "five" has been the sacred number from times immemorial. "*Panchon men Parmeshwar hai,*" is an old saying and indicates the presence of Divinity in "five." *Panchayats* or councils of five elders were common in northern India long before Guru Gobind Singh's time.

[2] Such decisions in their final shape were termed "*Gurumatas,*" because they were considered to have been passed with the concurrence of the Guru.

[3] *Narang*, 101.

in the Panjab by Guru Gobind Singh himself roused the sense of patriotism of this young man of 38, and he undertook to execute the mission of the Guru. Having received his blessings, Banda started for the Panjab early in 1709. Never perhaps in the history of the Panjab did the circumstances or the time offer so fair a field to the ambition of a leader, conscious of great talents, and called to the command of warlike people, only too eager to second him in any enterprise he might undertake. Near Kaithal he plundered a royal treasure on its way to Delhi, and distributed the whole of it among his followers. This was a good omen for a series of rapid victories which he subsequently achieved, and attracted crowds of Sikhs and Hindus to join his folds.[1]

In November, 1709, Samana, the home of Guru Tegh Bahadur's executioner was laid waste. Nearly 10,000 Muslims are said to have been massacred in this town and immense booty was acquired. Banda's ranks then began to swell daily and he easily punished the bigoted Muslims of Ghuram, Thaska, Kunjpura, Shahabad, Mustafabad, Ambala, Kapuri, Chhat and Banur.[2]

Now Sirhind was in sight which was the aim of Banda and his Sikhs. In their eyes it was the most accursed place where Guru Gobind Singh's two sons were bricked up alive and where the Guru's mother had given up her life in imprisonment. It was a holy war against the Governor of this place. The battle was fought in May, 1710, in which the Governor lost his life while the city of Sirhind was laid waste.[3]

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[1] *Khafi Khan*, ii, 652: "In two or three months' time nearly five thousand horse and eight thousand foot joined him. The number of his troops was increasing daily and great booty was falling into his hands. Soon after about nineteen thousand men armed and equipped took to plunder and persecution."

[2] "The matters came to such a pass that from thirty to forty thousand infidels served under his banner. Then he issued orders to the imperial officials to submit and retire from their posts." *Ibid.*, 652-3.

[3] *Ibid.*, 653-4. The following expression was now frequently on the lips of the Sikhs— "موسلے دا ناش گرودا پرکاش" *Bakhtmal*, 50.

With the fall of Sirhind, practically the whole country between the Sutlej and the Jumna, up to the close neighbourhood of Delhi, lay at the feet of Banda. He ousted the Muslim officers from all the 28 *parganahs* of Sirhind division and put his own men in their places.[1]

Just after this victory, sad tales of the bigotry of the Muslims of the Gangetic Doāb were brought to his notice, and so he marched thither in July, 1710. He crossed the Jumna at Rajghat and punished and plundered the people of Saharanpur, Behat, Nanautah and Jalalabad.[2]

Banda returned to the Panjab to look after his newly acquired territories and reduced the Muslim risings in the Jullundur and the Bari *Doābs*, with the result that a greater part of these territories, excepting Lahore proper, fell into his hands where also the Sikh officials were appointed to control the affairs of the government.[3]

Banda now turned to Sadhaura to punish the notorious Muslims who were indiscriminately cut to pieces in a mansion known afterwards as *Qatalgarhi*.[4] The famous fort of

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[1] "دیہات بسیار را تاخت و تاراج نمودہ تھانہ دار و تحصیلدار مال
از طرف خود مقرر ساختند" *Khafi Khan*, ii, 652.

"و بعد فراغ تاراج سہرند درہمہ پرگنات برائی تحصیل باج
وخراج عمال خود تعین نمودند" *Ibid.*, 654.

"In all *parganahs* occupied by the Sikhs," says Irvine, "the reversal of the previous customs was striking and complete. A low scavenger or leather dresser, the lowest of the low in Indian estimation had only to leave home and join the Guru (Banda) when in a short space of time he would return to his birthplace as its ruler, with his order of appointment in his hand. As soon as he set foot within the boundaries, the well-born and wealthy went out to greet him and escort him home. Arrived there, they stood before him with joined palms, awaiting his orders." *Later Mughals*, i, 98-9.

[2] *Khafi Khan*, ii, 654-7.

[3] *Ibid.*, 660.

[4] *Ibid.*

Mukhlispur, situated on the top of a steep hill and surrounded by deep ravines, was seized next and was renamed Lohgarh. This place became the seat of Banda's headquarters, where he issued his own coin and introduced his official seal and year, commencing from the date of his victory at Sirhind[1]

The repeated tales of Banda's atrocities were constantly pouring into the Imperial capital. But the emperor was away to the Deccan, and his officials were so terror-stricken that not a soul stirred out of Delhi to oppose him. By this time Bahadur Shah was free from the Deccan and he at once hurried to Lohgarh without even stopping at Delhi and laid siege to the place in December, 1710 Banda commanded scanty resources in comparison with those of the Emperor, but he fought bravely and inspired awe and fear (ترس وهراس) in the minds of the enemies[2] He was, however, reduced to extremities so that he had to flee in disguise, while many of his troops were massacred.

Banda made his appearance in the hilly tract in Gurdaspur district. The Emperor at once marched in pursuit and, subduing the country on the way, halted at Lahore where he died in February, 1712. Then ensued the war of succession Jahandar Shah came out successful in April; but he was a weakling and another Prince named Farrukh Siyar revolted against him and succeeded in seizing the throne in January, 1713 These intervals gave the Sikhs a much-needed respite and they took full advantage in gaining fresh strength.

The new Emperor appointed Abdul Samad Khan, the energetic Governor of Kashmir, the *Subahdar* of the Panjab,

[1] *Irvine*, i, 110.

[2] *Khafi Khan*, ii, 669 "I cannot describe the terror and panic that prevailed in the imperial army on account of wild attacks and frightful engagements of that beggarly dressed force. There was such a loud clamour of their slaughter and oppression that the imperial troops grew tired of life."

in February, 1713, with definite instructions to subdue the Sikhs.[1] Abdul Samad took strong measures against them but without accomplishing much. Early in 1715 Banda descended upon Kalanaur and Batala from his hill fastness and laid waste the whole country. Farrukh Siyar was exasperated to learn about these disasters. He administered a sharp rebuke to the Viceroy in March, 1715 and sent Imperial troops under capable leaders to reinforce him.[2]

Unfortunately, a split had taken place among the followers of Banda by this time. He had introduced a new form of salutation, *Fatah-i-Darshan* for *Wah Guruji ka Khalsa, Wah Guruji ki Fatah*. This offended the orthodox Sikhs and they formed a separate party under the name of *Tat Khalsa*. The remaining Sikhs with Banda were called *Bandai Sikhs*.

In this considerably weakened position Banda was besieged in the small fort of Gurdaspur and the siege was so closely pursued for eight months that not a particle of food was allowed to get in. The Sikhs were reduced to extremely sore straits. No provisions were left with them. They lived on flesh, grass and leaves and bark of trees. They powdered twigs and bones and ate them instead of flour.[3] "In spite of all this," says Kamwar Khan, "the infernal Sikh chief and his men, withstood all the military force that the great Saltanat-i-Mughalia could muster against them for eight months".[4]

The fort fell in December, 1715 and all the inmates including Banda were taken prisoners. Large numbers of them were massacred, while Banda and his 740 followers were brought to Delhi where their most heroic behaviour at the time of their execution drew praises from all.[5]

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[1] Shahnawaz Khan calls the Sikhs "Qaum-i-Guru." *Maasir-ul-Umara*, ii, 515.

[2] *Khafi Khan*, ii, 762.

[3] *Ibid.*, 763.

[4] Quoted in Ganda Singh's "*Banda Bahadur*," 32.

[5] *Khafi Khan*, ii, 765-7; *Maasir-ul-Umara*, ii, 516-7; Wheeler's *Early Records of British India*, 180.

7 *The darkest period of Sikh history, 1716–1738*

The period of nearly one quarter of a century, following the execution of Banda, may be regarded as the darkest period of Sikh history The reasons are obvious. The Sikhs were left without a temporal guide and had no one among them of eminent position noted for his extraordinary ability and courage to unite their scattering forces, to guide them through difficulties and misfortunes and to keep them in spirit to pursue their goal. On the other hand, the Government of the day actuated by active resentment, followed the most repressive policy leaving no stone unturned, not only in destroying the power of the Sikhs, but also in extirpating the sect Their number had already dwindled to an astonishing degree but after the execution of their secular chief the Government seems to have determined to give them no quarter " An edict was issued by Furruck Sir says Forster on pp 312-3 of Vol. I of his *Journey* "directing that every Sicque falling into the hands of his officers, should on a refusal of embracing the Mahometan faith, be put to the sword. A valuable reward was also given by the emperor for the head of every Sicque, and such was the keen spirit that animated the persecution such the success of the exertions, that the name of a Sicque no longer existed in the Mughal dominion. Those who still adhered to the tenets of Nanock, either fled into the mountains at the head of the Punjab or cut off their hair and exteriorly renounced the profession of their religion."[1]

The faithful followers of the Guru experienced the worst possible time in their history Hunted like hare they wandered from place to place seeking shelter to save themselves from the fury of the Government and of the antagonistic Muslim population of the neighbourhood They ultimately took refuge, as has already been remarked, in the lower

[1] *Cf Browne* ii, 13; *Malcolm*, 85 *Miftah ul Twarikh* 398; M'Gregor's *History of the Sikhs*, i, 113-4 *Cunningham*, 95

spurs of the Himalayas, Lakhi Jungle and Malwa desert. There they had very precarious means of livelihood and often lived on wild vegetables and the flesh of the jungle animals. It appears that they cheerfully bore these privations and gave very flattering names to even the meanest articles of diet.[1]

It seemed as if the power of the Sikhs had been totally destroyed and the sect extirpated, because for a couple of years after the death of Banda we hear nothing about the Sikhs. But by 1718, however, reports were received in Lahore that the Sikhs had recommenced committing depredations in the villages situated at the foot of the hills and on the outskirts of the Lakhi Jungle and Malwa desert. This will naturally surprise us; but we are in possession of several factors which were responsible for the reappearance of the Sikhs. The constant fear of death from which no Sikh of those days was free even for a moment had made them bold and fearless. Their extreme poverty and utter necessity for keeping body and soul together had driven them to take to plundering. They knew that death might be the reward of such undertakings; but as true Sikhs they preferred to die fighting. They also believed in their right to live and they legitimately thought that such a Government as deprived them of this natural privilege was not worthy of being respected by them. Moreover, they had already experienced great destitution and distress when serving under Guru Gobind Singh and Banda. Besides, they had a vivid memory of the sacrifices and sufferings of Guru Gobind Singh, his four sons and Banda, all of whom stimulated them to bear their misfortunes heroically. They also knew that their object of destroying the organized form of Mughal tyranny could not be achieved by sitting idle in the jungles. They must rise after every fall and should be ready to pay the usual price for freedom. Their optimistic outlook about the

[1] The Sikh historians have reproduced in their books long lists of such names and some of these terms are still current amongst the Jat Sikhs. *Cf. Gyan Singh*, 552-3.

future of their race was also responsible for it. They considered that their cause was righteous and was therefore bound to succeed. The work of the last Guru they argued, was on the verge of destruction when the sudden appearance of Banda had turned the tables in their favour Similarly they hoped that sooner or later a leader was bound to arise among them who would again lead them on to fresh victories Such were their feelings that had made the Sikhs renew their activities

The ventures of the Sikhs, however met with almost uniform success on account of many influences which were eating into the vitals of the Mughal Empire both at Delhi and elsewhere. This had its repercussions on the government of the Panjab As a nominee of his party the Viceroy of the Pànjab was dragged into Delhi politics and was thus unable to pay undivided attention to his own government. This naturally afforded occasions for the outbreak of disorder and lawlessness in the country There is evidence to show that the creatures of such disturbances were secretly encouraged and possibly financed, by the rivals of the Viceroy [1]

The machinery of the Delhi government having failed to function, the Lahore Viceroy was left to his own petty resources to cope with the serious situation single-handed His forces were centred in the capital wherefrom he sent out detachments to quell disturbances wherever they arose Considering the means of communications of those days, it was no easy task to keep a constant pursuit of the Sikhs into their impenetrable retreats which were at long distances from the seat of the Government.

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[1] Khafi Khan, a contemporary writer referring to the rebellion of the Afghans of Kasur says that their revolt occurred at the instigation of the Sayyid Brothers who wanted to weaken the Turani party by dispossessing Abdul Samad Khan of the Panjab Viceroyalty Isa Khan Munj another rebel in the Jullundur Doab, was protected by Samsam-ud-daulah Khan-i-dauran, favourite of the Emperor Muhammad Shah *Khafi Khan*, ii, 767-8 and 861 5 *Maasir ul-Umara* i, 604, and ii, 825-8 *Siyar* ii, 47

Thus, when the Delhi government was in the throes of revolutions (1717-9) and the *Subahdar* of Lahore was busy in dealing with the serious revolts of Isa Khan Munj and Husain Khan Kheshgi of Kasur, the Sikhs found an easy opportunity of entering upon a career of pillage and plunder.

Abdul Samad's failure in adopting a ruthless policy to check these commotions encouraged the forces of disruption to make a stronger headway and, therefore, the activities of the Sikhs as well as of other lawless people daily grew greater, so much so that on the highways traffic came almost to a close.[1]

These turmoils and tumults roused once more the Delhi Government to its sense of responsibility with regard to the Panjab. The Emperor transferred the old *Subahdar* Abdul Samad Khan to the governorship of Multan and appointed his youthful son, Zakariya Khan Khan Bahadur, (perhaps at the suggestion of his prime minister Qamr-ud-din Khan, whose sister was married to Zakariya Khan), to the viceroyalty of Lahore in 1726.[2]

The new Viceroy who had already served as Governor of Kashmir (1720-6) was an experienced administrator. He raised moving columns of light cavalry and succeeded, in a short time, in driving away the Sikhs from all the centres of population. They were forced once again to seek shelter in their old retreats. Peace and quiet was restored,[3] though for a short time only, and the new Viceroy won the approbation of the Delhi Court.

The Sikhs, however, were not to rest contented. Hardly

[1] *Browne*, ii, 13; *Bakhtmal*, 56; *Ali-ud-din*, 95b.

[2] *Maasir-ul-Umara*, ii, 517. (Kanhaya Lal in his *Tarikh-i-Panjab* on p. 65 says that a quarrel had taken place between Abdul Samad and Zakariya Khan and the latter, when on a visit to Delhi, requested the Emperor to appoint him to the charge of the province, promising that he would establish perfect peace in the country.)

[3] *Ali-ud-din*, 95b.

had a couple of years passed, when it appears that the Sikhs sallied out in small groups, laying under contribution defenceless villages and often waylaying the travellers on roadside.[1] The Governor was naturally anxious to maintain peace in his jurisdiction at all costs. He, therefore, adopted a policy of conciliation by offering them *Jagir*[2] worth a lakh of rupees and the title of *Nawab* for their leader. This policy bore its desired fruit. The Sikhs, being tired of their long and tedious wild life, accepted the *Jagir* and the title.[3] They now took to peaceful pursuits and most of them settled at Amritsar.[4]

Next year in 1734, Nawab Kapur Singh, Fatah Singh, Buddha Singh Sukarchakia and Bhuma Singh, the prominent Sikh leaders thought it advisable to give their co-religionists, a kind of organization, in order to have facilities for the good arrangement of their food and clothing. Two main divisions were made of the entire strength of the Khalsa at Amritsar, according to the age of the members. *Buddha Dal* consisted of the older members and *Taruna Dal* included the younger *Singhs*.[5]

After some time the Sikhs grew impatient of their inactive life at Amritsar and dispersed either to their homes or to Malwa. The Khan Bahadur, finding no necessity of continuing the *Jagir*, confiscated it and offered them an alternative of either recruitment in the imperial army or of remittance of land revenue in case of their settling as peaceful

[1] The author of *Shamshir Khalsa* on pp. 40-5 refers to several such instances.

[2] A *Jagir* is a grant of land in freehold, or for a quit rent, or for some expected service, but in general, revocable at the donor's pleasure.

[3] *Shamshir Khalsa*, 45-6. The title was afterwards conferred on Kapur Singh.

[4] For a detailed account of Sikh life at Amritsar see *Ratan Singh*, 262 and *Gyan Singh*, 566-8.

[5] For details see *Shamshir Khalsa*, 47-8. *Ratan Singh*, 263-5. *Gyan Singh*, 568-70. *Narang*, 126.

agriculturists. The Sikhs resented this action and took to their old course of plunder.[1]

The Khan Bahadur despatched his troops in their pursuit and the Sikhs were ultimately driven away beyond the Sutlej. Zakariya Khan then murdered Bhai Mani Singh[2], the priest of Amritsar, and thereby aroused deep feelings of resentment and revenge in the minds of the Sikhs. They spent about a year more in running from place to place, avoiding an engagement with the imperial troops, but constantly pillaging the country. An opportunity after all presented itself to them, and early in January, 1739, they found themselves once more free to indulge in satisfying their passion of vengeance. This was done by the invasion of Nadir Shah.

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[1] *Shamshir Khalsa*, 48-9; *Gyan Singh*, 572.
[2] *Ratan Singh*, 277; *Shamshir Khalsa*, 51-6; *Narang*, 47-8.

CHAPTER IV

ADINA BEG KHAN

THE LAST MUGHAL VICEROY OF THE PANJAB

(Date of birth unknown—Died 15th September, 1758)

1 *Introduction*

THE story told in this chapter is of a person who came of a humble stock and rose to eminence step by step, not by favour of any man, certainly not by subserviency either to the ruling authorities or to popular ideas; but simply by the operation of that natural law, which in troubled times brings the strongest mind, be it where it may, to the post of highest command.

During the 18th century in India many opportunities presented themselves to tact and ambition for carving out independent principalities. The great empire of the Mughals after a glorious career of nearly two centuries had fallen into a gradual process of decay. The Mughal Emperors were losing their power and prestige with headlong precipitation, while their unworthy ministers and supporters unscrupulously indulged in murder, emperor-blinding, treachery and rapine, and were always ready to sacrifice the interests of the empire for their own selfish ends.

The Mughal viceroys of provinces were generally sunk in sloth and sensuality. They had no fear of interference by the Central Government and were free from restraint. Hence there was no check on the progress of misrule. This confusion was further aggravated by a series of foreign

invasions from the north-west, leaving nothing in their wake but the smoke of burning homes, ravished humanity and the reek of innocent blood.

Such a chaotic state offered a great prize to the able and ambitious. Men rose from obscurity into the full blaze of historical renown. Adina Beg Khan was one such a man of low birth, unlettered, but endowed with a masterful ambition and a persevering temper. He was first employed even before his teens as a servant in the households of Mughal officers, and rose to power by patient labour and force of character, until, he ultimately became Viceroy of the Panjab and played an important part in the closing scenes of Muslim rule in the province.

Adina Beg Khan started his public life in the thirties. It was brought to a close in 1758. During that time he saw Nadir Shah's invasion, four campaigns of Ahmad Shah Abdali, the Maratha conquest of the Panjab and the rise of the Sikhs to political power. The Panjab had become in that period a cockpit of struggle between various powers and had almost been converted into no man's land. The first struggle lay between Ahmad Shah Abdali and the Mughals, in which the former was victorious. Then ensued the conflict between Ahmad Shah and the Marathas, in which the latter were worsted. Now the Sikhs and Ahmad Shah began to fight between themselves for the possession of the plains of the Panjab and ultimately Ahmad Shah was expelled from this province. Adina Beg therefore witnessed four *gardis* or wild struggles for the Panjab by Nadir Shah, Ahmad Shah, the Marathas and the Sikhs, known as the *Nadir Gardi, the Shah Gardi, the Maratha Gardi and the Sikha Shahi.* Adina Beg Khan took advantage of each *gardi* and greatly added to his power. He also maintained a sort of balance among all these powers.

No work on this subject is known to exist, except a defective Persian manuscript of 12 small folios. Its dates and

even some events are generally wrongly stated, but it supplies some useful material about the important stages in the life of this man. The writer has supplemented this with material gleaned from a number of Persian works, mostly unpublished, and Marathi, Gurmukhi Urdu and English records, all of which are given in the bibliography at the end.

2 *Adina Beg Khan under Zakariya Khan, to June, 1745*

Adina Beg Khan was an Arāin by caste His father's name was Chunnu He was born at Sharaqpur, 18 miles below Lahore on the right bank of the Ravi. Extreme poverty compelled him very early in life to seek service in the homes of Mughal officers. He spent most of his time at Jalalabad, Khanpur and Bajwara, all situated in the Jullundur Doāb [1] This was the beginning of his lifelong association with this part of the Panjab

His sturdiness of character and love of enterprise made him discontented with his menial position When he grew to manhood he sought a life of strenuous action Constant association with the Mughal officers created in his mind a strong desire for military life, so he joined the army He was, however, soon disillusionized of his new career by its poor prospects, left it for the more lucrative post of revenue collector of village Kang in Sultanpur[2] District of the Jullundur Doāb He displayed great energy, courage and force of character in the performance of his new duties. His ability and tact won him many friends, one of whom was Lala Sri Niwas of Dhir caste, a rich banker of Sultanpur, a very influential man, who in a few years obtained for Adina Beg Khan the revenue contract of five or six villages in the territory of Kang The following year all the villages of

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[1] *Ahwal-i-Adina Beg Khan*, 50b.

[2] *Ibid.* There are two villages of the same name, *viz.* Kang Kalan and Kang Khurd, situated 8 miles south of Sultanpur and about 2 miles north of the Sutlej. *Cf* Survey map of the Panjab.

Kang circle passed to his charge.[1]

Adina Beg Khan was now becoming a man of mark. His foot was on the ladder of promotion. His appointment to this post stimulated his energies and rekindled his ambition. The circle of Kang was a unit of the Sultanpur District. Adina Beg Khan deposited his revenues in the treasury of Sultanpur. The district officer was so much struck by his honesty, loyalty and ability that he sometimes deputed him to Lahore in charge of the revenues of his district. It was an excellent opportunity for an ambitious person to obtain influence in the court of Lahore.

The district officer of Sultanpur died. Adina Beg Khan at once went to Lahore and through the treasury officer sought an interview with the Viceroy, Khan Bahadur Zakariya Khan. The latter demanded security for his good behaviour, which was immediately provided by Lala Sri Niwas of Sultanpur, and Adina Beg was appointed to the post of the District Officer of Sultanpur.[2] He showed his gratitude by appointing Lala Sri Niwas his immediate assistant, while his elder brother Bhwani Das, who knew Persian, was given the post of superintendent of his office.[3]

Shortly afterwards Nadir Shah invaded India. At this time the country was thrown into great confusion, of which full advantage was taken by lawless people and particularly by the Sikhs. Knowing the country intimately, and being endowed with an astuteness and intrepidity which were equal to any emergency, they made the best use of these disturbances. On the retirement of the Persian invader the Sikhs continued their depredations and were the principal source of danger to the peace and prosperity of the province. The Viceroy therefore organised columns of light cavalry for the pursuit of the Sikhs, who were consequently expelled from the Bari Doāb with heavy losses.

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[1] *Ibid.*, 50b ; *Imad-i-Saadat*, 107a-b. [2] *Ahwal-i-Adina Beg Khan*, 51a. [3] *Ibid.*

They then moved on to the Jullundur Doāb Zakariya Khan knew that the Jullundur Doāb was mostly peopled by Jats who had sympathy with the Sikhs He was, therefore, in search of a capable governor for this territory It was brought to his notice that the district of Sultanpur, which was situated on the main road from Lahore to Delhi, had been ruined like many other places[1] by Nadir Shah's troops, who had also taken captive a number of men and women of the place and that Adina Beg Khan had succeeded in restoring order at this time had given relief to the people and had secured the release of many prisoners by ransom The Viceroy also knew that Adina Beg was active energetic and had personal knowledge of the Doāb So he was promoted to the high rank of the *Nazim*[2] (Governor) of the Jullundur Doāb and was ordered to punish the Sikhs

Adina Beg succeeded in restoring peace and order in the Doāb, but he did not adopt severe measures to crush the Sikhs and perhaps deliberately winked at some of their activities permitting them to carry on so long as they refrained from creating serious disturbances within his jurisdiction The reason seems to be that he wished to secure his position by keeping the Sikh menace alive, otherwise he feared that in case of perfect peace in the Doāb this territory might be leased to somebody else,for a larger sum of revenue. Diwan Bakhtmal testifies to this fact when

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[1] *Anand Ram*, 21.

"احوال پنجاب چه نوشته شود که در آن دیار و سکنه آن گلزار
چه قیامت گذشت مثل وزیر آباد و امین آباد و گجرات قصبه جات
که هر یکی دنیا در کثرت آبادی لیمچه شهری بوده است دهاکه
سیاه برابر گشت و همگی آن گلزمین بهزار رنگ بیداد رفت
مالها بتاراج و ناموسها برباد رفت"

[2] *Nazim* was the Governor of a province. He was a military man who commanded the troops and administered the country The *Diwan* who was the superintendent of finances, was quite independent of him and was a check on him. But when both these offices were combined in one person, he was called *Subahdar* or Viceroy (*Cf* *Seir* i. 274).

he writes :—

"Adina Beg was a greedy man. He did not crush the Sikhs. If he had intended to do so, it was not a difficult task. But he had this idea in mind, that if he quelled the Sikhs, some other tax-farmer might be entrusted with the government of the Doāb for a higher sum and he might be dismissed. He therefore treated the Sikhs well and settled terms with them. For this reason the Sikhs grew stronger and they gradually occupied many villages as *Jagirs*."[1]

The Khan Bahadur, however, would not rest content until he saw the Sikhs out of his province. He issued strict orders to Adina Beg Khan to drive them away. Though unwilling to do so, the Jullundur *faujdar* could not postpone this task for long. Consequently he asked the Sikhs to vacate his territory. On receiving these orders they deputed Jassa Singh Thoka (afterwards known as Ramgarhia) as their *Vakil* to settle terms with Adina Beg Khan. The latter, however, proved too clever for the Sikh *Vakil* and succeeded in persuading him to accept office under his government. The Sikhs, dismayed at the conduct of their envoy, found safety only in crossing the Sutlej and entering the Sirhind Division of Delhi Province, where they created a serious situation for the Imperial Government.[2]

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[1] *Khalsa Namah*, 58-9. James Browne, writing in 1787 in his *India Tracts*, ii, 14, says :—"The force he had with him was fully equal to the execution of that service, but Adina Beg, considering that if he should entirely put an end to all disturbances in that district, there would remain no necessity for continuing him in so extensive a command, carried on intrigues with the chiefs of the *Sicks*, and secretly encouraged them to continue their depredations, at the same time pretending to be very desirous of subduing them. From this management the *Sicks* became daily more powerful and seized upon several places in distant parts of the *Subah* of Lahore. They also began to perform public pilgrimages to the Holy Tank at Amrutsur without molestation."

The Jullundur District Gazetteer, 1904, page 29, supports this view.

[2] *Chahar Gulzar Shujai*, 373a ; *Ali-ud-din*, 106a ; *Raj Khalsa*, 10 ; *Itihas-i-Ramgarhian*, 410-1 ; *Sarkar*, i, 422-3.

Nadir Shah had denuded the treasury of Lahore and had laid heavy impositions on the Government officials and the people. The result was that the Khan Bahadur had nothing to pay to his troops, who were constantly clamouring for their dues. The Viceroy ordered his *Diwan*, Lakhpat Rai, to make the payment to the soldiers and, on his failure to do so, imprisoned him. The *Diwan's* brother, Jaspat Rai, secured orders from Zakariya Khan to check the accounts of government officials and to call for arrears. This measure brought sufficient money to meet the demands of the troops. The *Diwan* was consequently set free, but the work of account checking continued unabated.[1]

In course of time came the turn of Adina Beg Khan, who had also failed in paying his revenues to the Lahore Government. It seems likely that he could not realise revenue from the people on account of their having suffered during Nadir Shah's invasion. He might also have pursued the usual policy of keeping the people pleased with the new government under him. Adina Beg knew that the wrath of the *Diwan* was bound to fall upon him, so he immediately went to Lahore and visited Lakhpat Rai alone at night to apologise. The *Diwan* did not listen to his entreaties and Adina Beg and his two assistants, Bhwani Das and Nidhan Singh, were imprisoned and Shahnawaz Khan, the younger son of the Khan Bahadur, was given charge of the Jullundur Doab.

The delinquents remained in prison for a year. Then Bhwani Das was released on the security of his brother, Sri Niwas. Adina Beg one night escaped and retired to the hills to avoid capture. Bhwani Das was thereupon re-arrested and ordered to render account of the income and expenditure. He respectfully replied that he would disclose the accounts only in the presence of his master, Adina Beg Khan. He was at once put into a large pot and was half-

[1] *Ahwal-i-Adina Beg Khan*, 51b-52a.

boiled, but even then he did not yield.[1] Lakhpat Rai was so much impressed with the loyalty of Bhwani Das that he took him out of the boiling pot, ordered his physicians to treat him and asked him to beg for a favour. Bhwani Das requested the reinstatement of Adina Beg Khan, which was granted. After a warning Adina Beg Khan was awarded a robe of honour (*khilát*)[2] and was appointed to the Deputy Governorship under Shahnawaz Khan.[3]

This incident taught Adina Beg Khan a terrible lesson—not to fail in remitting the government revenues regularly and punctually, and he was never found wanting in this respect during the rest of his life. Besides, he became so tactful that he could successfully commit acts of disloyalty towards his chief without giving him the least suspicion thus retaining his confidence even long afterwards. This he cleverly managed by playing on one or other of his weaknesses. He kept the young Governor so pleased by his administrative ability and good behaviour that Shahnawaz Khan never interfered with him and Adina Beg Khan gained complete control over the government.

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[1] *Ibid.*, 52.

" بهوانی داس ازین معنی بسیار مورد عتاب گرد (ید) بلک
در دیگ نشانیده گرم کرد (ند) هرچند بدنش از آتش آزار کشید
لیکن از راه نمک حلالی هیچ نشان کاغذ آمدنی و خرچ و امانت
دینا بیگ خان بر زبان نیاورد همین عرض کرد که هر قدر که
حضور فرمایند از مال و جان حاضرم اما گذارش حساب سوائی
بالمواجهه خاوند خود صورت نه بندد "

[2] A *khil'at* was composed of a turban, a girdle and a piece of cloth for a gown. It was meant to dress the whole body from head to foot and was properly called *saropa*. For persons of importance was added a double piece for a gown and a short gown with short sleeves. It was then called a *saropa* of five or six pieces. One piece of light brocade was also added for long drawers. All these pieces were of muslin, embroidered in gold, silver and silk upon the most elegant pattern. (*Cf. Seir*, i. 15).

[3] *Ahwal-i-Adina Beg Khan*, 53a; *Imad-i-Saadat*, 107b. Bute Shah on folio 242b states that it was Adina Beg Khan who was boiled in a kettle-drum by Zakariya Khan.

3 *Adina Beg Khan and Shahnawaz Khan, July, 1745 to March, 1748*

Zakariya Khan died on 1st July, 1745 He left behind him three sons, Yahiya Khan, Shahnawaz Khan and Mir Baqi. Zakariya Khan's wife was the sister of Nawab Qamr-ud-din Khan, the Grand Wazir of Delhi, and all these three brothers were the sons from the same mother Yahiya Khan, the eldest brother was married to the daughter of Qamr-ud-din Khan and thus the Delhi Wazir was his maternal uncle as well as his father-in-law

The Wazir was anxious that Yahiya Khan should succeed his father, but the Emperor, Muhammad Shah, was against this proposal, as he did not want to make the Panjab a stronghold of the Turani party The Wazir was, however, determined to keep the Panjab for his family and he secretly sent Yahiya Khan, who was at that time in Delhi, to take charge of his father's government. Shahnawaz also arrived at Lahore soon after and demanded a division of the patrimony This settlement was delayed and the troops of both the brothers came to blows. In the end peace was patched up Shahnawaz Khan was paid a certain amount of cash and jewels, whereupon he withdrew to his *faujdari* in the Jullundur Doab The Wazir then begged the viceroyalty of the Panjab for himself After long hesitation and persuasion the Emperor agreed and appointed Yahiya Khan Deputy Viceroy on 3rd January, 1746.[1]

Adina Beg Khan now found himself placed politically under Yahiya Khan. Yahiya Khan had no control over Shahnawaz Khan and, in order to maintain his sway over the Jullundur Doab, which was the most fertile part of the Panjab, he treated Adina Beg Khan with great consideration Adina Beg Khan played his part so cautiously and consummately that he won the trust of Yahiya Khan, retain-

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[1] *Anand Ram*, 289 ; *Sarkar* I, 193

ing at the same time the confidence of Shahnawaz Khan, though the brothers were openly hostile to each other. He gave positive proof of his loyalty to the Lahore Viceroy by persecuting the Sikhs, when the latter's minister, Diwan Lakhpat Rai, carried on a hard campaign against them from April to June, 1746.[1]

After some time Shahnawaz Khan rose in insurrection against his brother. He came to Lahore on the 21st November, 1746, encamped near Shalamar Garden and, through Diwan Surat Singh, called upon Yahiya Khan to make a complete division of his father's property. Adina Beg Khan, Kauramal and Hashmatullah ranged themselves on the side of Shahnawaz Khan. Yahiya Khan was unwilling to pay him anything, while at the same time he avoided fighting. The discussion was prolonged and no decision was arrived at. The soldiers of both the brothers often came to blows. At last Yahiya Khan, with all his old and new chiefs, such as, Mumin Khan, Lakhpat Rai, Mir N'emat Khan, and Mir Amin Beg, came out of Lahore and a sharp engagement took place. Yahiya Khan then ended the dispute by paying Shahnawaz Khan Rs. 600,000 from his father's treasure.

Shahnawaz Khan thereupon retired towards Batala, where he seized many places belonging to Yahiya Khan and brought a number of neighbouring chiefs under his jurisdiction. This annoyed the Lahore Viceroy, who prepared for another fight. Shahnawaz, on hearing it, came to Lahore and encamped near the tomb of Hazrat Ishan. The battle began on the 17th March, 1747. Adina Beg led the attack and succeeded in forcing Mumin Khan out of his trenches. Next day Shahnawaz delivered the assault in person. Mir Mumin was defeated and captured. Yahiya's soldiers, whose salaries had been in arrears for the past four or five months since the commencement of hostilities,

[1] *Ratan Singh*, 389-90; *Gyan Singh*, 678.

flocked into the city and clamoured for the payment of their dues They were easily seduced by Shahnawaz Khan He entered Lahore quite unopposed on the 21st March, seized the property of Yahiya and took him captive. He appointed Kauramal his *Diwan* in lieu of Lakhpat Rai and confirmed Adina Beg Khan in the civil and military charge of the Jullundur Doāb [1]

The usurpation of the Panjab government could not be brooked by the Delhi court, but no drastic action was taken against Shahnawaz Khan, because the Wazir, Qamr-ud-din Khan, first wanted to secure the release of his son-in-law, Yahiya Khan who in case of the despatch of a force from Delhi might be put to death Nawab Qamr-ud-din-Khan wrote several conciliatory and then threatening letters to Shahnwaz Khan demanding the liberation of Yahiya Khan But he always received a reply that Yahiya Khan's freedom from captivity depended on his own confirmation in the viceroyalty of the Panjab under a royal rescript[2]

Yahiya Khan, however, found means four months later by the contrivance of his aunt, Dardana Begam, who was a sister of Zakariya Khan and wife of Jani Khan, to get himself conveyed in a *Khwān* a vessel three feet in length and two feet in breadth, railed in and covered with a cupola of lattice work, over which a piece of broad cloth was thrown to shelter the whole. He was safely carried out of his prison-house, through the guards to the city gate, where mounting on an excellent horse already awaiting him, he set out at a gallop and was soon out of his brother's reach. In a few days he arrived at Shahjahanabad to remove a great anxiety from his father-in-law's mind.[3]

[1] *Anand Ram*, 289-95 and 304 *Ashub*, ii, 451 2 *Tarikh i-Muzaffari*, 73a b *Khushwaqt Rai*, 76; *Ibrat Miqal*, ii, 55a; *Sohan Lal*, i, 113-4; *Ali-ud din*, 106b.

[2] *Ashub* ii, 452; *Bayān*, 161 *Ibrat Miqal*, ii, 55a,

[3] *Anand Ram* 304-5 *Bayān*, 161 *Ashub* ii, 452 3 *Siyar* iii, 12; *Tarikh-i Muzaffari*, 73b *Ibrat Miqal*, ii, 55a *Ali-ud-din*, 106b. (When Shahnawaz

Shahnawaz Khan knew that he had hopelessly broken with the Delhi Emperor by ousting his lawful nominee, but he had hoped for reconciliation so long as his elder brother was in captivity. But with his escape at the end of July this ray of hope was also gone. He, however, made one more effort. He despatched his agent to the imperial capital with the request that his misdeed be forgiven and that he should be appointed the deputy viceroy under the Wazir. The envoy reached Delhi on the 3rd September, 1747, but nothing came of this embassy.[1]

Shahnawaz now felt sure that the retribution of the Emperor and his Wazir must fall upon him. Consequently he turned his mind in all directions to secure support. At this juncture the political horizon of India was suddenly overcast with clouds. Nadir Shah was murdered on the 9th June, 1747, and his generalship passed on to Ahmad Shah Abdali, who conquered Kandahar and Kabul and became master of Afghanistan as far as Peshawar. Though it was a big kingdom, it was not sufficient for his ambition. He determined to try his luck further. With Peshawar as a suitable base, the man-power of Afghanistan behind him and no hindrance in front, India the *El Dorado* of western people, became his object.

Shahnawaz Khan was now advised by Adina Beg Khan to open communications with Ahmad Shah Abdali.[2] Con-

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Khan got angry with his aunt, she silenced him with a single sentence. "If by chance Yahiya Khan had imprisoned you, I would have secured your release also by any means in my power." *Ibrat Miqal,* ii, 55a; *Bayān,* 161.)

[1] *Anand Ram,* 300; *Sarkār,* i, 195.

[2] *Siyār,* iii, 16.

Sayyid Ghulam Husain says that "the adviser of the young Viceroy at this time was Adina Beg Khan, who was a devil under the appearance of man. He was resolved to overset his master's power and to raise his own on its ruins. He addressed him in these words: 'You are no more than a nephew to Wazir Qamr-ud-din Khan, but your elder brother, Yahiya Khan, is his son-in-law besides. He has gone to make complaints against

sequently, Shahnawaz Khan despatched his envoy to Ahmad Shah with the message, "Crown to Ahmad Shah and Wazirship to Shahnawaz."[1] He also declared himself a convert to the Shia religion and in his official seal replaced the names of the Mughal Emperors by the twelve *Imams* with a view to win the favour of the Persian soldiery of Ahmad Shah.[2]

Adina Beg Khan then probably to secure the confidence of the Delhi Government, informed the Delhi Wazir that Shahnawaz Khan was turning rebel against the authority of the Mughal Emperor and that he had invited help of Ahmad Shah Abdali. The Wazir was very much perturbed at this news, and he at once wrote to Shahnawaz Khan a conciliatory and affectionate letter saying that "their family, at all times attached to the Emperors of India, had never been defiled by the crime of ingratitude and treason. Beware of such a crime; beware of thinking that a traitor can thrive. It is a pity that a man like you should wish for the honour of obeying Ahmad Abdali, the *Yasawal*, rather than that of driving such a fellow from the frontiers of Hindustan. Would not the five provinces of Kabul, Kashmir, Thatta, Multan and Lahore fall into your hands in such a case, and would not your good uncle exert himself in supporting you with all the power of the Empire?"[3] This letter had the desired effect. The reproach for treason and the hope of a bright future touched the young man's heart. He prepared to oppose the invader, whom a little while before he had invited.

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you in the court. Rest assured that neither the Emperor nor the Wazir would leave you undisturbed in the full enjoyment of two governments. You have only one recourse of joining Ahmad Shah Abdali's party. He is a powerful and successful man and openly aspires to the Crown. He will look upon your joining him as the most unexpected favour which heaven could confer upon him.'"

[1] *Miskin*, 40; *Siyar*, iii, 17; *Ali-ud-din*, 106b.

[2] *Bayan* 160; *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i Afghanan*, 145; *Ibrat Miqal*, ii, 55a.

[3] *Siyar*, iii, 17; cf *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghanan*, 145-7.

Ahmad Shah Abdali was so much astonished at the proposal of Shahnawaz Khan of making him a present of the two provinces of Lahore and Multan, that he acknowledged the divine interposition on his undertaking. He immediately ordered the agreement to be drawn up, got it witnessed and guaranteed by the principal officers of his army and then sent it to Lahore by a person of distinction. He had no fear of the Delhi Government, because, while in attendance with Nadir Shah, he had fully observed the weakness of the Empire, the imbecility of the Emperor, the negligence of his ministers, and that spirit of independence which had crept in among the court grandees.[1]

Ahmad Shah summoned all the Afghans of the Khyber Pass to join him. He then matured a plan of invasion, left Peshawar by the middle of December, 1747, crossed the rivers by bridges of boats, his track being marked by rapine, plunder and devastation, and encamped at Shahdara near Lahore on the 8th January, 1748. He had a force of nearly 18,000 soldiers but was absolutely without artillery.[2]

He had sent his ambassador, Harun Khan Sadozai, from Peshawar to Lahore to settle the plan of campaign with Shahnawaz Khan. The Viceroy proudly asked the messenger in a careless manner, "How is brother Ahmad Khan?" Harun Khan replied, "I do not know brother Ahmad Khan, I come from the Durrani Emperor." Thereupon both exchanged hot words. The Khan's proud and haughty bearing offended the youthful viceroy, and the envoy was immediately dismissed. On hearing this Ahmad Shah was upset, but his spiritual guide, Sayyid Muhammad Sabir Shah, pressed Ahmad Shah to allow him to proceed in advance to bring Shahnawaz back to allegiance. Consequently, he left the Durrani army at Rohtas and advanced towards Lahore by rapid marches.

[1] *Siyār*, iii, 9, 17, 18.

[2] *Anand Ram*, 325; *Bayān*, 162; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 74a; *Tarikh-i-Ahmad*, 7.

Sabir Shah's fame as a magician had preceded him, and people said that he had come to Lahore in order to render the Mughal artillery powerless by his charms On hearing of this extraordinary man's arrival, Shahnawaz Khan sent Adina Beg Khan and his Diwan Kauramal to know his purpose The holy man replied "I have no business with any of you, nor do I intend you any harm. I have come only because I cannot help remembering that I was born in this city, had connections with some of its citizens, and am under obligation to some of its former rulers I cannot help feeling for them all. I may tell you that faithlessness had never proved successful, neither is it an object of approbation with God or man, nor is your sabre equal to Ahmad Shah Abdali's sabre" He was yet speaking when a voice from behind broke out in this exclamation, "Is his sabre of iron and ours of wood?" "No," was the reply, "your sabre, as well as his, is of iron, but your fortune is not equal to his. His star is now in ascension and I do not see that yours keeps pace with it.' He saw Shahnawaz Khan and tried to persuade him in soft and sweet words, saying that he himself had invited the invader and that to break his word afterwards was not proper When these words failed to have their desired effect, Sabir Shah indignantly rebuked the young Viceroy Shahnawaz was enraged, and put Sabir Shah to death by pouring molten silver into his throat.[1]

On hearing of this outrage Ahmad Shah thought no more of negotiation and on the 10th January ordered his troops to ford the river one by one They took up their position at the Shalamar Garden, four miles east of Lahore Shahnawaz also, at the head of 70,000 horse and foot, with good artillery occupied an entrenched position at the fort of Hazrat Ishan (Mianmir) and near Shah Balawal in the Parvizabad suburb These two divisions met the enemy on

[1] *Bayan*, 163-4 *Siyar* iii, 17 *Husain Shahi* 20 *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 74a; *Tarikh i-Salatin-i-Afghanan*, 146 *Ibrat Miqal*, ii, 56a; *Tarikh-i-Ahmad*, 6 *Tarikh-i-Ali*, 123.

the 11th January. A fierce contest took place, but neither side made any marked impression. Shahnawaz's notable chief, Hashmatullah Khan, lost his life on that day.

The battle raged in this manner till evening. At dusk the Indian soldiers, thinking the fighting over, began to retire to their camps in complete disorder, as was usual with them. They were attacked by the Afghans, who showered on them such sharp volleys of musket fire that they were hopelessly routed. No Indian commander came forward to rally the fleeing soldiers, except Adina Beg Khan who, finding the cause of Shahnawaz Khan hopeless, wished to retain his confidence by a determined action only for a short time. He took shelter under the walled city and continued the fight, keeping the Afghans from proceeding farther than the tomb of Hazrat Ishan. Shahnawaz Khan had guarded all the gates and streets and had sent a force under Jumla Khan,[1] an Afghan of Kasur, who, instead of fighting, immediately went over to the enemy with his whole force.

Shahnawaz Khan had asked the Emperor and the Wazir for assistance, but no reinforcements were forthcoming. Finding Lahore untenable he decamped for Delhi, leaving Lahore at dead of night the same day, with all the jewellery and gold he could carry. His example was followed by his officers and soldiers, and Lahore fell into the hands of the conqueror without any further opposition. The outer portions of the city, especially Mughalpura, were completely laid waste; but the city was spared at the request of Mir Mumin Khan, Sayyid Jamil-ud-din Khan, Mir Amin Khan, Mir Némat Khan, Lakhpat Rai, Surat Singh and others, who had now escaped from prison, on the promise of a ransom of 30 lakhs, 22 lakhs of which was paid the same day.[2]

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[1] *Zilla Khan* of *Elliot*, viii, 106 and *Jali Khan* of *Sohan Lal*, i, 123, is Jumla Khan, an Afghan chief of Kasur.

[2] *Anand Ram*, 328; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 74a; *Ali-ud-din*, 108a; *Sohan Lal*, i, 123.

Shahnawaz Khan had left the whole of his camp equipage, artillery, elephants, camels and horses, in the possession of Ahmad Shah Durrani. These contributed greatly to augment his military resources, as well as to add to his pomp and glory Abdali stayed in Lahore for a month and a quarter and compelled all the chiefs of the Panjab, including Ranjit Dev of Jammu, to render him allegiance and pay homage With a view to exercise the prerogative of royalty and following the Indian custom, he also struck his own coins in Lahore [1] Thus when he felt quite confident of meeting the imperial army on an equal footing, he left Lahore for Delhi on the 19th February leaving Jumla Khan of Kasur as his governor in the provincial capital.[2]

The flight of Shahnawaz Khan to Delhi had stirred that indolent court, and the Emperor despatched a huge army of two lakhs under Wazir Qamr-ud-din Khan to check the progress of Ahmad Shah Abdali, who continued his advance until he met the Mughal army at Manupur on 11th March, 1748 In this battle Wazir Qamr-ud-din Khan was slain; but his son, Muin-ul-Mulk, defeated Ahmad Shah's army, which fled back to Afghanistan. Adina Beg Khan, who was in close attendance on Muin-ul-Mulk, was twice wounded in this battle [3]

4 *Adina Beg Khan under Muin-ul-Mulk April, 1748 to November, 1753*

After the battle of Manupur, the imperial army rested on the Sutlej till the 12th April, when under Prince Ahmad Shah it left for Delhi, and Muin-ul-Mulk went to Lahore to

[1] For details *cf* *J A S. B.* Vol. LIV, 1885 p. 69

[2] *Tarikh-i Ahmad Shahi*, 6-7, *Anand Ram*, 325-32; *Bayan*, 164, *Zafar Namah*, 3a-4b *Siyar*, iii, 17-8, *Khazan-i-Amira*, 97, *Tarikh i-Muzaffari*, 74a; *Irshad-ul-Mustqim*, 294b *Tarikh-i-Ahmad*, 7; *Tarikh-i-Ali*, 125-6; *Tarikh-i- Salatin i-Afghanan*, 147-8, *Ibrat Miqal*, ii, 56b-57a; *Gulzar-i-Shahi*, 523-4 *Ali-ud-din*, 107b-108a *Husain Shahi*, 25.

[3] About Adina Beg *cf* *Anand Ram*, 358; *Zafar Namah*, 9b; *Sarkar*, i, 228-9

take up his new post as Viceroy of the Panjab, to which he had been appointed by the Emperor Muhammad Shah. Muin-ul-Mulk appointed Kauramal his Diwan and confirmed Adina Beg Khan in the *Faujdari* of the Jullundur Doāb. Muin found absolute anarchy prevailing in the country, for which the Sikhs were chiefly responsible. Haro Singh and Karora Singh in the Sirhind territory, Jassa Singh Ahluwalia in the Jullundur Doāb, Lajja Singh and Hari Singh in the Bari Doāb and Charat Singh in the Rachna Doāb were audaciously creating disturbances everywhere.[1]

Muin was not the man to allow such a state of affairs to exist. Having established himself in Lahore by June, 1748, he despatched punitive expeditions in pursuit of the Sikhs. The laurels which Muin had won at the battle of Manupur inspired awe in the minds of the Sikhs, who retreated before his contingents. At the same time Adina Beg Khan was given strict instructions to curb the power of the Sikhs, who had become supreme in the northern hilly portions of the Doāb. He "began as formerly to intrigue with the Sicks, and took no effectual means to suppress them."[2] He, however, led an expedition against them and in the engagement which followed both the parties lost heavily, the Sikhs alone leaving about 600 dead on the battle-field. Adina Beg Khan, in view of the superior number of the Sikh forces, had to give up the struggle. He returned to Jullundur, the seat of his government, and sought help from Muin.[3] In the meantime the rains had set in and all further operations were suspended.

After the rainy season the Sikhs again began to stir out in search of fresh adventures, and in October they decided to celebrate the Diwali festival at Hari Mandir. They bathed in the tank, said prayers at the temple, illuminated

[1] *Sohan Lal*, i, 127-8.
[2] *Browne*, ii, 16.
[3] *Sohan Lal*, i, 128; *Browne*, ii, 16; *Bakhtmal*, 67.

the whole place and made offerings to the Holy Granth All this they did, but they were not oblivious of the impending danger from the government of Muin-ul-Mulk. Accordingly five hundred of them took shelter within the fort of Ram Rauni, while the rest hid themselves in the neighbouring jungle with a view to render help to the garrison in case of an emergency

Khushwaqt Rai, the author of *Kitab-i-Tarikh-i Panjab* (folios 83-4) continues the story in the following words "Nawab Mir Mannu, on hearing this news, marched with troops to chastise them Under his orders Adina Beg Khan also joined him. Having arrived at Amritsar they laid siege to the fort of Ram Rauni, which is now known as Ramgarh. The siege continued for four months and daily skirmishes took place [1] During this period two hundred Sikhs of the garrison were killed. The rest wrote to Jassa Singh Thoka (carpenter), who was in the service of Adina Beg Khan, that he, being on the side of the Muslims, was the cause of their ruin, and if he did not come that day to their help and rescue, he would never be readmitted into the fold of their church.[2]

"Jassa Singh, in consideration of his co-religionists, deserting Adina Beg Khan entered the fort in the night.[3] It strengthened the perseverance of the besieged At this time Kauramal was the Diwan, who was a believer in the religion of Nanak Shah. Jassa Singh Thoka sent a message to the Diwan to this effect, 'The garrison can secure relief only through your efforts. If you try, three hundred lives

[1] Ratan Singh (401) says that Muin s troops were very much harassed by the night attacks of the Sikhs who came in large numbers to succour their brethren in the fort.

[2] Jassa Singh had been excommunicated from the Khalsa brotherhood for killing his daughter (*Ratan Singh*, 402; *Gyan Singh*, 637) and probably for deserting them when deputed to Adina Beg Khan.

[3] Jassa Singh headed a contingent of 100 Sikhs and 60 Hindus on this occasion. *Ratan Singh*, 402; *Gyan Singh*, 687.

can be saved.' Kauramal made a request to the Nawab, saying, 'The Sikhs always cause confusion and disorder. It will be advisable, if you settle something (جیری علوفه) for these people. They will not create disturbances afterwards, and I will be responsible for it.' Adina Beg Khan, however, dissented (apparently out of jealousy for Kauramal). Muin said, 'Whatever Kauramal does, is always to the advantage of the government.' Adina Beg Khan remarked, 'Goodness to evil-doers is doing evil to good people.' The Nawab replied, 'It is better to stitch the mouth of a dog with morsels.' He approved of Kauramal's suggestion, granted them one-fourth of the revenue of the *parganah* of Patti and came back to Lahore. Kauramal took a number of Sikhs in his pay and showed them all indulgence. Being a believer of the Guru he paid the Sikhs a fine of Rs. 5 per day for smoking."[1]

Diwan Kauramal was the most trusted and the most capable officer of Muin-ul-Mulk. The Viceroy was so pleased with his valour, diplomacy and loyalty that he appointed him Governor of Multan province after conferring upon him the title of Maharaja. Muin always sought his advice on all important matters. Adina Beg's unbounded ambition could not tolerate the existence of such a formidable personality and he was always on the look-out to ruin him. This opportunity was afforded to him during the third invasion of Ahmad Shah Durrani.

The Durrani entered the Panjab in December, 1751, and besieged Lahore for four months. Neither Abdali for want of artillery nor Muin for lack of reinforcements from Delhi could make short work of this long affair. The whole

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[1] *Cf. Ratan Singh*, 400-4 and *Gyan Singh*, 684-7. ("It is supposed," says Forster, i, 314, "that their force would then have been annihilated; had not this people found a strenuous advocate in his minister Kauramal, who was himself of the Khulasah sect and diverted Meer Munnoo from reaping the full fruits of the superiority he had gained." *Cf. Malcolm*, 91-2.)

country around Lahore within a radius of 50 miles was entirely laid waste by the Afghans with the result that "no lamp was lighted in any house for a distance of three marches and an extreme scarcity of grain prevailed in the camps of both the armies."[1] In the city of Lahore flour was sold at two seers to the rupee and in place of grass the horses were fed on old and rotten bags and chopped straw of huts even of ten years standing[2]

When starvation stared them in the face, Muin wanted to precipitate an action and accordingly he called a council of war on the 4th March, 1752. Some desired peace, whereas others were for fighting a decisive action It was pointed out by Kauramal that the Nawab's troops were mostly raw levies and were no match in the open for the hardy warriors of the north-west, that the country for miles around had been foraged and ruined and therefore Abdali's camp was also short of provisions, and that shortly afterwards hot weather would set in and Abdali's troops, finding the sun intolerable, would either return or attack them at disadvantage[3]

This was the wisest plan but Adina Beg, who was always opposed to Kauramal from policy, declared in favour of an immediate action.[4] The Viceroy, prompted by his own ardour and courage, listened to the importunities of Adina Beg Khan who was actuated by the aim of bringing ruin on Muin and Kauramal and securing his own appointment to the Viceroyalty of the Panjab Issuing from his entrenchments Muin advanced towards Abdali's camp[5] and engaged him in actions on 6th March, 1752, but was driven back with

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[1] *Miskin*, 75.

[2] *Khushwaqt Rai*, 85-6; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 85a.

[3] *Siyar* iii, 44.

[4] *Khazana-i Amira*, 98 *Farhat un-Nazirin* in *Elliot*, viii 168; *Siyar* iii, 44; *Tarikh-i Muzaffari*, 85b; *Ahwal-i-Adina Beg* 54a *Bakhtmal*, 70; *Khushwaqt Rai*, 87; *Irshad-ul-Mustqim*, 294b; *Tarikh-i Ahmad*, 8; *Tarikh-i-Salatin-Afghanan*, 154; *Shah Yusaf* 58b.

[5] *Siyar* iii, 44; *Sarkar* i, 431.

loss. Kauramal, on coming to his aid, was slain.[1] Adina Beg Khan treacherously withdrew his troops and Muin was forced to surrender.

Muin went fearlessly to Abdali's camp, attended only by three persons. Shah Wali Khan and Jahan Khan, the highest Afghan nobles, received him and presented him before Ahmad Shah Durrani. The Durrani was struck with the noble bearing, boldness of address and frankness of manners of this young man of parts, the victor of Manupur, at whose hands he had sustained a defeat in 1748. The following interesting conversation took place between them :—

DURRANI ... Why didn't you submit earlier?
MUIN ... I had then another master to serve.
DURRANI ... Why didn't that master come to your help?
MUIN ... He thought his servant could take care of himself.
DURRANI ... What would you have done if you had captured me?
MUIN ... I would have cut off your head and sent it to my master at Delhi.
DURRANI ... Now that you are at my mercy, what should I do to you?
MUIN ... If you are a shopkeeper sell me (for a ransom), if you are a butcher kill me, but if you are a king, grant me your grace and pardon.
DURRANI ... May God bless you, I pardon you![2]

[1] *Farhat-un-Nazirin* in *Elliot*, viii, 168, charges Adina Beg with shooting Kauramal from behind, while *Ahwal-i-Adina Beg Khan* accuses Bazid Khan of Kasur of this crime. *Ali-ud-din*, 111b, says that Kauramal was shot by some person at the instigation of Adina Beg Khan. All other authorities hold that Kauramal was killed by some person from amongst Muin's troops, and it seems probable that Adina Beg, if not directly, was responsible for his death in an indirect manner. Adina Beg's enmity with Kauramal is admitted by *Khazan-i-Amira*, 98; *Maasir-ul-Umara*, i, 360; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*; 85b; *Irshad-ul-Mustqim*. 294b; and *Shah Yusaf*, 58b.

[2] *Miskin*, 79; *Husain Shahi*, 32-3; *Khushwaqt Rai*, 88; *Ahwal-i-Adina Beg Khan*, 54b; *Sohan Lal*, i, 134-5; *Tarikh-i-Ahmad*, 8; *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghanan*, 154; *Ali-ud-din*, 112a-b.

Ahmad Shah embraced him, conferred upon him the title of *Farzand Khan Bahadur Rustam i Hind*, granted him a robe of honour, an aigrette for the crest and the very turban he was wearing, and installed him in the *subahdari* of the Panjab on his behalf

After the war, when matters returned to normal, reports of Sikh ravages began to pour into Lahore from all parts of the country Muin-ul-Mulk immediately despatched Sadiq Beg Khan in conjunction with Adina Beg Khan to punish the Sikhs in the Jullundur Doāb Adina Beg Khan hailed this opportunity to wash away the suspicions attached to his treachery at Lahore during the recent campaign of the Durrani.[1]

Both the commanders marched from Lahore with a strong force and entered the Jullundur Doāb in pursuit of the Sikhs. They received intelligence that the Sikhs had assembled near Makhowal probably to celebrate the Baisākhi festival.[2] The Sikhs were taken quite unawares, because they had received news of the Durrani siege of Lahore and were sure that neither Muin nor his officers would be free to turn their attention to them. They were deep in the midst of their festivities when Adina Beg Khan and Sadiq Beg Khan suddenly fell upon them and put a large number of them to the sword, while the rest were forced to escape for their life But such was their hardihood and doggedness that soon after they began to plunder again in small parties.[3] Malcolm[4] blames Adina Beg Khan for the Sikh plunders. He says "That able but artful chief considered this turbulent tribe in no other light than as the means of his personal advancement. He was careful not to

[1] *Browne* II, 17

[2] *Ibid.*, ii, 17 calls it Holi, which is apparently wrong, as it fell on the 18th February when Muin was shut up in trenches at Lahore hard pressed by the Abdali.

[3] *Browne* ii, 17

[4] Malcolm: *Sketch of the Sikhs* 92.

reduce them altogether, but, after defeating them in an action which was fought near Makhowal, he entered into a secret understanding with them, by which, though their excursions were limited, they enjoyed a security to which they had been unaccustomed, and from which they gathered strength and resources for future efforts." Adina Beg always tried and with almost uniform success to keep the confidence of the Viceroy of the Panjab, under whom he was serving. He found Muin following a ruthless policy towards the Sikhs and he kept him in humour by sending him from time to time 40 or 50 Sikh captives from the Jullundur Doāb, who were as a rule killed with wooden hammers.[1]

In the course of his travels in the Upper Bari Doāb, either upon official duty or upon hunting expeditions, Adina Beg was much attracted by the fertile district of *Riyārki*, now called Gurdaspur and in 1752 he established a town, named after him Adinanagar, at a place eight miles north of Gurdaspur, on the Hasli Canal or *Shah Nahar*.[2]

5 *Adina Beg Khan achieves the Viceroyalty of the Panjab November, 1753 to October, 1756*

Muin-ul-Mulk died suddenly, probably from the effects of poison, on the 3rd November, 1753. His death was a

[1] *Miskin*, 84.

"گاه بگاهی آدینه بیگ خان از ضلع دوآبه چهل پنجاه سکهان
را گرفته میضرستادند بدستور بضرب پنچاچو هائی میکشتند"

[2] *Ahwal-i-Adina Beg*, 61a-b. *Gurdaspur Gazetteer*, 1891, p. 26, says that it was founded in 1730 A.D. (1143 A.H.) as shown by the *Abjed* chronogram, "*Khujista Bina*." But according to the value of the letters of this chronogram we get 1121 A.H. or 1709 A.D. which is absolutely wrong.

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signal for the forces of disruption and disorder to make headway Muin had left a two-year-old son, who was now proclaimed Viceroy, but the real power lay in the hands of the masterful widow of Muin, Surayya Begam (by some called Murad Begam, known as the Mughlani Begam) a lady of remarkable address and unbounded ambition

Bhikari Khan, surnamed Roshan-ud-daulah Rustam-i-Jang a Turki general and courtier of Lahore, who was "the dearest friend and most trusted factotum of Muin," and the "centre of all affairs in the province in his time,"[1] revolted against the Begam. She, however, cleverly won over the other Turki nobles and succeeded in removing the threat of civil war But another catastrophe soon fell upon her, which cut off her hopes and left her in the lurch for some time. The Baby-Governor died early in May, 1754, displaying the same symptoms of poisoning as his father[2]

The domineering Begam now openly placed herself at the head of the Government of the Panjab and despatched her agents to Kandahar as well as to Delhi to secure approval. The new Emperor, Alamgir II, appointed Mumin Khan the Governor of the Panjab on the 25th October, 1754, but his authority was negatived by the Begam, in whose hands lay the real control of government.[3] The Mughlani Begam established herself securely in the seat of the provincial government. But she soon fell into a course of pleasure and abandoned modesty[4] Eunuchs were the only medium through whom the Mughlani Begam conducted the state affairs. The Diwan, Bakhshi and other government officials *received her orders through eunuchs who never agreed* among themselves and constantly quarrelled[5]

[1] *Siyar* iii, 51 *Sarkar* i, 439

[2] "Many people believed that Bhikari Khan poisoned the innocent (child) through eunuch Zamurrad who had access to him." *Miskin*, 97-8.

[3] *Delhi Chronicle* 115-6.

[4] *Miskin*, 99 122, 159-60, 230-1; *Ghulam Ali*, 26; *Shiv Prashad*, 33b; *Khazan-i-Amira* 98-9 (All contemporary authorities.)

[5] *Miskin*, 98.

The eunuchs' rule and the Begam's profligacy disappointed the Turkish nobles who came from the same stock in Central Asia as the Begam's father and husband and now they were resolved to defy such a degraded authority. Bhikari Khan was the first to rebel in January, 1754. He was, however, confined by her in her palace and was beaten to death in April, 1755.[1] In December, 1754, the Mughalia courtiers decided that, "as a fissure had appeared in the family honour of the late Nawab,"[2] the best course for them was to entrust Khwajah Mirza Khan with the administration of the province. Khwajah Mirza came to Lahore, confined the Begam in a house and assumed the viceroyalty of the Panjab.[3] But she cleverly managed to depute Khwajah Abdullah Khan, her mother's brother, to Ahmad Shah Abdali, whose troops restored her to authority[4] in April, 1755. In July, 1755, Khwajah Abdullah confined the Begam to her mother's house and became undisputed master of Lahore.[5]

In the face of such confusion and chaos, Adina Beg Khan became independent of both the Delhi Emperor and the Lahore Viceroy. He increased his resources and strengthened his position, with the result that he was the only man who succeeded in maintaining peace and order in the country under his charge. But he did not have smooth sailing for long, as he was soon called upon to deal with a serious menace which arose from the east—the invasion of Qutb Khan Rohilla.

Qutb Khan had with Najib-ud-daulah joined the Emperor's troops in the battle between Prince Ahmad Shah and Safdar Jang. He was not a Rohilla by caste, but as he was in the service of the Rohillas, he came to be known as a Rohilla

[1] *Ibid.*, 107.
[2] *Ibid.*, 99.
[3] *Ibid.*, 104.
[4] *Ibid.*, 106-7.
[5] *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 112.

himself. He was given the *parganahs* of Kairana, Barot, Sardhana and Kandhla by way of pay These territories were afterwards given to the Marathas by Wazir Imad-ul-Mulk. Qutb Khan felt exasperated at the loss of his *jagir*, so he made up his mind to defy the Delhi Emperor He consequently entered the Sirhind territory on the 11th March, 1755, and took to plunder and rapine He ravaged Sonipat, Panipat, Karnal, Azimabad (Taravari) and Thanesar and marched upon Sirhind after defeating an imperial force at Karnal Sadiq Beg was the Governor of the Sirhind province. His Afghan troops, finding a tribesman coming against the Governor, clamoured for pay and threatened to join the enemy Sadiq Beg had to evacuate Sirhind and fled towards Lahore

The Wazir pressed the Emperor to pursue Qutb Khan but he declined, so the Wazir himself procrastinated Ultimately he left Delhi on 13th April, 1755, and at Sonipat on 15th April he learnt that Qutb Khan had seized Sirhind Sadiq Beg now approached Adina Beg Khan the Governor of the Jullundur Doab for help

Adina Beg Khan could not tolerate the existence of such a formidable foe in his close neighbourhood and he made up his mind to try his strength with the invader Thus says the contemporary Delhi diarist "Adina Beg who had been the ruler of the place for years and whom all the zamindars of that country obeyed on account of his strictness and ability, gathered together all the zamindars and an army of the Sikhs, the followers of Nanak and thus had about 50 000 horse and nearly the same number of foot, along with cannons, light artillery (Rehkala), long firelocks (Jizails), matchlocks and rockets."[1] He marched to the *ghat* opposite Ropar On hearing this Qutb Khan with great spirit and bravery (کمال شجاعت و بسالت) left Sirhind and crossed the

[1] *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 85-6

river to oppose Adina Beg Khan. Jamal Khan of Malerkotla with his brothers and sons joined Qutb Khan at the head of a large army. An engagement between the parties took place on 11th April, 1755. Qutb Khan, Jamal Khan and other chiefs of the army lost their lives and Adina Beg Khan was victorious.

Adina Beg took over the administration of Sirhind and its dependencies and brought the country up to Shahabad, Thanesar, Ghuram, Mansurpur and Mustafabad into his possession. He then wrote to the Delhi Wazir: "The zamindars of this country are refractory and require force to keep them in order. If you intend to come here bring with you a large army and abundant war material, otherwise your coming here would be inadvisable. Leave this territory to me." The Wazir, knowing his own military impotence and poverty, gave up the idea of advancing and by the advice of Najib decided on crossing over to the eastern bank of the Jumna. This victory brought not only one more province to Adina Beg Khan, but added new lustre to his glory. The Delhi Emperor conferred upon him the coveted title of "Zafar Jang Bahadur," and all the hill chiefs, including Saif Ali Khan of Kangra, submitted to him and paid tribute.[1]

Having secured his position in two important divisions,

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[1] *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 76-88; *Delhi Chronicle*, 122. *Cf. Chahar Gulzar Shujai*, 461a; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 98b-99a; *Ahwal-i-Adina Beg Khan*, 56b-57a; *Ahmad Shah*, 880-1. The author of *Ahwal-i-Adina Beg Khan* describes an interesting incident in this connection. He says that in the engagement Adina Beg had been defeated first and his Commander-in-Chief, Aziz Beg, along with other officers had taken to flight. Adina Beg Khan was also about to flee, when his Diwan, Lala Bishamber Das, who was close by him on horseback, said: "It is a matter of regret if you run away at this time. You will lose all respect. If we die fighting in this battle, we will leave a name behind us; otherwise we will be put to shame in both the worlds." Adina Beg at once made up his mind to offer further resistance. He organised his troops and delivered a sally. A bullet hit Qutb Khan Rohilla and he died instantaneously. His troops lost heart and were routed by Adina Beg Khan, who acquired immense booty.

Jullundur and Sirhind, Adina Beg Khan turned his attention towards Lahore, where a favourable situation was arising for him. On account of his cruel deeds Khwajah Abdullah became very unpopular, his troops deserted him and people hated him. Adina Beg Khan took advantage of the unrest prevailing in the provincial capital and marched upon Lahore, drove Abdullah towards Sind, and appointed Sadiq Beg Khan his deputy to manage state affairs.[1]

The Begam conveyed news of this to Ahmad Shah Abdali at Kandahar and sought help from him. He despatched Jahan Khan with two special contingents. Sadiq Beg fled to Sirhind about December, 1755, and the Begam was restored to the *subahdari* with Khwajah Abdullah as her deputy.[2]

By this time the Sikhs had become very powerful. They harassed Adina Beg Khan, because he was not prepared to allow them to create disturbances in his territory. Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, the celebrated leader of the Dal Khalsa, "was engaged in perpetual contests with Adina Beg Khan with varying success, but in November, 1755, he gained a decided advantage at Kaddur, and compelled the Khan to cede to him Fatahabad on the Bias."[3]

The Mughlani Begam was kept under the surveillance of Abdullah at Lahore, which she resented. She resolved to regain full power through the Delhi Government, which was under the supreme control of Wazir Imad-ul-Mulk, who was betrothed to her daughter. Consequently she wrote secret letters to him repeatedly asking for help.[4]

The Wazir had received constant reports of the misgovernment of the Begam from the discontented nobility.[5] He was

[1] *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 124.
[2] *Ibid.* 151. *Tarikh-i-Ahmad*, 9.
[3] *Rajas of the Panjab*, 459.
[4] *Miskin*, 113–4.
[5] *Ali-ud-din*, 113a.

in financial difficulties, so he decided to seek at Lahore wealth[1] and a bride for himself and two provinces—Lahore and Multan—for the Empire.[2] In order to deceive Adina Beg Khan and the Durranis he pretended to go on a hunting expedition with the Imperial Prince Ali Gauhar and left Shahjahanabad on the 15th January, 1756, and reached Sirhind on the 7th February, 1756,[3] where his further progress was stopped by Adina Beg Khan, who wrote to him, to send one eunuch with two or three thousand troops, promising to add his own contingent to them and to secure him possession of Lahore.[4] The Wazir agreed to this proposal and sent Nasim Khan with nearly three thousand troops to Adina Beg.

Adina Beg Khan despatched Sadiq Beg Khan with 10,000 troops of his own and all these soldiers arrived at Lahore in a few days. From here they rode out in full glory to the Begam's residence to offer their *salaams*. Then they paid a visit of courtesy to Khwajah Abdullah Khan, brother of the Khan Bahadur. The Khwajah, in accordance with court etiquette, conferred upon Sadiq Beg Khan a *khilat*. Abdullah Khan guessed that he would be captured shortly afterwards and being frightened left the city the same night and fled away to Jammu.[5]

On the following day the Mughlani Begam triumphantly occupied her official residence and took the reins of government in her hands once more. She spent a month in preparations for the departure of her daughter, Umda Begam, and sent her with a suitable dowry in jewels and cash, accompanied by a full household of eunuchs, tents and other necessary requisites, at the head of an escort of 3,000 troops. The bride arrived at the camp of the Wazir on 4th March,

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[1] *Ghulam Ali*, 25.

[2] Khair-ud-din's *Ibrat Namah*, in *Elliot*, viii, 242.

[3] *Delhi Chronicle*, 130; *Miskin*, 114.

[4] *Miskin*, 114.

[5] *Ibid.*, 114. *Cf. Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 151.

1756 The Wazir afterwards secured the person of the Begam forcibly and took her with him to Delhi.[1]

The Wazir gave the government of Lahore and Multan to Adina Beg Khan on a tribute of thirty lakhs a year appointed Sayyid Jamil-ud-din Khan to Lahore as Adina's assistant, and afterwards returned to the imperial capital on 9th May 1756.[2]

Though provided with an inadequate force and an empty treasury Sayyid Jamil-ud-din restored order and governed Lahore well.[3] But his rule was short Khwajah Abdullah Khan went to Kandahar and brought back a strong Afghan force[4] before which the Sayyid retired from Lahore and joined Adina Beg in the Jullundur Doab.[5] The invaders captured and completely sacked the city on 4th October 1756.[6] Khwajah Abdullah Khan was appointed Governor of the Province for the Durrani but his administration was harassed by the Sikhs whose power was now growing formidable.[7]

6 *Adina Beg Khan and the Afghans November 1756 to February 1758*

The Mughlani Begam chafing under the high-handedness of Wazir Imad-ul-Mulk addressed some secret letters to

[1] *Miskin*, 114-6 and 119 *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani* 130-1; *Shakir* 79-80; *Siyar* iii, 53 *Delhi Chronicle* 131; *Sarkar* ii, 60.

[2] *Miskin*, 120-4 *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 131; *Delhi Chronicle* 131 and 132; *Khazan-i-Amira* 52 *Maasir* III 890-1 *Siyar* iii 53; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari* 98b *Ghulam Ali*, 26-7 *Shiv Prashad* 33b *Shakir* 79-80; *Ibrat Miqal*, ii, 71a b *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghanan*, 156 *Bakhtmal*, 76; *Sohan Lal*, i, 139-40; *Gulistan-i-Rahmat*, 51 *Ali-ud-din* 113a 114a; *Sarkar* ii 60-1

[3] *Cf Bakhtmal*, 76 *Khushwaqt Rai*, 90 *Sohan Lal* i, 140; *Miskin* 124

[4] *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani* 151 2.

[5] *Miskin*, 125.

[6] *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 152.

[7] *Miskin*, 126.

Ahmad Shah Abdali, inviting him t invade India, and promised to disclose to him places of hidden treasures in Delhi.[1] He was also invited by Najib-ud-daulah[2] and the Delhi Emperor.[3]

Ahmad Shah Abdali accepted these invitations, and advanced with a large army to Peshawar in November, 1756. An advance-guard, under his son, Timur Shah, and Commander-in-Chief, Jahan Khan, pursued Adina Beg Khan, who lay with his force at Jalalabad, some 25 miles south-east of Amritsar. Adina Beg accompanied by Sadiq Beg and Jamal-ud-din abandoned his camp to the Afghans and fled first to Hansi[4] and then to Khali Balwan in the Kangra Hills.[5]

The year 1757 saw the Mughlani Begam's fortunes at their zenith and at their nadir. During Abdali's campaign she had attained the invader's highest favour. Her services to him were indeed invaluable. It was she who secured him the virgin tributes from the imperial harem. She was responsible for procuring for him the hoarded treasures of all the court nobles of Delhi by telling him the exact amount of wealth in their possession. One day she presented him several trays full of gems and jewels, and thereby won his favour.[6]

He grew more kind and generous to the Begam when she accompanied him in his campaign south of Delhi and granted her Jullundur Doāb, Jammu and Kashmir as a fief. She

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[1] *Ali-ud-din*, 114b.

[2] *Nur-ud-din*, 14b.

[3] For Emperor's invitation, *cf*. Francklin's *Shah Aulam*, 4-5.

[4] *Khazan-i-Amira*, 99.

"آدینه بیگ خان چون طفل که از مکتب رم کند از لاهور
بصحرائی هانسی و حصار فرار نمود "

[5] *Cf. Forster*, i, 317.

[6] *Miskin*, 138; *Sarkār*, ii, 67.

appointed one of her relations, Khwajah Ibrahim Khan, to the Government of Kashmir, confirmed the Raja of Jammu in the administration on her behalf and invited Adina Beg Khan to take over the charge of the Jullundur Doāb[1] Miskin took the *khilat* for Adina Beg Khan, delivered it to him in the hills and stayed with him for some time

Meanwhile Adina Beg received a *farman* from Timur Shah and a letter from Jahan Khan to this effect. "Ahmad Shah Durrani had intended to go to the Deccan first, but afterwards he gave up this idea and conferred this country as far as the boundary of Sirhind on us (May, 1757). It falls upon you now to present yourself at our service In case of non-compliance with this order the whole country of the Doāb will be laid waste and you will be pursued in the hills"[2] Adina Beg Khan preferred the Begam's suzerainty to the overlordship of Timur and Jahan Khan, and sent no reply

Receiving no answer from Adina Beg Khan, Jahan Khan marched into the Doāb and gave over many towns to pillage Adina Beg Khan then informed him that he was ready to undertake the administration of the Doāb under Timur Shah provided that he was exempted from attending his court at Lahore[3] Timur Shah, sensible of his own inexperience and Adina Beg's skill in government and revenue matters, resolved to obtain his services and wrote him several civil letters. Finally he sent him the patent as well as the *khilat* of the Doāb on a definite undertaking of 36 lakhs of rupees to be remitted to him annually at Lahore, and exempted him from personally attending the Lahore

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[1] *Miskin* 140

[2] *Ibid* 145

[3] *Ibid* 165 "بایں شرط کہ بملازمت حضور نخواهد آمد ویلات خود رجوع نخواهد گشت"

court.[1] For a surety of his conduct and the punctual payment of the tribute, his agent Dilaram was kept at Lahore in constant attendance at the court.[2]

After a time a quarrel arose between Jahan Khan and Adina Beg Khan about the payment of the tribute, and Jahan Khan imprisoned Dilaram. The Mughlani Begam intervened on his behalf and contrived his escape. But she was seized and beaten[3] by Jahan Khan, whose troopers ransacked her house of all it contained and placed her in oppressive confinement.[4]

Jahan Khan then summoned Adina Beg Khan to Lahore ostensibly to seek his advice as to measures to subdue the Sikhs[5] But Adina Beg Khan flatly refused to come. When threatened with the consequences of his disobedience, "he despatched agents with presents to the Prince to secure his pardon for not attending in person."[6] Timur Shah granted pardon, but insisted upon his presence at Lahore, and, detaining his agents, again summoned him to his court. Adina Beg evaded compliance on the ground that his presence was badly required in his own territory to check the Sikhs, who were lying encamped in the neighbourhood and that his absence from his province would result in its occupation by them. The Prince sent a strong detachment of his troops to seize Adina Beg Khan. But the Khan retired with his troops to the foot-hills and secured the help of the Sikhs,[7]

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[1] *Ibid.*, 147: "لیکن ملازمت و مجرائی خان مذکور موقوف ماند"

[2] *Miskin*, 165; *Khazan-i-Amira*, 100; *Siyār*, iii, 63; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 102a; *Ahmad Shah*, 872; *Irshad-ul-Mustqim*, 295a and 317a.

[3] *Miskin*, 170.

[4] *Ibid.*, 168-71.

[5] *Ali-ud-din*, 177a, states that it was reported to Timur Shah that Adina Beg Khan possessed lakhs of rupees and the best way of securing it was to summon him to Lahore, and in case of non-compliance to attack him and dispossess him of all his riches.

Miskin, 166; *Khazan-i-Amira*, 100; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 102a-b.

[6] *Ahwal-i-Adina Beg Khan*, 55a; *cf. Irshad-ul-Mustqim*, 317a.

[7] *Siyār*, iii, 64.

taking a large number of them into his pay and granting them the right to plunder. He also won over Sadiq Beg Khan and Raja Bhup Singh, who commanded an army of 25,000 strong[1].

Murad Khan with the Afghan troops crossed the Beas and prepared to attack Adina Beg Khan. The Sikhs, intoxicated with opium and *bhang*, under the leadership of Sodhi Barbhag Singh and Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, fell upon the Afghans with indescribable fury inspiring the other troops with them. The Afghans were routed and their luggage looted.[2] Murad Khan fled in panic to Lahore. Adina Beg knew that he had now completely committed himself, so he gave the Sikhs leave to pillage the whole Doab, including the city of Jullundur.[3]

The Sikhs were quick to seize the chance, as they expected Jahan Khan at any moment to invade the Doab. After ravaging all the districts of the Doab,[4] they entered Jullundur city, the home of Nasir Ali, who was responsible for the atrocities committed on the Sikhs at Kartarpur. Here they gave loose rein to their passion of revenge,[5] indulging in the general plunder and massacre of their enemies. Children were put to the sword, women were dragged out and forcibly converted to Sikhism. Many of them carried off Muslim women of Jullundur as wives. The mosques of the town were defiled by pigs' blood. Nasir Ali's dead body was dug out of the grave and pig's flesh was thrust into his

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[1] *Ghulam Ali*, i, 55-6; *Ahmad Shah*, 871-2, *Ganesh Das* 156.

[2] *Ghulam Ali*, i, 56.

[3] *Khazan-i-Amira*, 100, *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 102a; *Siyar*, iii, 64; *Irshad-ul-Mustqim*, 295a and 317a.

"قوم سکهه تمام پرگنات دوابه خصوص جالندهر را باشارهٔ
آدینه بیگ خان بشدت تاراج نمودند"

[4] *Tarikh-i-Ibrahim Khan* in *Elliot*, viii, 266.

[5] "Jullundur town was burnt by the Sikhs in 1757." *Imperial Gazetteer*, 1908, *Panjab*, i, 421.

mouth. This was done at the orders of Sodhi Barbhag Singh.[1]

When informed of the disastrous defeat and retreat of the Afghan troops, Jahan Khan marched hurriedly from Lahore and met the vanquished army at Batala and "out of extremity of rage he ordered Murad Khan to be caned."[2]

Adina Beg Khan was not prepared for an open engagement with Jahan Khan because his own troops had been weakened by the previous battle and his allies the Sikhs had dispersed to plunder the Doāb. Moreover, he had not abandoned the last hope of reconciliation with the Prince or his guardian. He therefore retired to his old resort in the Khali Balwan hills, which were extremely difficult of access. Jahan Khan left Sarfaraz Khan in charge of the Jullundur Doāb and himself returned to Lahore.[3] But Sarfaraz Khan could not cope with the situation. The ever vigilant Sikhs were determined not to allow any rest to the Afghans and came down from the hills in all directions aggravating the chaos in the Doāb. In the course of a month the armies that had gone to the Doāb and Kashmir came back defeated, without having achieved anything. 'All order had vanished. Khwajah Mirza Khan succeeded in approaching the fastness of Adina Beg Khan, but he was won over by the refugee with the offer of his daughter in marriage. Even the environs of Lahore were not safe. Every night thousands of Sikhs used to fall upon the city and plunder the suburbs lying outside the walls, but no force was sent out to

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[1] *Ratan Singh*, 420-1; *Gyan Singh*, 727-8. *Bute Shah*, 242b-243b, gives details about the manner in which the Sayyids restored peace in Jullundur by winning over the Sikhs.

[2] *Ahmad Shah*, 872.

[3] *Miskin*, 166; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 102a; *Khushwaqt Rai*, 90; *Ali-ud-din*, 117b.

"ازیں امر فساد کلی در تمام ملک پنجاب رو داد"

"نظم و نسقے که کم و بیش بود آن هم رو بخرابی گذاشتند"

repel them and the city gates were closed one hour after nightfall. The government of the province was rendered impotent.[1] This state of anarchy continued from November, 1757 to February, 1758. A Marathi despatch says: "The Sikhs gathering together by our advice began to upset Abdali's rule; from some places they expelled his outposts. They defeated Saadat Khan Afridi, plundered all the Jullundur Doab, and forced him to flee to the hills. By order of the *Subahdar*, Khwajah Abed Khan came from Lahore with 20,000 horse and foot to fight the Sikhs. In the end he was defeated, many of his captains were slain, all his camp and baggage was plundered, all the artillery left behind by Abdali was captured."[2]

7 *Adina Beg Khan with Maratha and Sikh Help expels the Afghans, March-April, 1758*

The Maratha army under their eminent leaders Raghunath Rao, the Peshwa's brother, and Malhar Rao Holkar and many other generals of note, had come to Delhi at the request of Imad-ul-Mulk, the Delhi Wazir. They had driven Najib-ud-daulah, the Durrani plenipotentiary, out of Delhi on the 6th September, 1757, and thenceforth roamed at large in the neighbourhood of the imperial capital. They also seized on Najib's province of Saharanpur and came as far as the bank of the Jumna. This caused fear in the mind of Abdul Samad Khan, the Durrani Governor of Sirhind, the eastern boundary of whose province touched the Jumna on the other side. He prepared to meet the danger, but the Marathas refrained from crossing the Jumna.

Adina Beg was not content to remain idle in safety, but

[1] *Miskin* 166.
"هزارها مردم (سکها) هجوم آورده ازین سر تا آن سر لاهور را
زیر سم اسپ گرفتند واحدیرا نمی گذاشتند که سالم برود"
Bakhtmal, 81.

[2] *S P D.*, ii, 83; *Sarkar*, ii, 69-70.

was anxious to secure a strong ally who could reinstate him in his position and help him drive the Afghans from the Panjab. He therefore sent repeated requests to Raghunath Rao, then in Delhi, to extend the Maratha dominions as far as the Indus, pointing out the rich harvest of spoil within their easy reach and also promising on his own part to pay them one lakh of rupees for every day of marching and Rs. 50,000 for halting.[1]

The Marathas readily accepted the promise and an advanced division under Malhar Rao crossed the Jumna at the end of December and laid siege to the Afghan fort of Kunjpura. Abdul Samad Khan, the Governor of Sirhind, was busy fighting Alha Singh of Patiala, but on hearing of the close approach of the Marathas, he at once settled terms with Alha Singh, hurried to Sirhind on the 12th January, 1758, and entrenched there. Malhar Rao, however, recrossed the Jumna after exacting a tribute of five lakhs and thus gave temporary relief to Abdul Samad Khan.[2] The real Maratha invasion of the Panjab began about the end of February, 1758. Raghunath Rao, at the head of his vast Maratha forces, was at Mughal-ki-Sarai near Ambala on the 5th March, at Rajpura on the 6th, at Aluen-ki-Sarai-Banjara on the 7th, and in the neighbourhood of Sirhind on the 8th.[3]

Adina Beg Khan cleverly concealed his intrigue with the Marathas, upon whom he felt that he could not entirely rely to attack the main Durrani army. So he kept open the door for negotiation with Abdali's government. When the Marathas reached Ambala, he wrote to Prince Timur Shah

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[1] *Miskin*, 67-8 ; *Khazan-i-Amira*, 100 ; *Chahar Gulzar Shujai*, 463 ; *Husain Shahi*, 43 ; *Siyār*, iii, 64 ; *Ghulam Ali*, i, 56 ; *Ahwal-i-Adina Beg Khan*, 55b.

[2] Malhar's women came to Kurukashetar for a religious bath on the 9th January. They were attacked at Shahabad by a contingent of Abdul Samad Khan. The Marathas fought well, slew many Afghans and seized their horses. *Rajwade*, i, 85 ; *Sarkār*, i, 72.

[3] *Kaghzat-i-Bhagwant Rai* in *Karam Singh*, 295-7.

and Jahan Khan Wazir that they had come from the Deccan quite unexpectedly like a bolt from the blue and that he was joining them out of policy (زمانہ سازی) As the servant of the Durranis he was writing to them to show that he was true to his salt. They should not delay even for an hour, but should advance at once against the Marathas.[1]

A contemporary historian of Delhi has given the following account of the Maratha siege and capture of Sirhind in March, 1758 :—

"The Maratha troops beyond number (said to be two lakhs of men) from this side, and Adma Beg Khan collecting an army of the Sikhs, the worshippers of Nanak, who practised highway robbery in the province of the Panjab, from the other side of the Sutlej, came to Sirhind. Abdul Samad Khan, Abdali's Governor, finding himself unable to fight, shut himself up in the fort The Maratha army and Adma Beg Khan laid siege to the place. After a few days Abdul Samad Khan and Jangbaz Khan fled away The Marathas overtook and captured them.[2] As the Marathas and the Sikhs thought of nothing but plunder, they so thoroughly looted the inhabitants of Sirhind, high and low, that none, either male or female, had a cloth on his or her person left. They pulled down the houses and carried off the timber They dug up floors for buried treasure and seized every thing they could lay their hands on"[3]

When news of the Maratha siege of Sirhind reached Jahan Khan, he at once collected all his troops outside Lahore in order to march to the assistance of Abdul Samad Khan. Fearing intrigue by the Mughlani Begam, whom he had mercilessly beaten, he imprisoned her in Timur's palace

inside the fort and appointed four bailiffs (*Sazawal*) to guard Miskin, who was forcibly taken in his train.[1] In eight days the army reached Batala. From there Jahan Khan despatched an advanced guard (*Qarawal*) of 2,000 soldiers under Yusaf Khan, *Darogha* of Timur's *Diwan Khana*, to scout for intelligence of the enemy in the Jullundur Doāb. Miskin also was included in this force. They reconnoitred the Doāb for forty days and then, learning of the fall of Sirhind and capture of Abdul Samad Khan, they withdrew to the Beas and joined Jahan Khan who had marched from Batala to that place. The Durrani Commander-in-Chief halted there for eight days, but, being informed that the Marathas had crossed the Sutlej and were advancing through the Doāb, he ordered the camp to be raised and retreated to Lahore.[2]

Jahan Khan informed Timur Shah of the danger of their position and advised him to retire to Afghanistan. Miskin, who was an eye-witness of the events at Lahore, gives a graphic picture of its evacuation. He says that Jahan Khan decided to leave the town about 9th April and set up his camp at Shahdara across the Ravi. He first conveyed there Timur's mother and his own women and relations. The other Durrani chiefs and the troops carried their baggage and property in cart-loads by repeated trips day and night. Meanwhile news was received that the invaders had crossed the Beas and that their advance-guard under Adina Beg Khan and Manaji Paygude lay encamped five or six *kos* from Lahore. That very day at noon Timur Shah crossed the river, followed by the Wazir. Their troops set fire to the goods which they could not carry. The eunuchs then mounted the women of Timur and Jahan Khan in litters on camels and horses, and the whole Afghan camp moved towards Kabul; while Miskin quietly brought the Mughlani Begam and her maiden daughter in a covered bullock cart to Lahore and installed them into their residential quarters. The

[1] *Miskin*, 171.
[2] *Ibid.*, 171-4.

masterless city was in utter confusion and terror and marauders of the town and its neighbourhood were busy plundering the defenceless people. Miskin did something to check this lawlessness by shutting all the gates at nightfall and patrolling the streets all night.[1]

At about nine o clock, the following morning, 10th April, 1758 (Baisakhi day) 500 Maratha horse and 100 of Khwajah Mirza's Mughalia troops under Ashur Ali Khan, whom Miskin knew well, arrived at the Delhi Gate of Lahore and showed him written orders from their chiefs. Miskin at once opened the gate and entrusted the city to their care Khwajah Mirza Khan at the head of 1,000 Mughals and 10 000 Marathas arrived later The same morning Timur had retired from Shahdara leaving several thousand soldiers in the rear in charge of Mir Hazar Khan. Khwajah Mirza Khan crossed the Ravi and fell upon Mir Hazar Khan, who fled after a little fighting But with his men he was soon overtaken and captured[2]

Jahan Khan halted at Sarai Kachchi, 36 miles north-west of Lahore, but was overtaken by Khwajah Mirza and numerous Maratha and Sikh troops who had joined him on the way. They lacked siege material and Jahan Khan, taking advantage of this fact, succeeded in slipping out of the Sarai under cover of darkness[3] They soon arrived at the Chenab below Wazirabad Timur and Jahan Khan with their Durrani soldiers had hardly crossed the deep, wide, cold and swiftly running river, when the Marathas and the Sikhs came upon the scene All the Uzbak, Qizalbash and Afghan soldiers with Timur's entire camp and baggage were on this side of the river and all fell an easy prey to the hordes of the

[1] *Ibid.*, 174-7 *Cf Tarikh i-Alamgir Sani*, 312 *Ratan Singh*, 424.

[2] *Ibid.*, 177-8.

[3] It took place on the 10th April, which was the 3rd day of the new moon.

rivers were not easily fordable in the rainy season; they were isolated amidst a hostile population. As a frontier province the Panjab was also exposed to foreign attacks the brunt of which would be borne by them, if they continued to occupy it. Moreover they were failing in making war pay for war.[1] They were harassed by Sikh depredations and thus they were not sure of a steady revenue. Their presence was also required in the Deccan to attack the Nizam. In view of all these circumstances they decided to place the Panjab in charge of Adina Beg Khan, who was an experienced administrator and could handle the Sikhs. Raghunath Rao therefore conferred the title of Nawab on Adina Beg Khan and leased the province to him for 75 lakhs of rupees a year. The Marathas then retired to Delhi.[2]

Adina Beg did not wish to stay in Lahore and fixed his headquarters at Batala. He appointed Khwajah Mirza Khan, his son-in-law, to the government of Lahore, with Khwajah Said Khan, the brother of the former, as his deputy; while his old ally Sadiq Beg Khan was given the administration of Sirhind. Khwajah Mirza wished to be rid of the presence of the Mughlani Begam in Lahore, so Adina Beg took her with him to Batala.[3]

8 *Adina Beg Khan under Maratha Suzerainty*
April 1758 to September, 1758

By April, 1758, Adina Beg Khan had attained to his zenith, having brought all the Panjab from the Jumna to the Indus into subjection. He now set about the task of consolidation which was a paramount necessity at the time. He had been

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[1] The Maratha Government owed a heavy debt of 88 lakhs to their army. Cf. Sinha's *Rise of the Sikh Power*, 51.

[2] *Delhi Chronicle*, 156; *S.P.D.*, xxvii, 218; *Nur-ud-din*, 21b; *Khazana-i-Amira*, 101; *Siyar*, iii, 64; *Ahwal-i-Adina Beg Khan*, 56a; *Khushwaqt Rai*, 91; *Tarikh-i-Ahmad*, 10; *Tarikh-i-Ali*, 134; *Irshad ul Mustqim*, 295b; *Husain*, 265-6.

[3] *Miskin*, 179-80.

Bakhsh Bhatti and other zamindars in the Rechna Doāb, Raja Ghamand Chand, Nidhan Singh Randhawa, Mirza Muhammad Anwar of Qadian, the Afghans of Kasur and Daulpur in the Bari Doāb; the Afghans of Jullundur and Alāwalpur, Rai Ibrahim of Kapurthala, the Rāis of Bankala, Dasuha, Khardunbala and Phagwara and the Rajputs of Rahon in the Jullundur Doāb, were all persuaded to join him in his campaign [1]

With these forces he steadily harried the Sikhs On one occasion a strong body of Sikhs in order to overawe Adina Beg, appeared in the neighbourhood of Adinanagar He despatched Diwan Hira Mal and Guru Aqil Das of Jandiali against them. The battle, which was fiercely contested took place near Qadian. The Diwan was slain, his troops dispersed and the whole of his baggage fell into the hands of the Sikhs. Adina Beg was chagrined at this and determined to take more stringent measures against them.[2] He issued strict orders to the *lambardars*, zamindars and other chiefs to join his forces and made them take an oath that they would attack the Sikhs and drive them away and that wherever a Sikh was found he was to be immediately put to death or captured He also knew that the best hiding places of the Sikhs were the *Plas* jungles in the Manjhā, so he aimed at destroying them

That Adina Beg Khan succeeded in his design is shown by the testimony of Ahmad Shah of Batala, who wrote "All the Panjab zamindars submitted to him and started devising plans for rooting out the Sikhs. Of all the zamindars of the Panjab the Randhawas showed the greatest readiness in destroying the Sikhs. Adina Beg ordered that in no district or *parganah* should Sikhs be allowed to live, they should either be captured or killed Mirza Aziz Bakhsh was one of his most trusted nobles Adina Beg appointed him to

[1] *Ali-ud din*, 118b-119a.

[2] *Ibid.*, 119a. (Strangely enough the author says that both the Jassa Singhs fought on the side of Adina Beg Khan, which seems improbable.)

this duty at the head of several thousand horse. He also entrusted him with one[1] thousand carpenters with steel hatchets and axes for the purpose of cutting down and clearing away the jungles and forests where Sikhs used to seek shelter, so that no hiding place might exist for the people of this sect. The Sikhs were very much perturbed and relaxed their activities. Some fled away and hid themselves, but a body of them, bolder than the rest, showed the greatest gallantry and courage in going to Amritsar, quite ready to lay down their lives at the place of their Gurus. They took shelter in their mud fort near Amritsar called Ram Rauni. Nand Singh Sanghania was the leader of this body. Jassa Singh (Ramgarhia) with two of his brothers and other companions was also among the number, while Jai Singh Kanhiya and Amar Singh Kingra with their followers were likewise concealed in the fort. Mir Aziz, on hearing this, laid siege to the fort. The Sikhs, becoming desperate, fought with great bravery. Jai Singh Kanhiya and Jassa Singh made a sally and killed with matchlocks and arrows great numbers of their assailants. They then returned to the fort and shut the gates. Jai Singh, mounted on a swift and spirited mare, displayed remarkable gallantry by piercing into the midst of the enemy. Though matchlocks were aimed at him and he was attacked on all sides, yet none dared to come near him and he escaped within the fort. At last Mir Aziz succeeded one night in making a hole in the wall of the fort. The Sikhs then sallied out and many were killed or taken prisoners."[2]

The Sikhs now fled towards Malwa. This territory was in the Sirhind Division, where Sadiq Beg Khan was the Governor. No sooner had the Sikhs crossed the Sutlej than Sadiq Beg, under strict injunctions from Adina Beg Khan, engaged them in an action near the village Sanghulan. The Governor's swivels opened a heavy fire on them and created

[1] 4,000 carpenters according to *MacGregor*, i, 131.

[2] *Ahmad Shah*, 981-2; *cf. Sohan Lal*, Appendix to Vol. i, 18-9; *MacGregor*, i, 131-2.

havoc in their ranks. They were forced to flee, leaving their camp and baggage to be looted by the enemy. Hotly pursued by Sadiq's troops, they suddenly turned and, as the enemy had left their heavy guns behind, they fell an easy prey to the wrath of the Khalsa. But Sadiq Beg organized his troops who again opened fire, and the Sikhs again fled with their wounded comrades.[1]

At this time when the whole country was ruined by the constant fight with the Sikhs, the rains in July and August entirely failed and as a consequence a severe famine broke out in the Panjab "In the country of Manjha wheat was not available even at the rate of two seers to the rupee Adina Beg Khan prevented the import of grain from Malwa, in order to starve out the Sikhs. Thus grain became still dearer. This measure hit the poor extremely hard and they left their homes migrating in all directions and with the will of God the Sikhs grew stronger daily."[2]

9 *Adina Beg Khan's Death, Character and Achievements*

Fortune favoured the Sikhs. After Muin, the only capable governor of the Panjab, was Adina Beg Khan But luckily for the Sikhs, he held office only for five months. In the beginning of September he fell suddenly ill with colic and after suffering for a few days died[3] at Batala on the 15th September, 1758[4] In accordance with his will his remains were interred by the members of his family at Khanpur in the Jullundur Doab near Hoshiarpur. Adina Beg Khan

[1] *Ratan Singh* 425-7; *Gyan Singh*, 734-5, *Shamsher Khalsa*, 97

[2] *Ali-ud-din*, 119b.

[3] Immediately after the death of Adina Beg Khan the Sikhs seized various territories, the details of which are given in Appendix I.

[4] Miskin (182) present in Batala at the time of Adina Beg's death does not give the date of this event. A Marathi letter in *S P.D.*, ii, 96, dated 7th October 1758, places it on the 12th Muharram (the 15th September 1758). *Farhat un-Nazirin* in *Elliot*, viii, 169 assigns 11th Muharram (the 14th September). This does not make much difference, as Adina Beg died about midnight between 11th and 12th Muharram. *Kharan-i-Amira*

was not destined to see the autumn of life, but he was lucky even in his death, because the overwhelming forces of Ahmad Shah Abdali, which invaded India one year later and which shattered the Maratha power at the battle of Panipat, would have been first directed against him to punish him for driving Timur Shah from the Panjab.

Adina Beg Khan was bold, determined, cool, clever, prudent and quick in observation—an opportunist who in those chaotic times showed himself equal to any emergency. The greater part of his life was spent in toil, danger and anxiety, yet the ambitious spirit of this wary adventurer could not be crushed.[1] Sometimes he was cruel. The author of *Ahwal-i-Adina Beg Khan* narrates that one day during a meal he expressed a desire for jam. A servant immediately went to a grocer at Jullundur to procure it. The shopkeeper pretended not to possess it. Adina Beg Khan then handed two rupees to another person for jam to be bought from the same man. He got it and brought it to Adina Beg, who felt so much enraged that he condemned the grocer to be boiled alive, as he boiled his jam. The man was only saved by the intercession of Adina's guests.[2]

Nobody can doubt his administrative ability. He governed well at a time when anarchy and confusion were prevailing not only in the Panjab, but also in the whole of the

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101, mentions only Muharram, the name of the month. A contemporary Delhi Chronicler in *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 359, followed by *Sarkār*, ii, 77 says that his death took place on the 10th Safar (the 13th October).

The date of the last mentioned authority, however, seems to be wrong. If Adina Beg had died on the 13th October, how could the Marathi letter, dated 7th October, 1758, have stated this event? It appears probable that the news of Adina's death reached the author of *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani* on the 13th October, when the event was recorded by him in his diary. Ali-ud-din on folio 204b states that the Sikhs, out of revenge for the Khan's recent harshness to them, dug out his grave and burnt his dead body.

[1] *Ghulam Ali*, 34, 54, 56; *Husain Shahi*, i, 41.

[2] *Ahwal-i-Adina Beg Khan*, 58b-59a.

Mughal Empire.[1] His attention was mainly directed to revenue collection. He did not tolerate any default in this respect. Recalcitrance on the part of landholders was severely punished in order to teach a lesson to others. The villages of defaulters were often plundered and sometimes reduced to ashes. There was then no such thing as land settlement. The *amil*, or revenue collector, took what he could from the cultivators.

In the department of justice his procedure was no less summary. There were no rules of procedure. Muslim law was applied as a rule, though it could easily be dispensed with and the matter could be decided according to the whim of the Khan. An interesting incident illustrates his methods. One day in Jullundur city, he was passing before the house of a Qazi (Judge of Muslim Law), when he saw a quantity of ground poppy lying outside. He imposed a fine of Rs. 30 000 on the Qazi for breaking the law of the Holy Quran.[2]

In diplomacy and statesmanship he was much above the average. *He successfully held the balance between the* Delhi Emperor, Ahmad Shah Durrani, the Sikhs and the Marathas. He was always ready to intrigue with any power that appeared likely to prove useful to him. While the fortunes of other officials rose and fell with the change of government either at Delhi or Lahore, Adina Beg Khan

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[1] *Miskin*, 167

"ادینه بیگ خان فوجدار دوابه از وقت عبدالصمد خان پدر خان بهادر که بصفت عدالت موصوف بود معاملات دوابه را از قدیم بطریق استمرار بعهدهٔ تعهد بر ذمه خود میداشت و پیوسته صوبه‌دار را از حسن سلوک و نیکو خدمتی و ادای زر سال بسال از خود راضی میساخت و در تمامی ملک دوابه انچنان طرح نظم و نسق انداخته بود که احدی در عمل او باشی و مستعانی بر نمی آمد و نشانی از قطاع الطریقان در سر حد او ظاهر نمی گشت و دیگر از اوصاف فراست مهمسد او ما کما بنگارد که در امور عدالت کسی نظیر و عدیل او نبود"

[2] Ahwal-i-Adina Beg Khan, 5a.

enjoyed an almost permanent position. He played a cautious part throughout, particularly in his relations with the Lahore Viceroys. He remained obedient so long as the strong and just hand of Zakariya Khan was there. It was after his death that Adina Beg Khan began to display himself in his true colours. He owed allegiance to Yahiya Khan, but turned against him when Shahnawaz Khan invaded Lahore. Similarly, he persuaded Shahnawaz Khan to seek shelter with Ahmad Shah Durrani, and then informed the Delhi Wazir. When the Abdali invaded Lahore, Adina Beg brought about the fall of the young Governor. Having seen the weak resources of the invader with his own eyes, he readily yielded whatever support he could to the Delhi Wazir against Ahmad Shah Abdali in the battle of Manupur. He soon won the confidence of Muin-ul-Mulk, the new Viceroy of the Panjab, but played a tortuous part in the suppression of the Sikhs under his orders, and again during the third Durrani campaign. He openly showed consideration and regard to Muin's widow, the famous Mughlani Begam, but proved the chief instrument in her fall. Afterwards he outwardly submitted to Timur Shah, but privately opposed him and with the help of the Marathas and Sikhs drove him out of the Panjab.

He cleverly used gifts, arms, and favours and often employed a mixture of threat and promise, gratification and persecution, as it suited the circumstances, in order to amuse and subdue the Sikhs. He purchased their favour and service when too weak to coerce them, sought their help by conceding all their demands when he wished to regain the government; and persecuted them when he found himself well established and strong enough to do so.

A Muslim writer pays a just tribute to Adina Beg Khan in these words: "The Sikhs he amused, the Delhi Court he despised, the Afghans he bewildered, and the Marathas he effectually influenced in his favour to break the power of both the Sikhs and the Afghans and to obtain his own

independence."

Adina Beg Khan was clever also in keeping the powerful chiefs of the country under him always in good humour. Chaudhari Johri Mal of Phagwara, the hill rajas, Guru Barbhag Singh of Kartarpur, Raja Ghamand Chand Katoch, Rai Ibrahim Khan of Kapurthala and Raja Ranjit Dev were his great allies.[1]

The first thing for an able and resolute man situated like Adina Beg Khan was evidently to maintain and augment his military strength, if he wished successfully to fish in those troubled waters. He possessed a good army, which was quite sufficient to meet the needs of his own government. In cases of emergency he recruited fresh troops temporarily and often hired the services of the Sikhs. His standing army consisted of 5,000 horse, 9,000 foot, 10,000 horse and foot of levies of the hill *jagirdars*, 400 messengers, and news writers, 5,000 grass cutters and 5,000 attendants.[2]

His income when he was the governor of the Jullundur Doāb was 35 lakhs of rupees a year, excluding the gifts and tribute of the hill rajas. His expenditure was greater than his income. To overcome this difficulty he adopted a peculiar plan He divided his army into two divisions. The services of one-half were retained and of the other half were disbanded. After the expiry of six months, the first half was allowed to go home and the second half was kept on active service. In this way he managed to cut down his military expenditure by half.[3]

In spite of this device, he was sometimes faced with a deficit. Once he was in great financial difficulty. He knew that there was a rich Gosain physician in the hills under his

[1] *Ibid.*, 57b.

[2] *Ibid.*, 56b. Miskin (167), places the strength of Adina Beg's army at 10,000 horse and foot. But this number was always varying.

[3] *Ahwal-i-Adina Beg Khan*, 53a.

jurisdiction. Adina Beg Khan made a tour in that district and encamped near the village of the Gosain. He summoned him to his camp, pretended indisposition and offered him his hand to feel the pulse. The physician found the pulse beating soundly, which indicated no disease. The Gosain told him that he could have any prescription to his taste. Adina Beg informed the physician that he was suffering from inability to pay his troops, that the medicine for his illness was available in the physician's dispensary, and asked him to give it immediately. The Gosain, finding himself in confinement, offered him two dishes full of gold coins and thus secured his release.[1]

The author of *Ahwal-i-Adina Beg Khan* states that Adina Beg Khan did not marry and hence he had no issue. He further says that about the end of his life he married a beautiful lady who turned out to be of Sayyid caste. Adina Beg divorced her, though he provided her with handsome means to support.[2] This statement seems to be wrong. The contemporary author of *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani,* on p. 260, says that Adina Beg Khan married his daughter to Khwajah Mirza Khan. That Adina Beg Khan had a son is testified by a Marathi letter, which says that the Peshwa, on hearing the death of Adina Beg Khan, and in view of the anarchy prevailing in the Panjab, sent Dattaji Sindhia from Poona with a strong force to restore order and setttle the government. He reached the Sutlej early in April, 1759, and lay encamped at Machhiwara for about three weeks. Adina Beg's son paid him a visit at this place, rendered submission, and paid him some of the arrears of the tribute of his father. He also advised Dattaji Sindhia to take over the administration of the Panjab directly into Maratha hands.[3]

Another contemporary writer, the author of *Khazan-i-Amira,* on p. 101, states that on Adina Beg's death the

[1] *Ibid.*, 58a-b.
[2] *Ibid.*, 61b-62a.
[3] *S.P.D.*, ii, 100 ; *Sarkār*, ii, 78.

Marathas appointed Adina Beg's widow to the governorship of the Jullundur Doāb. Sayyid Ghulam Husain says that Adina Beg Khan left behind him a widow and a son, who fled to Delhi in October, 1759, on the occasion of Ahmad Shah Abdali's invasion.[1]

[1] *Siyar*, iii, 64; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 101b.

Chapter V

MUGHLANI BEGAM

THE VICEROY OF THE PANJAB

(Date of birth unknown — Died, 1779)

1. *Introduction*

MUGHLANI BEGAM belonged to the noblest Mughal family after Aurangzeb, which controlled the entire Mughal Empire for about thirty years, and ruled over the Panjab for about forty years. She was a lady of remarkable address and daring, and played such an important part in the politics of the Panjab from 1753 to 1757 that she was the pivot round which centred all the political affairs of the country. Her diplomacy was vigorous and effective, steady and sturdy, and she easily succeeded in achieving the object of her wishes. She possessed a powerful personality, and played a domineering role in all her dealings. If she was not implicitly obeyed, coaxed or cajoled she was terrible in her wrath. Ambitious as she was she loved power, which sometimes exceeded the bounds of propriety. Her strong sexual urge instead of proving a great asset developed into a low passion. This demoralizing pleasure resulted in the weakening of her ambition, and ultimately in the destruction of her executive ability. All this ruined not only her own honour, prestige, position and even wealth, but also that of her husband, the father-in-law and the Delhi Empire. Her story is a tale of woe which befell the Panjab and Delhi alike. Born with a silver spoon in her mouth she died a pauper, as the wife of her own household servant.

KHWAJAH ABDULLAH

KHWAJAH MAKHDUM-I-AZAM RIZVI

Khwajah Abdul Karim (1st husband)—A lady of Samarqand (name unknown)—Khwajah Ayub Khan (2nd husband)

Khwajah Abdul Rahim *alias* Abdul Samad Khan, Viceroy of the Panjab, 1713-1726

Dardana Begam—Jani Khan

Khwajah Abdullah

Abdur Razaq

Abdul Momin

Muhammad Amin Khan, Delhi Wazir, Nov 1720—Jan. 1721

Male, name unknown

Zakariya Khan—Fakhar-un-Nisa Begam Viceroy of the Panjab, 1726-1745

Sholapuri Begam—Qamr-ud-din Khan—Delhi Wazir, 1724-1748

Sahib Begam

Shah Nawaz Khan, Viceroy of the Panjab, 1747-1748

Yahiya Khan—Badr-un-Nisa Begam Viceroy of the Panjab, 1745-47

Intizam-ud-Daulah, Delhi Wazir, March, 1753—May, 1754

Mughlani Begam, Viceroy of the Panjab, 1754-1756—Muin-ul-Mulk, Viceroy of the Panjab, 1748-1753

Umda Begam—Ghazi-ud-din Imad-ul-Mulk, grandson of Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf Jah and the son of Qamr-ud-din Khan's daughter, Delhi Wazir, 1754-1761

Muhammad Amin Khan, Viceroy of the Panjab 1753-1754

[*Imad-i-Saadat*, 34a-36a; *Anand Ram*, 304-5; *Maasir-ul-Umara*, iii, 886; *Shah Yusuf*, 54b-55a; *Miftah-ul-Twarikh*, 316; *Tarikh-i-Imad-ul-Mulk*, 14.]

Mughlani Begam was the wife of the celebrated viceroy of the Panjab, Muin-ul-Mulk, (1748-53), popularly known as Mir Mannu and son of Nawab Qamr-ud-din Khan, the Prime Minister of Delhi, (1724-48). Her mother was Dardana Begam,[1] who was a sister of Khan Bahadur Zakariya Khan, Viceroy of the Panjab from 1726 to 1745, and daughter of Abdul Samad Khan, Viceroy of the Panjab from 1713 to 1726. Her father was Jani Khan, a leading noble at the Lahore Court.[2]

Her original name appears to have been Surayya Begam. In her husband's family she was given the name of Murad Begam in accordance with Indian custom. Popularly she was known as the Mughlani Begam.

2. *Death of Muin-ul-Mulk, 3rd November, 1753*

Muin-ul-Mulk, after his victory over Ahmad Shah Abdali in March, 1748, was appointed by the dying Muhammad Shah to the viceroyalty of the Panjab in view of his vigorous character which enabled him to check further inroads of the Afghan invader, and to crush the Sikhs, who had been steadily acquiring power. If Muhammad Shah had ever displayed any far-sighted statesmanship, it was in ordering Muin's appointment to the Panjab, the frontier province of the Mughal Empire, then liable to foreign peril and internal insecuriry.

During the short period of Muin's office from 1748 to 1753, Ahmad Shah led two invasions, in 1749 and 1751. On these two occasions the Mughal Viceroy fought single-handed, without receiving any assistance whatsoever from his master at Delhi. The second invasion lasted six months, and ultimately Muin was defeated. But his pleasing personality, ready wit and frankness of manners saved him his life and office. Abdali confirmed him in his post, under his own suzerainty, and retired to Afghanistan.

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[1] *Supra*, 66. [2] Consult the genealogical table given at p. 110.

He was equally successful in checking the power of the Sikhs. He maintained a continuous campaign against them, and almost brought their lawless activities to an end. However, he suddenly died on the 3rd November, 1753, in the prime of life, under rather suspicious circumstances. The eye-witness, Miskin, to whom we shall have again to refer frequently in these pages and who, at this time, was in attendance upon Muin, gives a remarkable description of his death, the revolt of the soldiery and the Begam's cleverness. He says "Nawab Sahib (Muin-ul-Mulk) stayed for some time at village Tilakpur, on the bank of the river (Ravi) eight *kos* from Lahore One day, at this place, in the month of Muharram he mounted a horse to go hunting A little while before he had sent out Khwajah Mirza Khan, with a few other Mughalia Jamadars to repress the Sikhs. On his return from hunting he halted at a certain fort[1] which had been built by him This fort was garrisoned by foot soldiers permanently stationed in it. He took his meal here at mid-day and had a siesta He got up when about three hours of the day remained (about 3 p m.) By chance his armlet of nine gems which always remained tied up on the arm broke off and the gems fell upon the floor I brought this fact to his notice. He picked up the gems himself and made them over to an official. He then attended the call of nature, washed himself and said his afternoon prayer Afterwards he put on a *vilayti* satin dress of green colour, mounted a horse and came out of the fort. Just then Khwajah Mirza presented himself before him with a few Sikh heads. He gave away prizes to the men who had cut off the heads and turned his attention towards his own troops."[2]

Muin-ul-Mulk put his horse to a gallop over an open field to join his troops which lay encamped at a short distance All of a sudden he was taken ill. The doctors tried their best to bring about his recovery, but he died a little

[1] In the village Awan, 10 miles north-east of Lahore *Ali-ud-din*, 112.
[2] *Miskin*, 87-8.

after midnight. The strange thing was that the colour of his body from face to chest had turned blue. This sad occurrence caused a heart-rending crying and bewailing in the whole army. At this time the Begam Sahiba entrusting the body of the Nawab to the custody of some reliable persons opened the doors of the treasury and kept herself busy for three days and nights in paying wages to the soldiers.[1] On the fourth day Bhikari Khan said that he would take the Nawab's corpse to Delhi, while the Begam insisted on taking it to Lahore. This led to a quarrel between them. Bhikari Khan thereupon appointed 500 of his men to guard the corpse and raised the standard of rebellion. The Begam was surprised at his conduct and she summoned all the chiefs before her. Accordingly, all the Indian *sardars* came and rendered submission to her; but the Mughalia troops had been seduced by Bhikari Khan to his side. The Begam therefore sent for Qasim Khan who was ordered to win over the Mughalia troops by any means he could. Qasim Khan said that he would bring all the captains (of the Mughalias) by promising them favours, but in his absence the corpse was to be guarded. The Begam posted me and my companions on this duty. On our arrival, Bhikari Khan's guard left the corpse and departed, and we took up our position there. Meanwhile Qasim Khan brought all the Mughals to wait upon the Begam; but Khwajah Mirza remained on the side of Bhikari Khan with 300 horsemen. The Begam then marched to Lahore (with the corpse) and entered the city."[2]

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[1] "The soldiery rose in revolt against Muhammad Amin (Muin's son) and the Mughlani Begam, clamouring for their pay which was several months in arrears, and they did not allow her even to bury the dead body of the Nawab for two days. The Begam paid the soldiers from her own treasury three lakhs of rupees, and buried her husband's corpse on the third day at Ghora Nakhas, in the building of Abdul Rahim, son-in-law of Abdul Samad Khan." *Khushwaqt Rai*, 88.

[2] *Miskin*, 89-90. *Cf. Farah Bakhsh*, 33b; *Khazan-i-Amira*, 98; *Haqiqat*, 28; *Siyār*, iii, 50; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 89a; *Khushwaqt Rai*, 88; *Ahmad Shah*, 869; *Ahwal-i-Adina Beg Khan*, 54b; *Tarikh-i-Ahmad*, 9; *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghanan*, 156; *Sarkār*, i, 437. "He (Muin) was buried near Shahid Ganj

3 *The Baby-Viceroy provided for the Panjab, January, 1754*

The news of Muin s death reached Delhi on the 12th November[1] and Emperor Ahmad Shah on the 13th November appointed his three-year-old son Mahmud Khan the Viceroy of the two provinces of Lahore and Multan. The robes of honour were conferred on the Prince in the *Diwan i Khas* and quite in the fitness of things, the three-year-old baby-warden of the north-western marches was provided with a two[2]-year-old deputy in the person of Muhammad Amin, son of late Muin-ul-Mulk, for whom a *khilat* and jewels were sent through Mir Jamil-ud-din Khan. The actual administration was, placed under the control of Mumin Khan, but the real control lay in the hands of the Begam[3]

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where the remains of his tomb may still be seen. In the reign of Sher Singh, the Sikhs in a moment of religious frenzy dismantled the building, dug out the remains of Mir Mannu and scattered them to the winds." Lahore District Gazetteer 1883-4, p. 23.

[1] The court chronicler of Delhi recorded —

"Muin always waged war with the Sikhs, the worshippers of Nanak. He was a valiant hero. His presence in Lahore the frontier on that side of the country where there was the permanent problem of expelling Ahmad Abdali, was a great satisfaction. But there is no remedy against fate that such a famous and experienced viceroy should die in that province leaving it without a chief." *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi*, 257-8

[2] *Haqiqat*, 23, states that Muin s son was only one year old.

[3] *Tarikh i-Ahmad Shahi*, 257-8. The author further remarks :—

" متعجب وقت و متعجب زمانه کسی که تاج سلطنت هندوستان
بر سر دارد و خطبه و سکه او درتمام ملک محروسه رائج است چنان
ضعف از بدکرداری امرایان ایران و توران"

"O the marvel! such weakness on the part of a sovereign who wore the crown of the realm of Hindustan and whose coins were current throughout the land!" *Cf Sarkar* i, 439

It was "a plain proof of the miserable state of affairs at Delhi, that in such difficult times children and women were thought capable of being entrusted with places of such high importance." Baron Hugel s *Travels*, 265.

guard of Khwajah Said Khan.[1]

5. Qasim Khan's Revolt, C. March, 1754

Hardly was this menace over when another hazard threatened the Mughlani Begam. The utter weakness of the Delhi Empire and the rule of a woman so emboldened the Turki generals in Lahore that each of them regarded himself capable of carving out a principality, and maintaining it with the help of his tribesmen from Central Asia, and the Sikh soldiers of the Panjab. "They felt that their own rule would be worthier and more conducive to the safety and happiness of their retainers and subjects than the anarchy which prevailed in Lahore from Mughlani Begam's follies and vices."[2]

Bhikari Khan's revolt was followed by that of Qasim Khan, a Turk, who had enlisted himself as a soldier in the service of Muin. He rose to the position of a *Jamadar* and was the first to render valuable service to the Mughlani Begam against Bhikari Khan. Consequently, he was appointed by her to the *faujdari* of Patti *parganah* in Lahore district. Qasim Khan, who was lovingly called by the Mughlani Begam as her son, was provided with some pieces of cannon, 300 *jizairchis* who were Badakhshanis just arrived in the Panjab to seek their livelihood, 100 Turki cavalry, a few thousand horse and foot and several thousand rupees in cash at the time of his appointment.[3]

Qasim Khan also secured permission from the Begam to take Tahmas Khan Miskin in his train. Qasim Khan made

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[1] *Miskin*, 91-2; *Ghulam Ali*, 26; *Siyăr*, iii, 61; *Husain Shahi*, 34; *Khazan-i-Amira*, 99; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 89a; *Khushwaqt Rai*, 89; *Tarikh-i-Ali*, 131.

Haqiqat, 28, states that on the death of Muin-ul-Mulk two parties, Mughals and Hindustanis, came into existence in Lahore. The former revolted against the authority of the Begam, while the latter supported her.

[2] *Sarkăr*, ii, 52.

[3] *Miskin*, 93; *Sarkăr*, ii, 52-3.

the first day's halt at Kot Lakhpat, two *kos* from Lahore, where Miskin joined him the next day Just at this place began the *Faujdar's* encounters with the Sikhs who had been rising to power for some time past.[1] This account is reproduced here in the words of Miskin —

"Qasim Khan left Lahore and encamped at the Garden of Lakhpat Rai, at a distance of two *kos* The following day we also joined him at the Garden He gave us a warm reception and presented to each as a mark of hospitality two gold coins to be spent at a dance in the night. By chance the same day an encounter with the Sikhs took place The people insisted very much on his taking the initiative in attacking the wretches and putting them to the sword so that they might be extirpated; but Qasim Khan did not agree In the evening we came back and entered our camps. Just then the Sikhs came fighting from behind and reached near our camps. Then they returned and we passed the night (in suspense) On the following day we marched towards Patti and encamped at a Mughal village named Damomodaran at a distance of 12 *kos* The headmen and people of the place came to pay their respects. All were captured and put under arrest; while the fort and village were plundered and the latter was besieged on the plea that the people were in league with the Sikhs. We lay encamped there for a month, and none of their women or children who had been imprisoned was set at liberty The Sikhs attacked us daily both the times (morning and evening), fought and retired.

"After a few days Qasim Khan appointed one of his brothers named Alim Beg Khan, at the head of 1,000 horse and foot to lead an attack on a village where the Sikhs had assembled The Sikhs got ready, and the fight began in which the perseverance of Alim Beg Khan gave way and he finding himself unequal to the task returned, giving up all his 300 Badakhshani foot soldiers to slaughter On learn-

[1] *Ali-ud-din*, 117a.

ing this news, Qasim Khan mounted and started for the place. I also accompanied by two horsemen followed and joined him at a distance of two *kos*. I saw that the men were coming back running (from the field) and I found my fellow tribesmen, Muhammad Aqil, etc.; who had joined the attack safe and sound. We proceeded farther. I was astonished to see that only three Sikh horsemen were driving away the whole force. I galloped after them for one *kos*. I came across a large number of men lying dead on the way. But Muhammad Aqil dragged me back after a great persistence. We reached our troops safely. The next day I gave a piece of advice to Qasim Khan ; but he did not agree and some hot words passed between us. Thereupon I came back to Lahore.

" After a few days he marched back from this place without achieving anything and having suffered from extreme hardships and difficulties. He halted on the bank of the river (Ravi), five *kos* from Lahore. I went to see him. He said, 'I have won over 8,000 Sikhs by friendly negotiations. I will soon seize Lahore, and then after enlisting more troops will take Delhi and will make myself *Padshah*.' He offered Chancellorship to a *penniless* Khwajah, the fugitive *ex-faujdar* of Saharanpur and the Imperial Paymaster Generalship to me, a lad of fifteen only. I told him that such a useless talk did not become him, and that he would repent of it in a few days. After five days he left the place and encamped outside the city (Lahore) near Shah Balawal. I again visited him. He had nothing left with him. He had uselessly distributed thousands of rupees worth of matchlocks, bows, other arms and materials and gifts to his Sikh allies, while his own troops clamoured for their pay. They besieged him and insulted him. The same day they cut off his tent ropes, dragged him to the Begam who confined him within her palace enclosure and kept him under strict guard. "[1]

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[1] *Miskin*, 94-6.

6 *Muhammad Amin Khan Dies, May, 1754*

The Begam had succeeded in removing the threat of civil war, but another catastrophe soon befell her. The baby-governor Muhammad Amin Khan died early in May, displaying the same symptoms of poisoning as his father.[1] The Begam at once proclaimed herself the head of the government of the province. She despatched her agents to Kandahar as well as to Delhi to procure her acknowledgment to the governorship Her only probable opponent to her appointment was Imad-ul-Mulk, the Delhi Wazir to whom her daughter had been betrothed by Muin Her messengers reached there at the time when Emperor Ahmad Shah was busy in his struggle with Imad-ul-Mulk, and so he could not pay any attention to the Panjab affairs. His successor Alamgir II appointed Mumin Khan the Governor of the Panjab on the 25th October, 1754, but his authority was negatived by the Begam in whose hands lay all the strings of power[2]

7 *Misgovernment of the Begam*

Mughlani Begam securely established herself in the seat of the provincial government for the time being, but those were not the times when a woman-viceroy could display much activity in controlling the affairs of administration. The reasons were that the Turkish nobles could not bear the idea of a woman's rule,[3] and, in the second palce, the whole province was in a state of utter chaos and confusion. Eunuchs were the only medium through whom Mughlani Begam conducted the state affairs, and therefore it became to all intents and purposes eunuchs' rule at

[1] This news reached Delhi on the 2nd June, 1754. *Delhi Chronicle*, 92.

[2] *Miskin*, 93-7 ; *Tarikh i-Alamgir Sani*, 111.

[3] *Maasir-ul-Umara*, i, 360. *Cf* *Miskin*, 108. Even her great ally anp maternal uncle hesitated to accept her authority

" گفتگو خواجه سرایان هرکجا شد پیش رفت
کی بر آید کام مردان زان فریق نامراد "

Lahore.[1] The *Diwan*, *Bakhshi* and other high officials first went in the morning to Mumin Khan to offer their *salaams* and then all including the Deputy proceeded to the *deorhi* (portico) of the Begam's palace, and received her orders through eunuchs. Three eunuchs—Mian Kushfaham, Mian Arjmand and Mian Mahabbat—took the lead in these discussions, and became her chief confidants in all affairs, great and small. Matters were made worse by the fact that these eunuchs seldom agreed among themselves, and constantly quarrelled.[2]

The result was that the administration fell into disorder, and disturbances raised their head everywhere. The government of the country had visibly broken up. Multan was under a separate governor of Ahmad Shah Abdali. The *Chahār Mahāl* of Gujrat, Aurangabad, Pasrur and Sialkot were ruled over by Rustam Khan directly appointed by the Durrani. The northern districts of Amritsar, Batala, Kalanaur and Pathankot were the strongholds of the Sikhs. Adina Beg Khan was supreme in the Jullundur Doab and he acknowledged no authority. The country between the Sutlej and the Jumna was under the Delhi Emperor. The only districts which owed allegiance to the Lahore Governor were situated in its close neighbourhood, and these were about to be occupied by various Mughalia captains.[3]

8. *Profligacy of the Begam*

No sooner did the Begam find herself safely installed in the office of the provincial viceroy than she began to betray

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[1] *Miskin*, 93.

[2] *Ibid.*, 98. "Owing to the widow regent's simplicity each officer represented affairs to her in a different way. Eunuchs and slaves ruled the State. The peasants were in more ruinous condition than before. The administration fell into disorder and decay and the number of Sikhs increased in consequence." *Siyār*, iii, 51; *Sarkār*, i, 440.

[3] *Khushwaqt Rai*, 89.

the commonest of human frailties. The Begam became notorious for loose character In this conduct she was probably led by the shameless examples of the highest dignitaries in the Delhi court as well as by her own highly developed sex nature. The talk of her clandestine love affair with Ghazi Beg Khan Bakhshi was on the lips of every body, big and small, in Lahore[1] Her name was connected with the young lad Miskin, our valuable informant, by an aunt of Ghazi ud-din Imad-ul-Mulk, the Delhi Wazir, who intended to kill the page, but Miskin escaped through the Begam's assistance[2] It was not a false charge because the Begam really loved Miskin and tried her best to seduce him, by offering temptations of costly gifts, and keeping him in her bed-chamber during whole nights, the full story of which is described by Miskin himself in the pages of his manuscript.[3] Some other contemporary writers also testify to this fact.[4]

9 *Revolt of Khwajah Mirza Khan, C December, 1754*

The courtiers of Lahore were not going to tolerate the loose morals of a woman so highly placed in life Fresh revolts broke out against the Begam's authority

Khawajah Mirza Khan, an Uzbak chief, had possessed complete confidence of his late master Muin-ul-Mulk and was often given independent charge of expeditions against the Sikhs. He commanded a personal contingent of 300[5]

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[1] *Miskin*, 99

[2] *Ibid.*, 122.

[3] *Cf Ibid.*, 99 122, 159-60, 230-1.

"بعضی شب تا علی‌الصباح هم از حضور بیگم صاحبه رهائی نمے
شد بلکه اکثر بعضے سخنها که عقل هرگز قبول نکند بر زبان
مے آوردند"

[4] *Ghulam Ali* of Lahore, 26; *Shiv Prashad*, 39b, *Khazan i-Amira*, 98-9.

[5] Five or six thousand fresh Turki troops had joined him from his homeland under one of his brothers Khwajah Qazi. *Miskin*, 105.

Uzbaks besides many others. On Muin's death he had joined the party of Bhikari Khan, but was soon enticed by the imperious Begam who had conferred upon him the *faujdari* of Eminabad with the title of *Khan*. Here the Khwajah asserted his personality, crushed all opposition, " chastized the Sikhs in several engagements," [1] and established peace and order in his territory.

The captive Bhikari Khan entered into communication with Khwajah Muhammad Said Khan, the brother of Khwajah Mirza, and decided that " as a fissure had appeared in the family honour of the late Nawab, "[2] the best course for them was to call Khwajah Mirza Khan to take over charge of the administration of the province.

Consequently he came to Lahore, won over the Begam's soldiers already corrupted by Khwajah Said, confined her in another house and emptied her palace of all cash, jewels, ornaments, clothes and other things with the result that " there was not a piece of furniture or any other article in the house which was not plundered. "[3] On the following morning the *Purbia* (Oudh) foot soldiers, about seven or eight thousand in number, attacked the Mirza's troops, but they were repulsed after some struggle. The Mughlani Begam was removed from her official residence and confined in her mother's house.[4] Khwajah Mirza utterly failed in effectively controlling the administration, in securing sufficient revenues, and in checking the forces of disruption

[1] *Ibid.*, 102.

[2] *Ibid.*, 99. " (در نور نواب مغفور رخنه پدید آمد) "

[3] *Ibid.*, 103.

Khwajah Mirza brought the Begam to her palace and appointed his own soldiers at the gate. " At that time I (Miskin), and Muhammad Aqil dressed in a coat of arms went to the portico of the Begam and conveyed an oral message through a eunuch that Khwajah Mirza and Bhikari Khan were sitting together, and if they were ordered they would kill both of them instantly with one stroke. " But they were forbidden to carry out such a plan.

[4] *Ibid.*

among his fellow tribesmen,[1] and consequently the local chiefs and rebels became quite independent in their own sphere of activity.[2] He, however, took effective measures in punishing the Sikhs. His brother Khwajah Qazi with his 6,000 troops was despatched after them and defeated them.[3]

10 *Bhikari Khan is put to Death, April, 1755*

The Mughlani Begam finding herself ousted from authority and a captive burned with rage against Khwajah Mirza and Bhikari Khan, the real instruments of her ruin. She cleverly managed to depute her ambassador to the court of Kandahar. Khwajah Abdullah Khan, her mother's brother and the younger son of the former Viceroy Abdul Samad Khan and the younger brother of the late Nawab Zakariya Khan, went to Ahmad Shah Abdali's court, complained against the Mughalia nobles who had been responsible for all the misrule, tumult and disorder, in the Panjab since Muin's death and obtained an order on Aman Khan, brother of Jahan Khan the Durrani Governor of Peshawar, to march to Lahore at the head of 10,000 troops and restore the Begam to authority. Khwajah Mirza was easily overpowered and imprisoned with most of his nobles. Lahore was given over to plunder and was thoroughly sacked.[4] The Begam

[1] *Ibid*, 104. "Khwajah Mirza Khan declared himself Nawab (*Subahdar*), put a studded aigrette on his head and granted titles of *Khan* and *khilats* to his comrades, the Mughal captains. Ashur Ali Khan and even Bhikari Khan came to offer *salaams* to Khawjah Mirza after eight days. The other Mughalia *sardars*, such as Bala Bash Khan, Farman Beg Khan, Ibrahim Quli Khan, Ismail Khan and Haji Khan Jar and others, who had been his equals in rank and position, and quite independent of each other caring nothing for any body also came to pay their respects, and produced all the documents before him for orders and signature. After a few days their mutual jealousy and enmity began to reappear. In spite of their repeated promises of friendship and unity at dinners and entertainments of dancing girls they soon gave way to disagreement."

[2] *Cf Sarkar*, ii, 56.

[3] *Miskin*, (present in these campaigns), 105.

[4] *Ibid.*, 107. About forty lakhs of rupees were obtained in this way. *Khushwaqt Rai*, 89.

was installed on the *gaddi* and Khwajah Abdullah was appointed her deputy.

Bhikari Khan was made over to the Mughlani Begam. He was bound hand and foot and was produced before the Begam. Under her orders he was severely beaten with shoes and cudgels and the eunuchs striking him blow after blow cried out, "The blood of the two (Muin and Amin) is on you. This is your due recompense for it."[1] When he was about to faint, he was wounded in two places with a dagger by the Begam personally. At last he expired[2] under the operation and his corpse was thrown outside the city into a ditch.[3]

11. Khwajah Abdullah ousts the Begam, C. July, 1755

Aman Khan had carried away the turbulent Mughalia nobles including Khwajah Mirza to Kandahar. Khwajah Abdullah finding no rival in Lahore, employed 15 to 20 thousand horse and foot and assumed an independent attitude. The Begam could not be thwarted so easily and she seduced Abdullah's soldiery on promise of rewards and higher pay. Abdullah, however, with the help of Mir Mumin and the Durrani agent Hadi Khan, succeeded in confining the Begam to her mother's house and thus became the undisputed master of Lahore. He badly needed funds to keep

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[1] *Miskin*, 107.

[2] James Browne in his *History of the Origin and Progress of the Sicks* on p. 18 writes :—

"In the year of the Hegira 1165, Moin-ul-Mullock died, and his widow appointed one Beckery Khan, to manage the government of her deceased husband, as Naib (or deputy) on her part; but having detected him in a design to seize on her person, and usurp the government himself, she caused him to be strangled."

[3] *Miskin*, 106-8; *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 112; *Khazan-i-Amira*, 99; *Haqiqat*, 28; *Siyār*, ii, 51; *Ghulam Ali*, (Bhikari Khan's son and the author of *Shah Alam Namah*), 26; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 89a; *Khushwaqt Rai*, 89; *Tarikh-i-Ahmad*, 9; *Tarikh-i-Ali*, 131; *Sohan Lal*, i, 139; *Ali-ud-din*, 113a; *Sarkār*, ii, 56-7.

his soldiery satisfied. The treasury did not bring him much and therefore he resorted to tyranny and oppression of all sorts in exacting money from the people. "Closing the gates of the city, he plundered much from the inhabitants of Lahore both Hindus and Muslims, on the plea of their having been associates of Bhikari Khan, and slew many people. Vast numbers were ruined. Gram and other stuffs became very dear."[1]

12. *Adina Beg Khan Captures Lahore, C. September, 1755*

In the meantime Adina Beg Khan, the Governor of the Jullundur Doab, had firmly established himself in that territory, and owed allegiance neither to Lahore Government under which he was politically placed, nor to the Delhi sovereign. He had recently (April, 1755) defeated Qutb Khan Rohilla who had revolted against the Delhi Emperor and had seized upon the Sirhind province, and thus Adina Beg had become the supreme master of the country situated between the Beas and the Jumna.[2]

Lahore also offered a favourable opportunity and Adina Beg was not the man to let it slip. The provincial capital was in the throes of revolution. Khwajah Abdullah's rule was hated by all. So Adina Beg led his army against Lahore. Khwajah Abdullah fled away to Sind without offering any resistance. Adina Beg captured the capital, appointed Sadiq Beg Khan his deputy, and himself returned to Jullundur.[3]

13. *Mughlani Begam is made Captive by the Delhi Wazir March, 1756*

Mughlani Begam could not bear the loss of her political

[1] *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 112. *Miskin*, 109-10. *Khazan-i-Amira*, 99. *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 89a. *Sohan Lal*, i, 139-40. *Sarkar*, ii, 57-8.

[2] For details see *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 76-88. *Delhi Chronicle*, 122; *Chahar Gulzar Shujai*, 461a; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 98b-99a; *Ahwal-i-Adina Beg Khan*, 56b-57a.

[3] *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 124.

power. She was very resourceful. Feeling the need for immediate assistance she turned her attention to the all-powerful Delhi Wazir Imad-ul-Mulk, who had been betrothed to her daughter in Muin's lifetime. She wrote to him: "Aḥmad Shah Durrani helped me when oppressed from Kandahar. I have again fallen into misfortune. Please come and help me. Otherwise at least send a force in any way you can, and summon my daughter who is betrothed to you."[1]

Imad-ul-Mulk welcomed this opportunity of having an occasion to interfere in the Panjab affairs and settle matters in his own way. He knew that the Begam was mismanaging the affairs. She was also known for having fallen into evil course of life.[2] The Wazir was facing financial breakdown, and badly needed money which he thought might be procurable in Lahore. He also wanted to regain the lost province for the empire. Although he did not care much for the Begam's daughter, as he was already married to the greatest beauty of the day, Ganna Begam;[3] but he had no objection to make a little addition in his harem without

[1] *Miskin*, 113-4.

[2] "سرداران مغلیه از لاهور گریخته می آمدند شکایت تعدی و بےاعتدالی بیگم در جناب نواب وزیر اعظم غازی‌الدین خان بهادر زاد اقباله' می نمودند و عرض دادند که ناموس مغلیه برباد میدهد و خواهد که نسبت دختر خود به پسر احمد شاه درانی کند"

Haqiqat, 28-9.

[3] Ganna Begam was the daughter of Ali Quli Khan, a *seven-hazāri* noble in the court of Alamgir II. Ganna's unrivalled beauty, poetical talents and artistic accomplishments had made her famous in this country. Her hand was sought by the greatest grandees, Shuja-ud-daulah, the Nawab Wazir of Oudh, Imad-ul-Mulk, the grand Wazir of Delhi, and Raja Jawahir Singh of Bharatpur, all tried to secure her. She was persuaded, however, to marry Imad. This unhappy choice ruined her life. She fell under the wrath of the Mughlani Begam, whose daughter had been betrothed to Imad. Ahmad Shah Abdali in 1757 handed over Ganna to Mughlani Begam, who reduced her to a maid-servant. *Cf. Sarkār*, ii, 108-9.

taking upon himself the conjugal responsibilities.[1]

The Wazir did not like to rouse alarm, and pretending to go on a hunting expedition in the jungles of Hansi and Hissar left Delhi on the 15th January, 1756 in the company of Prince Ali Gauhar with a force of ten thousand. On the 7th February, 1756, he reached Sirhind where his further progress was stopped by Adina Beg Khan who wrote to him "Please stay at Sirhind. Send to me a eunuch with two or three thousand troops I will add my own contingent to them, and will secure you possession of Lahore easily by a stratagem. There is also a large army in Lahore. If you go there, it may cause tumult and a rising."[2]

Accordingly, Imad-ul-Mulk sent the eunuch Nasim Khan at the head of a few thousand troops, and himself stayed at Machhiwara[3] on the bank of the Sutlej "Adina Beg Khan despatched Sadiq Beg Khan with 10,000 troops of his own to help the Wazir, and all these soldiers combined arrived at Lahore in a few days. They were housed at Shah Ganj. From here they rode out in full splendour and pomp to the Begam's residence to offer their *salaams* On returning they paid a visit of courtesy to Khwajah Abdullah Khan The Khwajah, in accordance with the court etiquette, conferred upon him (Sadiq Beg Khan, the leader of the expedition) a *khilat* and afterwards came to the troops. Nawab Abdullah Khan guessed that in a day or two he would be captured and being frightened left the city the same night and fled away to Jammu hills."[4]

On the following day the Mughlani Begam triumphantly

[1] *Ghulam Ali*, 25; *Ali-ud-din*, 113a; Khair-ud-din's *Ibrat Namah* in *Elliot*, viii, 240.

[2] *Miskin*, 114; *Delhi Chronicle*, 130, *Khazana-i-Amira*, 52; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 98b; *Maasir-ul-Umara*, iii, 890.

[3] Machhiwara is a town situated on the route from Ludhiana to Ropar 22 miles east of the former place.

[4] *Miskin*, 114; *cf* *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 151.

occupied her official residence and took the reins in her hands once more. The Wazir's letter was delivered to her in which he had requested the Begam to send him her daughter. The Begam was pleased with the request. She took nearly a month in making preparations for the departure of her daughter Umda Begam, "the pearl of unrivalled beauty and accomplishments,"[1] and sent her with a suitable dowry in jewels and cash accompanied by a full household of eunuchs, tents and other necessary requisites at the head of an escort of 3,000 troops. The bride arrived at the camp of the Wazir on the 4th March, 1756.[2]

The next step of the Wazir was to despatch Sayyid Jamil-ud-din Khan, Nisar Muhammad Khan Sher-i-Jang, Hakim Ibadullah Khan and Khwajah Saadat Yab Khan to Adina Beg in order to fetch the Begam also to his camp. The Wazir did not like that she being a Muslim woman should do the work of man. Moreover, she was the wife of his mother's brother[3] besides being his prospective mother-in-law and he was of opinion that the loss of her character was due to her unbridled freedom at Lahore. Above all he coveted her wealth.[4]

These officers, strengthened by Adina's troops, covered the distance of 120 miles in one day and night, hardly stopping to take breath and reached Lahore at daybreak, when the Mughlani Begam was fast asleep, unsuspicious of what lay in store for her. They sent eunuchs to wake her and putting her in a palankeen they carried her to their camp outside Lahore and confiscated all her treasure and property. She reached the Wazir's camp on the 28th March, 1756. The Wazir came to receive her. Hurt by the treatment she had received, she let loose her tongue and in a loud voice

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1 *Sohan Lal*, i, 140.

2 *Miskin*, 114-6 and 119; *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 130-1; *Shakir*, 79-80; *Siyār*, iii, 53; *Delhi Chronicle*, 131; *Sarkār*, ii, 60.

3 *Tarikh-i-Imad-ul-Mulk*, 14.

4 *Ghulam Ali*, 25.

reviled and abused the Wazir, saying, "This conduct of yours will bring distress upon the realm, destruction to Delhi and disgrace to the nobles and the state. Ahmad Shah Durrani will soon avenge this disgraceful act and punish you."[1] The Wazir gave the government of Lahore and Multan to Adina Beg Khan on a tribute of thirty lakhs a year, appointed Sayyid Jamil-ud-din Khan to Lahore as Adina's assistant and afterwards he returned to the imperial capital on the 9th May, 1756.[2]

14 Khwajah Abdullah Installed in Lahore, 4th October, 1756

Sayyid Jamil-ud-din was assigned 5,000 troops by Adina Beg Khan on paper, but the actual muster was much lower. The Sayyid though circumscribed by such a small contingent and an empty treasure tried his best to establish peace and order in the country[3] "He sought to lower the unfairly enhanced price of gram by publicly flogging the headman of the market."[4] He was a man of courage and spirit. "Once or twice I saw with my own eyes," says Miskin, "that he went on a hunting expedition towards village Sharaqpur where ten or fifteen thousand Sikhs appeared and fell on him. He commanded only about one thousand horse and foot. With this small number he stuck fast to his ground and repelled the Sikhs."[5]

His rule, however, was short-lived. Khwajah Abdullah Khan went from Jammu to Kandahar and came back with a strong force of Abdali troops under Jangbaz Khan who also

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[1] *Khair ud-din*, 42.

[2] *Miskin*, 120-4 *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 131; *Delhi Chronicle* 131-2 *Khazan-i-Amira*, 52, *Maasir-ul-Umara*, iii, 89-91, *Siyar*, iii, 53, *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 98b; *Ghulam Ali*, 26-7, *Shiv Prashad*, 33b; *Shakir*, 79-80, *Ibrat Miqal*, ii, 71a-b; *Tarikh-i-Salatin i-Afghanan*, 156; *Bakhtmal*, 76, *Sohan Lal*, i, 139-40 *Gulistan-i-Rahmat*, 51; *Ali-ud-din*, 113a-114a; *Sarkar*, ii, 60-1.

[3] *Cf* *Bakhtmal*, 76, *Khushwaqt Rai*, 90; *Sohan Lal*, i, 140.

[4] *Sarkar*, ii, 61.

[5] *Miskin*, 124.

brought with him Khwajah Mirza and other Mughalia *Jamadars* retained as captives in the Durrani court.[1] "Adina Beg Khan, *faujdar* of the Doāb had entered into an agreement with Sayyid Jamil-ud-din Khan that in case of an emergency he would supply him with 10 or 15 thousand troops and their pay. At the time of the approach of Durrani troops the Sayyid sought help from the Khan who replied that in view of the large Durrani army it was advisable for him to retire to the Doāb where both of them would act with mutual consultation. The Nawab followed his advice and left the place. I, Miskin, also left all my goods and property in Lahore and taking women only accompanied him."[2]

All the citizens of Lahore fled away with or without porters in company with Jamil and a great calamity (عجیب حادثہ) befell the city.[3] The invaders entered Lahore on the 4th October, 1756. Khwajah Abdullah Khan was given charge of the province with Khwajah Mirza as his assistant. The city was thoroughly plundered and laid waste by the Afghans.[4] But the new chiefs were not allowed to enjoy undisturbed possession of the Lahore province. They were constantly harassed by the Sikhs, and regular expeditions were sent after them under the leadership of Khwajah Mirza. When Miskin returned from Jullundur to Lahore to take his goods and property he found Khwajah Mirza out on one of such expeditions to Eminabad.[5]

15. *Ahmad Shah Durrani is Invited to Invade India*

Constant reports of the utter wretchedness of the Delhi government were reaching Ahmad Shah Durrani and from many high authorities such as Emperor Alamgir II and Najib-

[1] *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 151-2.
[2] *Miskin*, 125.
[3] *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 152.
[4] *Sarkār*, ii, 63.
[5] *Miskin*, 126.

ud-daulah he received invitations to invade India. The Mughlani Begam who had been ousted from her authority in the Panjab by the Delhi Wazir wrote to him "I am ruined by the treachery of Mir Mumin Khan, Adina Beg Khan and Sayyid Jamil-ud-din Khan. Goods and cash worth crores of rupees lie buried to my knowledge in the palace of my late father-in-law (Wazir Qamr-ud-din Khan), besides heaps of gold and silver stored inside the ceiling Complete disagreement exists among the Emperor Alamgir II, his wazirs and nobles. If you invade India this time, the Indian Empire with all its riches of crores will fall into your hands without any trouble [1]

Ahmad Shah Abdali readily embraced the occasion that promised him such evident advantages. He sent his envoy, Qalandar Beg Khan, in advance to the court of Delhi demanding satisfaction against the Wazir's conduct in encroaching upon his province of Lahore This envoy was granted audience on the 31st October and the 23rd November, and he ultimately left Delhi on the 9th December without achieving anything [2]

The Abdali King left Kandahar early in autumn and arrived at Peshawar early in November From here he despatched his advance-guard ahead of him under his son Timur Shah and his commander-in-chief Jahan Khan. The vanguard crossed the Indus at Attock, halted at Hasan Abdal and collected provisions for the main army in the city of Gujrat. These troops marched in pursuit of Adina Beg Khan and plundered the districts of Eminabad, and Batala (13th December) Adina Beg Khan lay encamped at Jalalabad about 50 miles south-east. He fled away with his family, Sadiq Beg and Jamil-ud din across the Beas to Nur Mahal, abandoning his camp and baggage to be plundered by the Abdali troops. Adina thence retired to Sodhra and Tihara

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[1] *Ali-ud-din*, 114b; *Haqiqat*, 30.

[2] *Delhi Chronicle*, 135; *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 152.

taking refuge in the waterless tract of Hansi and Hissar. Jahan Khan reached the Jullundur Doāb without any opposition and occupied the country up to the Sutlej. "From Lahore to Sirhind not a village was left tenanted ; all men, high and low, having fled away in all directions."[1]

Adina Beg Khan did not find himself towards Hissar side quite safe from the Durrani danger. After some time he escaped to the Kangra Hills and took shelter in a hill called Khali Balwan, about 70 miles north-west of Hoshiarpur.[2]

16. *Begam's Doings during the Abdali's Invasion, January-April, 1757*

In the course of all his previous incursions the Durrani had experienced active opposition from the Panjab *Subahdar* and the efforts of the Delhi court in checking his advance. On this occasion, however, the empire had gone to such rack and ruin that no one tried to impede his march and not a single soldier came forward to oppose him till he easily found himself in the imperial capital where everybody lay at his mercy. "The Wazir, who wielded the empire without a sharer in his power, took no step to meet the danger ; he refused to go to Sarhind to oppose the invasion, but consulted *darvishes* how to overcome the enemy through their prayers without fighting."[3] The only measure that he took was to send Mughlani Begam from Delhi to meet the Durrani and pacify his anger.[4] She started at the head

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[1] *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 161-2, 165, 170. *Cf. Khazan-i-Amira*, 52 ; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 100b-101a ; *Khair-ud-din*, 42 ; *Siyār*, iii, 53 ; *Ahwal-i-Adina Beg Khan*, 54b ; *Gulistan-i-Rahmat*, 51-2 ; *Khushwaqat Rai*, 90 ; *Tarikh-i-Ahmad*, 9 ; *Tarikh-i-Ali*, 131-2 ; *Ibrat Miqal*, ii, 72a ; *Irshad-ul-Mustqim*, 295a ; *Sarkar*, ii, 63-4.

[2] *Cf. Forster*, i, 317.

[3] *Sarkār*, ii, 86.

[4] Waqa-i-Shah Alam Sani on p. 136, records this event thus :—
"دو شنبه ۱۸ ربیع‌الاول بوقت نیم شب [10th January, 1757]
بیگم زوجه معین‌الملک برائے سوال جواب مصالحت نزد ابدالی رخصت
شده بادشاهزاده عالی گوهر و وزیر الممالک برای رخصت بیگم زوجه
مذکور تا کتڑه ماعلدار خان رفتند"

of about 400 horse including Miskin and joined the invader at Karnal. The Durrani pursued his onward march taking the Begam with him.[1]

Agha Ali Raza Khan had been sent on the 20th December as an envoy to Abdali with gifts worth two lakhs of rupees to dissuade him from coming to Delhi.[2] He returned on the 14th January, 1757 "with the doleful message that the Afghan invader had demanded two crores of rupees in cash, the hand of the Emperor's daughter, and all the territory from Sarhind westwards, as the condition of his going back, and that he had severely censured the Delhi Government for provoking his invasion when they could not fight, but were bent on making terms'[3]

Najib joined the invader at Narela on the 16th January and Imad presented himself in the Abdali camp on the 19th. The Abdali granted him audience on the 20th and severely reprimanded him asking, "how the first officer of the empire of Hindustan could make an abject submission without striking even one blow to save the nations s credit."[4] Afterwards he was taken in the Shah's train as a captive.

Abdali entered Delhi on the 28th January, 1757 From that day his troops commenced plundering and sacking the city mercilessly The Durrani entered upon a systematic torture and exaction. The houses of all high nobles were dug up and their women stripped of everything The Mughlani Begam rendered the Abdali the greatest service by informing him of what worth each noble was and by disclosing the nature of beauty of the virgins of the imperial palace.[5]

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[1] *Miskin*, 131-7 cf. *Khair-ud-din*, 42.

[2] *Tarikh i-Alamgir Sani*, 161. [3] *Sarkar* ii, 88-9

[4] *Ibid.*, 93. For details of this interview see *Indian Antiquary* 1907 p. 45.

[5] "معلانی بیگم زوجه معین الملک احوال هرکسی را بسردار جهان خان اظهار نموده خانه های مردم را تاراج میکنانید علی الخصوص خانمان اعتماد الدوله قمرالدین خان مرحوم خسر خود را

Afterwards Ahmad Shah ordered that from every house in the city rich and poor alike without any exception a regular levy should be charged. The whole city was divided into wards and Afghan troops were posted everywhere. Torture of all kinds was applied and a large number of men died under the operation, many having poisoned and drowned themselves. Beating and slaying of men and women remained the order of the day in Delhi for a month (4th February to 5th March). The Abdali king married his son Timur Shah to Zohra Begam, the daughter of Emperor Alamgir II, and sent him back to the Panjab with all the booty thus collected to convey it to Afghanistan. He himself forcibly took into wedlock Hazrat Begam, a 16-year-old daughter of late Muhammad Shah.[1]

On the 20th February, Mughlani Begam presented Ahmad Shah Abdali with costly jewels placed in several trays as her personal offering. The Afghan king was greatly delighted, and at once exclaimned : " Hitherto I had styled you my daughter, but from to-day I shall call you my son and give you the title of *Sultan Mirza.*" He immediately conferred upon her his own tiara (*kulah*) with its ornaments of gold and jewels (*jigha*), cloak (*pairhan*) and aigrette, and other vestments that he was then wearing.[2]

Finding the Durrani so pleased with her, she requested him to restore his favour to Imad-ul-Mulk, and to reinstate him in the office of the Wazir. The Abdali replied, " I can appoint him the chief minister, but I understand that he has not yet married your daughter." The Begam told him that the ceremony was going to be performed that night. Ahmad

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بالکل از قسم نقود وجواهر در سرکار شاهی ضبط کنانید و شوله پوری
بیگم زوجهٔ قمرالدین خان مرحوم را که خوشدامن او بود قیدنموده
به تکلیف تمام زر و جواهر بمعرض وصول آورده بخزانهٔ شاهی رسانید
و رو بروئی سردار جهان خان خانان نشسته عرض احوال سکنهٔ شهر
می نمود " *Husain Shahi*, 37.

[1] *Sarkār*, ii, 101-2.

[2] *Miskin*, 138.

Shah ordered Shah Vali Khan and Jahan Khan to make preparations for the occasion, and in the night (20-21 February) married Imad to Umda Begam in his own presence. He gave as gift two lakhs of rupees, two elephants, four horses and bestowed the title of *Farzand Khan* on Imad He handed over Ganna Begam, Imad's first wife, to Mughlani Begam to be treated as a bondmaid, while other women in his harem were divorced by Imad at Abdali's bidding. Imad was then installed in the office of the Wazir.[1]

On the 22nd February Ahmad Shah left for Mathura and Agra to carry campaign in the territory of Raja Surajmal Jat, and Mughlani Begam along with Miskin accompanied him. In the course of this campaign, the Abdali grew more kind to her and granted her the Jullundur Doāb, Jammu, and Kashmir as a fief She sent her agents to these places, appointed Khwajah Ibrahim Khan to the governorship of Kashmir, confirmed Raja Ranjit Dev in the possession of Jammu, and invited Adina Beg Khan to administer the Jullundur Doāb as her deputy[2]

17 *Begam's Appointment in the Panjab Cancelled*

Mughlani Begam, however, soon came to know that a hoax had been played upon her, and that the whole country west of the Jumna had been placed under the charge of Abdali's son Timur Shah.

She had deputed Miskin to take a *khilat* for Adina Beg Khan who lay concealed in the Kangra hills. He arrived at Hajipur (30 miles north of Hoshiarpur); but Adina's camp was still 40 miles (25 *kos*) further in a hill called Khali Balwan.[3] Miskin presented the robes of honour and stayed with him for some time.[4]

[1] *Delhi Chronicle*, 110-1, *Miskin*, 139, *Indian Antiquary* 1907, pp. 46-9
[2] *Miskin*, 139-40.
[3] The same name is referred to by *Khushwaqt Rai*, p. 90, but this place could not be traced in any map.
[4] *Miskin*, 143.

Meanwhile Adina Beg received an order from Timur Shah and a letter from Jahan Khan asking him to come to Lahore immediately and to take up the administration of the Jullundur Doāb. Adina Beg Khan was in a predicament. He preferred the Begam's suzerainty to the overlordship of Timur and Jahan Khan. He consulted Miskin who advised him to postpone replying to the Prince till he received a definite communication from the Begam. Miskin was selected to undertake this duty and he started for Kandahar where the Begam was believed to have gone in the invader's train. He left the place, arrived at Adinanagar in three days and the next day by boat crossed the Ravi which flowed eight *kos* from there. At the ford he came across an old acquaintance who informed him that the Begam had returned from Abdali's camp, was at Sialkot a few days before and must have arrived at Lahore by then. Miskin reached Lahore in four days.[1]

There he came to know that the Abdali had cancelled the grant of *jagir* to the Begam. He had, however, offered her an annual allowance of Rs. 30,000 with residence in Lahore. She refused this and insisted on the *Jagir* already given to her. The Durrani said, "Now that your brother Timur Shah is the viceroy there what will you do with the provinces?" He asked Shah Vali Khan and Jahan Khan to persuade her, but she would not agree and accompanied him up to the bank of the Jhelum, imploring him in vain to fulfil his promise. Disappointed she returned to Lahore and lived in Serai Hakim which had only two rooms, the rest being in ruins.[2]

18. *The Begam is maltreated by Jahan Khan*

Receiving no answer from Adina Beg Khan, Jahan Khan marched into the Doāb and gave over many towns and cities to plunder and pillage.[3] Adina Beg Khan agreed to under-

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[1] *Miskin* 145-6. [2] *Ibid.*, 147-8. [3] *Ibid.*, 145.

take the administration of the Doab under Timur Shah provided that he was exempted from attending his court in Lahore[1] Timur Shah agreed to it, and sent him the patent as well as the *khilat* of the Doab for an annual tribute of 36 lakhs of rupees and exempted him from personal attendance at his court.[2] For surety of Adina Beg's conduct and the punctual payment of the tribute his agent Dilaram was kept in Lahore in constant attendance at the court.[3]

After a couple of months a dispute arose between Jahan Khan and Adina Beg Khan about the payment of the tribute It seems that Jahan Khan was bent upon finding an excuse to call Adina Beg to Lahore Adina Beg had been in office as the Afghan deputy only for two months when Jahan Khan started making demands for the tribute Adina Beg naturally insisted on paying it after the expiry of the year or at the earliest at the end of the harvest. Jahan Khan sent some bailiffs demanding Adina Beg's immediate presence in Lahore. The latter mistrusted the Afghan general and flatly refused to come. He despatched some agents[4] to secure for him the pardon for not attending in person. Timur Shah announced his pardon, but insisted upon his presence.[5]

Jahan Khan at once imprisoned his agent Dilaram and demanded six lakhs of rupees as the tribute for two months. The Mughlani Begam tried to secure the agent's liberty and ultimately succeeded in her object by standing surety for the payment of the revenues. She also wrote to Adina Beg Khan for immediate remittance and on receiving no reply from

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[1] *Ibid.* 165.   [2] *Ibid.* 147

[3] *Ibid.*, 165 *Khazan-i-Amira*, 100; *Siyar* iii, 63 *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 102a *Ahmad Shah*, 872; *Irshad-ul Mustqim*, 295a and 317a.

[4] Shahab Khan of Paguwala (Phagwara?), Chaudhari Sahib Khan of Noshahra, Dharm Das Niranjaniya, Chaudhari of Jodhanagri, and Rai Ibrahim of Kapurthala. *Ahwal-i-Adina Beg Khan*, 55a. *Cf Irshad-ul Mustqim*, 317a.

[5] *Ali-ud-din*, 117a.

him sent him some of her own jewels to be pawned to procure money. About this time Dilaram who was daily oppressed by the Afghan general also came to the Begam, saying, "They will kill me; I shall do whatever you advise me." The Begam took pity on him and asked him to flee from Lahore the same night, to get the money from Adina Beg without delay and to return immediately. Jahan Khan was furiously enraged on learning about Dilaram's escape, and sent for the Begam in his own house. Taking up a rod, he caught the Begam and laid on vigorously. She was not spared till she offered him her own jewels worth six lakhs of rupees. Two hundred troopers besieged her house and took away everything they could lay their hands on including Miskin's property and clothes. She was confined in a small room and unspeakable oppression was done to her.[1]

[1] *Miskin*, 168-71.

" جهان خان اندرون خانه رفته بیگم صاحبه را همانجا دید
بدست خود چوب کشید و بسیار زد بیگم لاچار عرض کرد که مارا
تنبیه نسازند شش لک روپیه را جواهر میدهم چنانچه وقت
نماز شام دو صد پیاده معه دو خواجه سرائی همراه شده در حویلی
آوردند و تمام مردم بیگم صاحبه از هراس جان گریخته رفتند مگر
من مسکین تنها سواری فرود آورده داخل حویلی نمود بیگم صاحبه
آن زمان حالتیکه گذشته بود بمن ظاهر ساخته فرمودند که توهم
گریخته برو والا ترا ازجان خواهند کشت لیکن من از خدمت اوشان
جدا نشدم و گفتم که هرگاه بر همچو شما خداوند من این چنین
حالت رسیده باشد پس ما شما را باین حال گذاشته رفتن هرگز
عقل صلاح ندهد القصه سه چهار خواجه سرا که همراه آمده بودند
سواری را فرو آورده در یک کوٹھڑی انداختند و آن دو صد پیاده
برسم چوکی اندرون نشستند دو روز همین ماجرا جور و ستم که بگفت
در نیاید ماند آخرالامر هرچه در سرکار الیشان از قسم زر و زیور
و دیگر اشیاء بود همه را گرفتند بلکه جیغه و سر پیچ معه کلگی و
کارد کار طلا و ساز نقره اسپ و چند قباهای کمخواب که بمن
عنایت شده بود همه را آورده حواله کردم باری چوکی برخاست "

19 *The Begam Stays at Batala, June to September, 1758*

Jahan Khan marched into the Jullundur Doab, drove away Adina Beg Khan into mountains and seized his territory Adina Beg was not to be cowed down so easily He soon won over Marathas and Sikhs, and with their assistance expelled the Afghans from Lahore on the 9th April, 1758. On the approach of the Marathas Jahan Khan transferred his camp to Shahdara on the opposite bank of the Ravi, taking Mughlani Begam and her maiden daughter with him. When the Maratha and Sikh forces reached Lahore, Miskin quietly managed to bring the Begam and her daughter back to Lahore in a covered bullock cart (رتھ) and admitted them into their residential quarters (حویلی) [1]

After the withdrawal of the Afghans the Marathas appointed Adina Beg Khan, Viceroy of the Panjab for an annual tribute of 75 lakhs of rupees. Adina Beg did not like to stay in Lahore, and preferred to set up his headquarters at Batala. He left his son-in-law Khwajah Mirza Khan in charge of the provincial capital. Khwajah Mirza felt afraid of Mughlani Begam's intrigues,[2] and requested Adina Beg Khan to take her with him. Adina Beg Khan accordingly provided the Begam with a few thousand rupees and about 200 bullock carts and she moved to Batala.[3]

20 *Adina Beg's Good Treatment of the Begam*

At Batala Adina Beg Khan fixed for the Begam a grant of two thousand rupees per mensem and an allowance of fifty rupees per day for the kitchen expenses. She was offered a large mansion worthy of her position for residence. All the jewellery which the Begam had sent to Adina Beg Khan to be pawned in order to pay money to Jahan Khan

[1] *Ibid.*, 176.
[2] *Ibid.*, 179
[3] *Ibid.*, 180.

was returned to her.[1] The Begam left her maiden daughter and the whole male and female establishment in that mansion, and herself (خود جریده) lived in Adina Beg's camp. Adina Beg treated all the servants of the Begam with courtesy and consideration. He gave to each of them a horse from his own stable and paid them well and punctually.[2]

21. *The Begam is annoyed at Miskin*

Adina Beg's liberal grant of money and other favours brought prosperity to the Begam and her household servants. They were all happy; but all of a sudden Miskin fell a victim to the wrath of the Begam. Miskin was at this time a handsome and robust young man of eighteen, and the Begam, of loose character as she was, could not resist his bewitching youth. Miskin, on the other hand, as he frequently mentions, considered himself only a loyal servant of the family, and would not yield to the Begam's temptations. He says: "One day unfortunately an unbecoming event, the mention of which is beyond propriety and wisdom, took place. The Begam got terribly angry with me, imprisoned me, and even wanted to kill me. But as I was destined to enjoy the spectacle of this world a little longer, God took care of me and kept me safe. In the meantime the cause of my sufferings became known to all. Even Adina Beg Khan sent a word to the Begam pointing out the unfairness and unwisdom of the ill-treatment of a loyal and devoted servant. The Begam's wrath was calmed after fifteen days, and she grew kind to me again."[3]

The Begam spent a peaceful and good time at Batala;

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[1] The Begam paid to Miskin Rs. 400 to get jewels worn in the turban, and a plume which had been seized from him by Jahan Khan's men at Lahore. Miskin bought these ornaments and wore them on the day of *Id* festival which fell on the 8th June, 1758. *Miskin*, 181.

[2] *Ibid.*, 180-1.

[3] *Ibid.*, 181.

but her happiness was not going to last very long Early in September of the same year Adina Beg Khan was taken ill with colic, and after having enjoyed the Maratha viceroyalty of the Panjab for nearly five months, he died there on the 15th September, 1758[1]

22 *Mughlani Begam settles at Jammu, October, 1758*

One of the redeeming features of this period of constant upheaval and chaos was the peace that prevailed in the city of Jammu, the capital of Raja Ranjit Dev, a ruler noted for justice and impartiality In those days the centres of population had shifted from the plains of the Panjab to the submontane region for reasons of safety and security Ranjit Dev encouraged people of all sorts to settle in Jammu from every part of the Panjab He granted special concessions and allowances to the courtiers and nobles of Delhi and Lahore fallen under misfortune He offered full religious liberty also to the Muslims, and extended to them various favours.[2]

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[1] *Ibid.*, 182 *S P.D* ii, 96 *Farhat-un-Nazirin* in *Elliot*, viii, 169; *Khazan-i-Amira*, 101.

[2] *Buta Shah*, 34b-35b *Ali-ud-din*, 51a. George Forster who visited Jammu in 1783 remarks —

"Rumeid Deve, the father of the present chief of Jumbo, who deservedly acquired the character of a just and wise ruler, largely contributed to the wealth and importance of Jumbo. Perceiving the benefits which would arise from the residence of Mahometan merchants, he held out to them many encouragements, and observed towards them a disinterested and an honourable conduct. Negative virtues only are expected from an Asiatic people and under such a sanction *his subjects* might deem themselves fortunate but the chief of Jumbo went farther than the forbearance of injuries he avowedly protected and indulged his people, particularly the Mahometans, to whom he allotted a certain quarter of the town, which was thence denominated Moghulpour and that no reserve might appear in his treatment of them, a mosque was erected in the new colony a liberality of disposition the more conspicuous, and conferring the greater honour on his memory as it is the only instance of the like toleration in this part of India, and as the Kashmirians, who chiefly composed his Mahometan subjects, have been

On the death of Adina Beg Khan the Begam was at a loss what to do, and eventually decided to settle at Jammu. When she reached near the town, Raja Ranjit Dev came out to a distance of five miles to receive her. On seeing her he alighted from his horse, paid respects to the Begam, and offered her a suitable dwelling place and some allowance and lands by way of maintenance. The Begam took from Miskin the three jewels of the turban, and conferred these along with a robe of honour on the Raja.[1]

23. *Life at Jammu, 1758-1759*

Ranjit Dev offered a house to the Mughlani Begam for the time being near the residence of Udho Minister. This place was not suitable to the dignity of the Begam; but no other building better than this was available at that time. The Raja ordered Mukarma *Kotwal* to build a new house for her, and so the Begam was satisfied. The new place was not much better than the old one, and the Begam did not like it. However she granted a robe of honour to the *Kotwal* to show her approval with a view to avoid any future difficulty which might be created by him in case of disapproval. The Raja visited the Begam twice a week to pay his respects. After a few days he offered to the Begam an allowance of Rs. 1,000 per mensem. The Begam, in view of her past glory, did not like the idea of living on the dole of the Raja, and declined to accept the offer.

Many courtiers, officials and bankers of Lahore were living in Jammu, all of whom waited on the Begam and each received a *doshala* and a robe of honour. In this way the Begam distributed nearly 150 *doshalas*. Besides she was

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since their conversion, rigorous persecutors of the Hindoos. He was so desirous also of acquiring their confidence and esteem that when he had been riding through their quarter during the time of prayer he never failed to stop his horse until the priest had concluded his ritual exclamations." *Journey*, i, 283-4.

[1] *Miskin*, 182.

maintaining an establishment of about two hundred persons in her service, all well paid and handsomely rewarded. Furthermore, giving away of gifts very frequently was a part of her nature She continued this practice in spite of her limited financial resources. The result was that in the course of a year and a half she spent all the ready money in her possession. Then she pawned her jewellery for Rs 30,000, and this sum also was soon used up "Nothing was left with the Begam now and she had to face the difficulty of finding money for her daily needs, until starvation stared her in the face."

Miskin had been given Rs. 400 for the three jewels of the turban which the Begam had conferred upon Raja Ranjit Dev Besides, each male servant was granted a precious pearl. Finding the Begam financially in peril, Miskin collected all the pearls, his own money, including a nose-ring which the Begam had given to Miskin s wife, and presented all these to the Begam The Begam declined to accept, but Miskin handed them over to the food manager to buy articles of diet and other necessary things.[1]

24 The Begam is Invited to Take the Governorship of Kashmir

Just at this time an agent of Sukh Jiwan, the Governor of Kashmir, visited the Begam. The Begam's presence in Jammu had alarmed him greatly His suspicion was that the Begam intended to oust him from the governorship with the assistance of Ahmad Shah Durrani of whom he had become independent. Sukh Jiwan made offers of presents and a tribute if the Begam stayed in Jammu and did not proceed to Kashmir The agent found that the Begam had no intention of approaching to Kashmir, and so wrote to Sukh Jiwan not to send any money and gifts.

Four days afterwards Hasan Manda an agent of the

[1] *Ibid.* 183-4.

courtiers of Kashmir, rivals of Sukh Jiwan, waited upon the Begam, offered a *nazar* of one gold coin, and requested the Begam to march upon Kashmir and to seize the government of the province from Sukh Jiwan. He also stated that his masters had collected a force of twelve thousand men and had been fighting with Sukh Jiwan for the past two months. But they could not pool their resources for want of a leader. The people were ready to accept her as their ruler, particularly in view of the fact that on an earlier occasion she had been granted the governorship of Kashmir by Ahmad Shah Durrani. Miskin tried his utmost to prevail upon the Begam to accept the overtures of Hasan Manda; but she preferred submission of Sukh Jiwan who had promised her an annual tribute. Hasan Manda returned to Kashmir, and the Begam waited in vain for Sukh Jiwan's presents.

In the meantime Hasan Manda regularly sent petitions to the Begam and ultimately requested her that if she was not willing to undertake the expedition personally, she should despatch an agent with the Durrani's certificate of the governorship of Kashmir. He stated that the agent should be accompanied by five hundred horse, and he promised to gain the province for her. This time the Begam decided to try her chance. She offered the post of her plenipotentiary in Kashmir to Ghazi Beg Khan *alias* Aqil Beg Khan who had served as her paymaster (Bakhshi) in Lahore. He, however, declined to accept the office. She then selected Abu Tarab Khan Kashmiri, but his appointment was not approved of by Hasan Manda who explained that the fact of his being a Kashmiri was a disqualification as he would not command full respect and co-operation from all the chiefs. The position was thereupon offered to Miskin whose selection was liked by Hasan Manda. Miskin's comrades suspected treachery on the part of the Begam; but Miskin satisfied them on this score. The next problem was to secure the service of 500 men. There was no money or jewels available. Miskin therefore

sold some rugs and carpets and procured Rs. 2,000 He set up his camp outside the city for recruitment, and there he was joined by Hasan Manda [1]

25 *The Begam is duped by a Priest*

In this camp Miskin recruited nearly 400 troopers in a day and remained busy from early morning till midnight in recording the descriptive rolls of all these men. When all had retired to rest except Miskin and Darab Beg, the Begam, disguised as a man with a turban and a cloak on, appeared in his camp Miskin rose and saluted her and enquired what had brought her there at dead of night in that strange appearance She said that a *Mulla* (a Muslim preacher) had promised to procure her a buried treasure of Rs. 30,000 She gave him out of the sum of Rs 2,000 which Miskin had secured from the sale of rugs and carpets, Rs. 500 for scents etc., another Rs. 500 for a piebald horse to be sacrificed on the place of the treasure, and the remaining Rs. 1,000 as an advance from the promised reward to him. This hour of the night was selected by the *Mulla* for the sacrifice of the horse, and she came there to take Miskin with her to that place She told him that spade-workers and torch-bearers were waiting outside On hearing this Miskin heaved a deep sigh of grief and realized that all of his plans of going to Kashmir had been shattered to pieces. He sent Faizullah Beg to find out if the *Mulla* had sacrificed the horse in that ruined place. Faizullah Beg stated that he found no living creature in that house He was again sent with Darab Beg, but they returned disappointed. A messenger was despatched to the *Mulla's* house The neighbours informed him that the *Mulla* had rented the house for ten days, and that the same evening he had left along with other members of his family The Begam was very much grieved. She returned to her residence, and abused, maltreated and

[1] *Ibid.*, 184-7

beat all those men and maid-servants who had approved of that scheme.

The Begam ordered Miskin to procure another two thousand rupees and undertake the expedition. Miskin respectfully expressed his inability. The Begam flew into a rage and openly abused Miskin. On seeing this the recruits and soldiers fled away ; but Miskin alone with four horses of his own stayed in the camp waiting for further orders of the Begam. Meanwhile one horse was stolen by thieves and two were forcibly taken possession of by his friends. Thus only one horse was left with Miskin. Several of his servants also ran away, only two stood by him. He stayed in this camp for forty days ; but the Begam did not restore her favour to him. His comrades-in-arms were forcing Miskin to lead them to the Begam to demand their arrears of pay, after which they wanted to seek service somewhere else. Miskin, however, did not agree.[1]

26. *The Begam and Miskin have a Narrow Escape*

Miskin's companions bitterly complained to him of their hardships which they were facing for non-payment of their salaries. Out of them two—Afrasiyab Beg and Baroz Beg—threatened to kill the Begam. Miskin dissuaded them as best as he could ; but they persisted in their resolution. When they left Miskin, he sent Darab Beg after them to prevent them from executing their design.

Afrasiyab Beg and Baroz Beg made straight for the Begam's house. They seized her, threw her on the ground and drew out their swords to kill her. The Begam finding herself in the jaws of death used her wits. She suppressed her anger and displeasure and said that they were justified in maltreating her. She told them that she had still plenty of jewellery, and she was ready to pay them immediately.

[1] *Ibid.*, 187-90.

They let her go She instantly repaired to the top of the house and cried aloud for assistance against the murderers. The people at once entered her house and arrested both the culprits including other servants. The Begam blamed Miskin also and immediately sent for him. On seeing Miskin she loudly abused him. Mukarma, the *Kotwal* of the city, also arrived. He assured the Begam that he would serve them right. Saying this he caught Miskin by the arm and took him out in the street. There he summoned all the Turki servants in the service of the Begam. He told them that the Begam was a bad woman, and they must not worry He returned to the Begam and stated to her that all of her servants were bent upon mischief, but he would set them right in a day or two The *Kotwal* afterwards went home, and from there sent a man to Miskin asking for a necklace of pearls as the price of his settling the dispute. Miskin assured the man that he was penniless. The following day Miskin and Afrasiyab Beg were summoned to the *Kotwal's* house, where both of them were bound hand and foot and hung down by ropes into a well to the surface of water Afterwards Muqim Beg and Husain Beg were also imprisoned similarly in the same well. Miskin's hands were tightly secured on the back. In that condition the *Kotwal* repeated his demand for a necklace, otherwise threatened to drown them. The Begam sent men in their search, and on tracing them in the well they reported it to her She at once ordered for their release. Afrasiyab and Baroz Beg were dismissed from service, while others were set free.[1]

27 *Miskin escorts Begam's daughter to Delhi*
September, 1759

Miskin knew that the Begam had ruined her life, and as a faithful servant of the family he keenly felt for the Begam's young daughter whose career was at stake owing to her mother's bad company About that time Khwajah

[1] *Ibid.*, 190-3.

Said Khan, an ex-official of Lahore, came to Jammu. Miskin waited upon him, and in view of the Begam's pecuniary embarrassments induced him to help the Begam in as much as to convey her maiden daughter to Delhi to her elder sister, suggesting that by doing so Nawab Ghazi-ud-din Khan, the Begam's son-in-law, would be pleased with him. He took the Khwajah to the Begam, and prevailed upon her to send her daughter to Delhi. About three hundred rupees were required for the hire of carriages and carts etc., and this sum was provided by Said Khan. The Begam appointed Miskin to this task, and made preparations for the departure of her daughter.[1] Miskin hired fifteen carriages, and with many maid-servants escorted the young lady to Delhi. It took them one month on the way.[2]

28. *The Begam receives the grant of Sialkot District C. April, 1760*

Miskin was still in Delhi, when the news of Ahmad Shah Abdali's fresh invasion reached there. Shortly afterwards the Begam also reached the capital. Miskin waited upon her. She secured an elephant to ride on, several tents and carpets, and loading all these goods on camels she joined the camp of the Durrani King on the banks of Lake Nawab Qamr-ud-din Khan. Ahmad Shah on learning that she was reduced to poverty granted her the revenues of Sialkot *parganah* amounting to Rs. 30,000 per annum. The Begam returned to Delhi, and appointed Abu Tarab Khan her agent at Sialkot. The district of Sialkot formed a part of *Chahar Mahal* ruled over by Rustam Khan who refused to hand over the Sialkot district to Abu Tarab.

[1] Miskin narrates an interesting event. One of Begam's maid-servants who was in love with Mahabbat eunuch, an ex-servant of the Begam and then living in Delhi, disappeared from the Begam's house. The Begam suspected her servants, and beat them so severely, that one maid-servant died under the operation. The Begam blamed Miskin also. This woman was, however, recovered later from Jammu. *Ibid.*, 195-6.

[2] *Ibid.*, 194-6.

The Begam thereupon appointed Miskin to the charge of Sialkot district, and gave him a certificate under her seal and signatures. Miskin experienced no difficulty in taking charge of the district. As it was the harvest time, Miskin set himself to the task of collecting half-yearly revenues and soon managed to realize Rs. 15,000, which he transmitted to the Begam.[1]

29 *The Sikhs capture Miskin, C. October, 1760*

By this time Ahmad Shah Durrani had called to his assistance most of his officers and troops from the Panjab, and Sikhs became supreme everywhere. The next instalment of revenue was to be collected in October at the end of the summer crops, but the Sikh and Hindu cultivators were averse to its payment. They rose against the Muslim officers and captured and later ransomed Rustam Khan, the Governor of *Chahar Mahal* and Miskin.

The incident is so interesting that it will not be out of place to give translation of a part of Miskin's narrative in order to present a view of the lawlessness that prevailed in the Panjab at that time:—

"Meanwhile the Governor of *Chahar Mahal* with 150 horse and foot came out of the city (Sialkot) to fight the Sikhs. On hearing this, in a short while, I also galloped off and joined him at a distance of two *kos*. I enquired where he was going. He replied that there was a village six *kos* off as the crow flies where 50 Sikhs were fighting (with the villagers). The *zamindars* had informed him and so he was bound for that place in order to punish them. I accompanied him. When we covered six *kos* (we saw that) the village was invested by nearly 4,000 Sikhs. On seeing us from a distance they left the village and rushed towards us. There was a fort in ruins

[1] *Ibid.*, 206-18.

near by. All of us took shelter in it. The fight commenced. They committed violence on the village from afternoon till midnight......

"We spent the night with the greatest anxiety and irresolution. When the day dawned I saw that Sikhs and *zamindars* were running in crowds to fight us, and our men were driven back every moment. They very loudly shouted, 'Hand over Rustam Khan, Governor of *Chahar Mahal* to us!' We showered bullets on them for about an hour and a half and afterwards our supply of ammunition ran short. The Sikhs grew bolder and came just below the fort. In this state of helplessness we threw on them from the top of the fort clods of earth, pieces of stone, broken earthen vessels, and pieces of wood, in short, on whatever we could lay our hands. We kept them back with bravery and courage till noon, and did not allow them to approach us. At last the Sikhs climbed up the tower and began to break the walls.

"At this Rustam Khan, I and six other men, tied pieces of cloth round our waists and brandishing swords came out of the door. By chance my foot slipped near the gate, and I fell down. The Sikhs at once captured me on the spot, and a few paces ahead Rustam Khan was also arrested. One of our companions named Alahvardi Beg was slain. By that time the number of Sikhs and *zamindars* had swelled to 20,000. They brought us to the village where they were originally fighting. At nightfall they demanded one lakh of rupees from me (by way of ransom). The discussion was prolonged till midnight, and ultimately the bargain was struck at Rs. 6,000. It was settled that I should go to my village the next day, give them an order on (some banker of) Jammu, and on receiving the money they would leave me safely in Jammu.

"Consequently, early next morning two or three Sikhs started for my place. About 100 other Sikhs were also going in that direction. They took me on horseback for two or

three *kos*, and afterwards they forced me to walk. When I had gone seven *kos*, my feet began to ache, and I felt exhausted. Then I caught sight of Pasrur city from a distance of two or three *kos* At that time the Sikh on my horse invoked the name of his *Guru* and said, 'O *Guru*! whosoever utters your name in the morning, is never disappointed in any undertaking' On hearing this prayer I fell weeping. I also remembered God and said, 'O most high protector! I am your humble creature. Help me now and liberate me from the hands of the Sikhs.' I was uttering this prayer when my gaze lighted on a towering fort on the way The *zamindar* of that place fell upon the Sikhs with 40 or 50 armed soldiers (*barqandaz*), defeated them, and carried off all their plundered goods and baggage He also brought us in his fort. At the time of the evening-prayer that Sikh who was driving us sent the *zamindar* of the fort a word that the Mughal whom he had seized was to be ransomed by the chief of the Sikhs for Rs. 6,000, and that he was *responsible for that sum. On hearing this we were* placed in a tower under strict vigilance."[1]

Miskin remained in captivity for ten days and suffered much from poverty and violence. But the *zamindar* of the fort took him for an ordinary Mughal soldier, and finally liberated him on receiving only Rs. 200 from him. Rustam Khan was, however, subjected to greater misery, and was ultimately released on the extortion of Rs. 22,000[2]

30 The Begam returns to Jammu, C November, 1760

When Ahmad Shah Abdali encamped at Panipat in October, 1760, to have the final struggle with the Marathas, Mughlani Begam returned to Jammu. Miskin was at this time in captivity of the Sikhs. Two days after his release he visited the Begam at Jammu Miskin presented her

[1] *Ibid.*, 218-21.   [2] *Ibid.*, 222-4.

with Rs. 500 which he had saved at Sialkot. The Begam thanked him for the money and informed him that she needed money badly as Rs. 15,000 sent by him had already been spent. Miskin explained the hardships he had suffered at Sialkot. The Begam expressed her gratification for his faithful services.

Abu Tarab Khan, the original nominee of the Begam grew jealous of Miskin's achievements, and taking advantage of the Begam's unsteady temperament set his mother, sister and wife after the Begam to get Abu Tarab appointed in Miskin's place. The Begam ultimately agreed to their entreaties. Abu Tarab nominated Darab Beg as his assistant and sent him to Sialkot, while Miskin was detained in Jammu.

No *zamindar* came to offer submission to Darab Beg. He then took the Begam to Sialkot. She stayed there for a fortnight; but none waited upon her to pay homage. Rustam Khan advised the Begam to reinstate Miskin. In disappointment the Begam returned to Jammu. Raja Ranjit Dev and his Minister also recommended Miskin for the restoration of her favour. The Begam was very much offended at his popularity, and she put him under surveillance.

Miskin remained in the Begam's captivity for nearly six months (November, 1760—March, 1761), and was released at the time of Ahmad Shah Durrani's return to Lahore through the intercession of Fatah Ali Khan Qizalbash, warden of Shah Vali Khan's *Diwan-Khana*. In his absence the Begam could realize only Rs. 3,000 from Sialkot District, and this money was paid by the *zamindars* only for fear of the Durrani king who was then in Lahore. The Begam was dissatisfied with this small sum, and she knew that Miskin was the proper man for the job ; but her vanity would not permit her to admit her failure.[1]

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[1] *Ibid.*, 223-8.

31 *Mughlani Begam marries a Eunuch, C June, 1761*

Shortly after the retirement of Ahmad Shah Abdali Abu Tarab died The Begam was deeply grieved and blamed Miskin for having killed him by magic During Miskin's captivity Abu Tarab was the head of her household establishment and another eunuch named Shahbāz was his assistant. On the death of Abu Tarab the chief position which was generally occupied by Miskin was given to Shahbāz. The Begam's intimacy with Shahbāz became known to the people. Miskin found everybody wagging his tongue telling tales of the Begam's loose life with him, and "in the whole city of Jammu the notoriety of this affair was talked of for about two or three months."[1] The scandal flared up sky-high, and the Begam found it impossible to continue to live at this place Consequently, she retired to another hill called Samba (30 miles south-east of Jammu) which was not under the direct jurisdiction of Ranjit Dev She left Miskin behind to wind up her business at Jammu. Miskin stayed there for seventeen days, and then joined the Begam. He found that his own family and all other women who had always lived with the Begam had been left at a place called Parmandal (20 miles east of Jammu), while the Begam was living all alone with Shahbāz. Miskin presented himself before the Begam who informed him that she had married Shahbāz.[2] She asked Miskin to congratulate Shahbāz on his marriage and offer him a *nazar* of five rupees. In return the Begam promised to give him a precious sword

[1] *Ibid.*, 230.

[2] *Ibid.*, 231.

Shiv Prashad another contemporary writes :—

"The late Nawab's widow who is the daughter of Nawab Jani Khan has drawn the curtain of unchastity and immodesty and by casting to the wind all honour and prestige of her ancestors plays the game of love with Shahbāz, a servant of the late Nawab. The Raja of Jammu had granted her *jagirs* two or three times, but now finding her of dissolute character has confiscated her villages."

Cf Farah Bakhsh, 33b.

and a necklace of pearls and to reinstate him in the charge of Sialkot district.

Miskin was sorely disappointed. He expressed his entire disapprobation and reminded the Begam of her noble ancestry mentioning the names of her father, maternal uncle, great maternal uncle, husband, father-in-law, and Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf Jah. The Begam got angry with him, and severely rebuked him.[1]

32. *The Begam plans to slay Miskin*

The Begam considered Miskin a great obstacle in the way of her conjugal happiness. She asked him to retire to Parmandal. Miskin reached the place in the evening, and the Begam with her husband arrived there at night with a view to murder him. Miskin's house was immediately surrounded and fifty men were appointed to keep watch over him. Parmandal belonged to a mendicant who lived in a temple at some distance. Miskin sent a message to him informing him of the whole affair and requested him to release him from the Begam's captivity. The *Mahant* immediately marched to Parmandal at the head of his men and set him free. Miskin took his wife, child and Darab Beg with him and instantly retired to Jammu, from where he proceeded to Sirhind and took service under Zain Khan.[2]

33. *The Begam dies, 1779*

Of the last eighteen years of the Begam's life nothing is known as Miskin had retired from her service, and had gone first to Sirhind and then to Delhi. Miskin met her once more in 1779. By this time Miskin had greatly flourished in life and had become a peer of the Mughal Empire. The Begam's social and financial position on the other hand had rapidly deteriorated. The Begam visited Delhi in 1779, when Miskin found her in distress and destitute of all comforts of life. He did whatever he possibly could for her

[1] *Ibid.*, 231-2.
[2] *Ibid.*, 232-3.

and tried to make her stay comfortable. The Begam stayed in the imperial capital for two months, and then returned to Jammu, where shortly afterwards she died.[1]

This was the tragic end of the great woman born in the purple and gifted with many talents To her social advantage and natural ability was added the backing of the name of her mighty patron, Ahmad Shah Durrani and thus considerably strengthened her position

Mughlani Begam has no title to greatness if we are to judge her by her achievements. She never led troops in the battle-field. She was a poor administrator, and could not choose ablest heads for various departments of the state. In the choice of officers she was often led by eunuchs and maid-servants in her service. The result was that during two years of her regime the revenue administration went to pieces, and the resources of the state neither improved nor were preserved.

As a diplomat, she was successful. Her strength in this art lay in the application of all the instruments of diplomacy flattery and threats, lying and frankness, reward and rod, and sometimes by playing a bluff.

The most redeeming feature in her character was her generosity to all, high and low, rich and poor alike, and in this respect she stands head and shoulders above most of her sex. But this was often misjudged and ill-bestowed, and brought her destruction and disaster instead of fame and fortune.

Eunuchs proved her ruin. They put her into bad ways. She was given to extremeties and knew no moderation. When once she started going downhill, nothing could arrest her degradation. Her own courtiers and relatives are also to share the responsibility for her fall. They would not separate private life from public life in the case of a woman, though regarding themselves they sedulously maintained this distinction.

[1] *Ibid.*, 350.

CHAPTER VI

THE INVASIONS OF AHMAD SHAH DURRANI

THE FOUNDER OF INDEPENDENT AFGHANISTAN

[Date of birth unknown—Died, 14th April, 1772]

1. Early Career

AHMAD ABDALI belonged to the Sadozai clan of Afghans who lived in the province of Herat. The people of this tribe were called Abdali, that is servants of Ali, because formerly they had embraced the Shia religion, although, they became orthodox and zealous Sunnis later on.[1]

Ahmad Abdali was the son of Zaman Khan who had migrated to Multan, where his son Ahmad was born. When Iran was thrown into anarchy and confusion before Nadir Shah, Zaman Khan came back to Herat, where his eldest son Zulfiqar Khan placed himself at the head of some daring young men and soon rose to importance.

As the Afghans had revolted against Nadir Shah, he inflicted a crushing defeat on them, and by way of punishment he removed the Ghilzai tribe wholesale from the Kandahar Province and settled the Abdalis there whose permanent home it became. On this occasion Nadir Shah captured many persons as prisoners of war, among whom

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[1] Some writers assign a different origin to this tribe. They hold that Abdalis have descended from Abdal, the founder of the tribe. *Cf. Tazkira-i-Afghani*, 17 ; *Hayat-i-Afghani*, 121 ; *Tarikh-i-Ahmad*, 3.

were, Zulfiqar and Ahmad. Zulfiqar was given command of a large body of his clan in 1737 and was subsequently appointed Governor of Herat, where he lost his life in a fight with Ghilzais The younger brother, Ahmad Abdali, soon endeared himself to Nadir Shah by his conspicuous gallantry.[1]

Nadir Shah, being struck by the bright features of Ahmad, enlisted him as one of his personal slaves. After a short time he promoted him to the post of *yasawal*, an armed mace-bearer, and soon raised him to the command of a thousand men[2]

Ahmad Shah, being with Nadir Shah throughout his Indian campaign, and Nadir was deeply impressed by Ahmad's bravery and generalship. He consequently appointed him the chief commander of his personal contingent of 6,000. Nadir Shah often remarked in open court: "I have not found in Iran, Turan or Hind any man equal to Ahmad Abdali in capacity and character."[3] Nadir's Qizalbash

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[1] *Shah Yusuf*, 57a-b, *Gulzar-i-Shahi*, 522, *Arthur Conolly's Journey to the North of India*, vol. ii, p. 344.

[2] *Khazan-i-Amira*, 97, *Tarikh-i-Ali*, 121, *Irshad-ul-Mustqim*, 294b.

[3] *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi*, 4, *Husain Shahi*, 14, *Tarikh-i-Ali*, 121, *Sarkar*, i, 20 n.

An interesting incident took place at Delhi. Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf Jah, the founder of Hyderabad State, who was credited with the power of reading a man's future from his face, on seeing the Abdali remarked that he was destined to become a king. This prediction increased Nadir's belief in Ahmad's greatness.

There is another anecdote of the same nature. One day Nadir Shah summoned Ahmad Abdali in full court and said: "After me the kingship will pass on to you, then you must not forget me, and must treat my family well." In order to remind him of this prophecy he slightly mutilated his ears. When Ahmad Shah conquered Khorasan, he requited the trust of Nadir Shah, by aiding Shah Rukh, the grandson and successor of Nadir Shah, and entrusting him with the government of Khorasan.

Ferrier says that Nadir Shah punished him for an act of insubordination by cutting off one of his ears. *History of the Afghans*, 93.

conspirators murdered[1] their master on the night of the 9th June, 1747, and aimed at attacking his faithful Afghan[2] troops in the morning. This secret, however, leaked out, and Ahmad Abdali with his devoted soldiers stood on his guard, and forestalled the plans of the conspirators. Falling on the treasure and camp of Nadir Shah, which was being plundered by the Qizalbashes, he secured the major portion of it including the famous Koh-i-Noor diamond. Finding himself and his men in danger he decided to retire to his native home Kandahar.

The Afghan chiefs then held a council and resolved : "On the long journey before us we need a man whose commands all shall obey. It would be difficult, nay impossible, for us to reach Kandahar with the entire body of our women, children and servants, in the face of hostile Iranis, unless we have a supreme chief. We must obey such a leader, whatever happens."[3] They swore to remain strictly united, and unanimously elected Ahmad Abdali their leader, who was now hailed as Ahmad Shah. The spiritual blessings were given by his religious guide, Muhammad Sabir Shah, who piling up a small mound of earth, seized Ahmad's hand and seated him on it saying, "This is your throne." Then strewing some shoots of green grass on his head, he declared them the aigrette on his crown,

[1] It is stated that shortly before the murder of Nadir Shah, Ahmad Abdali visited the sacred tomb of Sultan Abul Hasan Ali, son of Musa Raza, at Meshad. After performing his devotions he was coming back, when he caught sight of a religious mendicant, Sabir Shah, who was spreading a piece of cloth on two sticks as if it were a tent for small children. Ahmad out of curiosity enquired as to what the mendicant was about. The man looked up steadfastly in his face, and asked, "Are you Ahmad Abdali ?" On his replying in the affirmative, he said, "This is Nadir Shah's tent. Whenever it falls, you shall become the king." Ahmad left one of his attendants to watch the tent, and it fell when Nadir Shah was murdered. *Siyār*, iii, 16 ; *Bayān*, 163 ; *Ibrat Miqal*, ii, 56a ; *Shah Yusaf*, 57b-58a.

[2] Nadir Shah drew most of his recruits and officers from the Afghans, Turanis and Uzbaks. *Siyār*, iii, 16.

[3] *Mujmil*, 74 ; *Tarikh-i-Ali*, 122.

and styled him *Durrani Padshah* or pearl among kings.[1]

Ahmad Shah was the first Afghan king who laid the foundation of the Afghan kingdom in Afghanistan. On being elected king he gave the Abdali tribe, the name of Durrani, and claimed the provinces that Nadir Shah had wrested from Muhammad Shah of Delhi as a part of the Durrani kingdom which included Kandahar, Ghazni, Kabul, Hazara, Peshawar, Derajat, Multan, and Sind. To complete the paraphernalia of royalty Shah Vali Khan was raised to the dignity of the chief minister, Jahan Khan to that of the commander-in-chief, and Shah Pasand Khan was distinguished by the title of *Amir-i-Lashkari*.[2]

Not possessing ready cash necessary for inaugurating an efficient government, the Durrani king was much distressed. Luckily in this emergency Taqi Khan Akhtabegi Shirazi,[3] whom Nadir Shah before his death had sent to Peshawar to collect the revenue, entered Kandahar with thirty lakhs of rupees.[4] Ahmad Shah seized the treasure and persuaded the chief to enter his service. This success gave his government a perfectly regular character. He then struck

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[1] Muhammad Sabir Shah was the grandson of the famous master Usta Halalkhor, the farrier of Kabul, who had turned a *faqir* and was greatly revered by Turanis. His father's name was Husain. Their original home was in Lahore, but recently they had migrated to Afghanistan.

Bayan, 162-3 *Tarikh-i-Ali*, 123; *Ibrat Miqal*, ii, 55b-56a, *Siyar*, iii, 16, *Husain Shahi*, 17-8, *Mujmil*, 74, *Tarikh-i-Ahmad*, 6.

Sabir Shah called Ahmad Shah Abdali *Dur-i-Dauran*, the pearl of the age, but Ahmad Shah preferred the title of *Dur-i-Durran*, the pearl of pearls'

Tarikh-i-Afghani, 17, *Hayat-i-Afghani*, 121 and 129

The idea of the title struck the saint probably from the fact that when Ahmad Shah was a slave of Nadir Shah, he like the rest, wore in his ear a gold ring, studded with a pearl.

[2] *Tarikh-i-Ahmad*, 6, *Tarikh-i-Ali*, 124.

[3] Ferrier wrongly calls him "Eaghee Khan Chirazee." *History of the Afghans*, 70.

[4] Ferrier is mistaken in putting this sum at two crores of rupees. *Ibid.*

a coin in his own name which bore the following inscription :—

حکم شد از قادر بے چوں با حمد پادشاه
سکه زن در سیم و زر از موج ماهی تا بماه

[God, the inscrutable, commanded Ahmad, the king, to stamp silver and gold currency, from the pisces to the moon.]

He also had a seal made in the form of a peacock bearing the following line :—

الحکم الله یا فتاح احمد شاه در درّانی

[By the command of God, the bestower of victory, Ahmad Shah became the pearl of the Durranis.[1]]

Ahmad Shah opened negotiations with Nasir Khan the Governor of Kabul. He offered to confirm him as the governor of Kabul if he agreed to pay an annual tribute of five lakhs. Nasir Khan retired to Peshawar and fortified the passes leading to India. Ahmad Shah marched from Kandahar, took Ghazni on the way and captured Kabul without any struggle. He then advanced to Peshawar. Abdul Samad Khan, the chief of Peshawar, deserted Nasir Khan and joined Ahmad Shah Abdali in Jalàlabad. This demoralised Nasir Khan who took refuge in the Chach[2] district. Ahmad Shah ordered Jahan Khan to pursue Nasir Khan. He succeeded in escaping to Lahore, but his family fell into Jahan Khan's hands. They were kindly treated by Ahmad Shah and were set at liberty. Ahmad

[1] *Bayān*, 162 ; *Khazan-i-Amira*, 97 ; *Husain Shahi*, 21 ; *Imad-i-Saadat*, 58b ; *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghanan*, 143-4 ; *Tarikh-i-Ali*, 124 ; *Tarikh-i-Sultani*, 124 ; *J.A.S.*, vol. liv, part i, The Coins of Ahmad Shah Abdali.

A letter dated April, 1761, to which the above seal is affixed is preserved in the Forman Christian College Library, Lahore.

[2] Chach is an extensive plain to the east of Attock. It is about twenty miles long and fifteen miles wide. Burnes found it " an entire sheet of cultivation"; whilst Vigne says that it was "covered with long grass and low jungle." It is strewn all over with granite boulders. *Cf. Thornton*, i, 145.

Shah seized Peshawar He now became supreme in the country lying between Herat on the one hand and Indus on the other But he was not satisfied with ruling over this vast territory. He yearned for the possession of India, the land of gold and slaves for the people of the North-west.[1]

2 First Invasion of India, 1747-48

The motives of Ahmad Shah for invading India may easily be discerned. The Afghans possessed a turbulent nature and a keen spirit of rivalry, and if their energies were not occupied in something which could strike their imagination, they would be creating disorder and planning rebellions, ultimately resulting in disintegration of the newly founded kingdom. Hence war was a necessity to him. In spite of the fact that he was a national king he was looked upon by the old nobility as an upstart. He therefore could only consolidate his power by winning fame through foreign wars. With Indian gold he could win over the Afghan chiefs and satisfy the Afghan peoples' avidity for riches as "gold in Afghanistan is, more than anywhere else, the god of the human race"[2] Besides, the hardy tribes of Afghanistan and Central Asia who delighted in distant campaigns and successful plundering expeditions, considered India as the most productive field for conquest and rapine.

While Ahmad Shah was staying at Peshawar, he received invitation to invade India, from Shahnawaz Khan, the usurping Governor of the Panjab, who wanted to free himself from the impending danger of punishment from the Delhi Emperor for his high-handedness. Keeping in view the utter weakness of the Delhi Empire which he had himself seen when in attendance upon Nadir Shah, he at once

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[1] *Husain Shahi*, 22; *Anand Ram*, 300-302 *Tarikh i-Ahmad*, 6; *Siyar*, III, 17

[2] Ferrier's *History of Afghans*, 286.

accepted the invitation. He left Peshawar by the middle of December, 1747, and arrived at Shahdara on the 8th January, 1748.

Meanwhile Shahnawaz Khan had changed his mind under the influence of his maternal uncle, Qamr-ud-din Khan, the grand wazir of Delhi. Ahmad Shah tried his utmost to regain the young governor's loyalty, but to no purpose. He crossed the Ravi on the 10th January and encamped in the Shalamar Garden. The battle between the opposing troops took place on the 11th January in which Shahnawaz Khan was defeated.[1] He fled to Delhi in the night, with his officers and soldiers following suit, and Lahore fell into the hands of the invader without any further resistance. Ahmad Shah plundered the outskirts and suburbs of the city, particularly Mohalla Mughalpura, but spared the city for a ransom of thirty lakhs.[2]

The Delhi Court had learnt no lesson from their discomfiture by Nadir Shah. His massacre, rapine and outrage were soon forgotten, by them and the Mughal nobility continued to indulge in sensual pleasures as before. The Mughal nobility at this time when face to face with a grave menace presented a picture of awful inactivity, indecision and irresolution. Muhammad Shah had grown extremely indolent, ease-loving and addicted to opium-eating. He was confined to bed owing to an attack of paralysis. The news of Ahmand Shah's approach were daily pouring in the imperial capital, but the court was as passive as ever. When they learnt that Lahore had been seized by the invader, the imperial army, consisting of two

[1] *Tarikh-i-Sultani*, 126, states that Shahnawaz Khan had advanced to the Chenab to oppose the invader ; but Ahmad Shah cut into his rear and reached Lahore before him.

[2] The contemporary Waris Shah, the famous author of *Hir*, was then living in Lahore, and saw the horrors of this campaign. He condemns Shahnawaz Khan and his men, calling them even more cowardly than women *Cf. Sassi Waris Shah* of Abdul Qadir, 12.

lakhs of men, slowly stirred out of its luxurious abode under the nominal command of Prince Ahmad Shah though Wazir Qamr-ud-din Khan was the supreme head in reality

The imperialists arrived at Sirhind on the 25th February, when they found to their dismay that the fort had been deserted by Ali Muhammad Rohilla who wanted to avoid fighting his Afghan tribesmen Believing the enemy to be somewhere in the neighbourhood, they decided to make Sirhind their base of operations They left their heavy baggage surplus stores and their women including Wazir's harem in the fort with a garrison of 1000 horse and foot and marched to the river Sutlej and instead of crossing it by the direct route at Ludhiana decided to ford it by the Machhiwara Ghat, twenty-two miles above They blundered again in not guarding the Ludhiana road and in not collecting intelligence of the enemy's movements, and in not maintaining communication with Sirhind.

Ahmad Shah reached the Sutlej following the direct Ludhiana route on the 1st March and captured Sirhind on the 2nd. He put the garrison to the sword took possession of all war material, reduced the women to slavery and sent treasure and surplus baggage to Lahore

Learning of the catastrophe the imperialists became panicky *They hurriedly returned and halted near Manupur,* 10 miles north-west of Sirhind, where they took up an entrenched position It was a dry and sandy region and they suffered from scarcity of water Food also grew scarce because the swift roving bands of Afghans had cut off their means of communication

The imperialists had the advantage of heavy artillery and the sheer weight of their numbers Skirmishes went on daily and some of the local chiefs such as Jamal Khan of Malerkotla, Rai Kalha of Jagraon Alha Singh of Patiala and Adina Beg Khan the Governor of the Jullundur Doab

rendered valuable services to the imperialist cause by harassing the enemy and by cutting off his supplies. On the 11th March, the Wazir who was about to lead the army for a general attack was struck by a ball in his tent, and was instantly killed.

His son Muin-ul-Mulk kept the sad news a secret. He mounted on the Wazir's elephant himself and delivered the assault. A fierce fight followed. Under the superior tactics of the Durrani the left wing of the imperial army gave way. The thickest contest raged in the centre. Muin's skin was grazed, his brother was shot in the foot, Adina Beg, the Governor of the Jullundur Doāb, was twice wounded, and many officers of note were slain. In the meantime the right wing under Safdar Jang had defeated the Afghans. Safdar Jang then rushed to the rescue of Muin. Just at this time when the Afghans were hard pressed, their own stores of rockets caught fire. The sparks set fire to the gunpowder of the field artillery, killing 1,000 Afghans on the spot. Ahmad Shah Durrani therefore retired leaving the Indians masters of the field.

The imperialists took no advantage of their victory, as they stirred from their trenches five days later, on the 16th March, when Abdali had gone far away on his route to Afghanistan. The Prince reached the Sutlej on the 21st March, and allowed his troops some days for rest. On the 9th April a letter came from Muhammad Shah, recalling the Prince to Delhi immediately and appointing Muin-ul-Mulk, the Viceroy of the Panjab.[1]

This great triumph of the Mughals had no deterring effect on the invader who entered the Panjab again next year.

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[1] *Anand Ram*, 343-77 ; *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi*, 7-20 ; *Mujmil*, 101 12 ; *Zafar Namah*, 4b-12a ; *Khazan-i-Amira*, 97-8 ; *Siyār*, iii, 18-9 *Husain Shahi*, 27-30 ; *Imad-i-Saadat*, 59a-62a ; *Chahar Gulzar Shujai*, 426b-427a ; *Ali-ud-din*, 108a-109b ; *Tarikh-i-Sultani*, 126-7 ; *Waris Shah*, 12-5 ; *Sarkār*, i, 211-33.

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3. *Second Invasion, 1749–50*

Ahmad Shah Abdali was bent on retrieving his honour. He kept himself fully informed of the affairs of Delhi and the Panjab, and was determined to take advantage of the distracted state of the Mughal government. He started from Kandahar in the beginning of the cold weather, and crossed the Indus by the middle of December, 1749.

Muin-ul-Mulk expected no help from Delhi, on account of the carelessness of the Emperor and the rivalry of Wazir Safdar Jang, but he resolved to oppose the invader. Leaving Sayyid Evaz Khan and Diwan Lakhpat Rai in charge of the capital, he encamped at Sohdara, 4 miles east of Wazirabad, on the Chenab. Meanwhile Abdali also reached the Chenab, and halted at Kopra. Ahmad Shah asked Muin to assign to him the revenues of the *Chahār Mahāl*, Gujrat Aurangabad, Pasrur and Sialkot, which had been made over to Nadir Shah by Muhammad Shah in 1739. Muin forwarded this letter to the Delhi Emperor begging reinforcements, and prolonged the negotiations. To his surprise the Mughal Emperor, instead of sending him any help, granted to Durrani the revenues asked for. In view of the limitations of his own military resources, Muin concluded negotiations with the Abdali by handing over the royal mandate. After this reconnaissance, Ahmad Shah retired to his own country through Derah Ghazi Khan and Qalat.[1]

The pusillanimity displayed by the Delhi Government strengthened the ambition of the Afghan monarch, who now resolved to seize the rich and fertile lands of northern India.

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[1] *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi*, 46–8; *Miskin*, 53; *Bayān*, 174-5; *Zafar Namah*, 20a, *Khazana-i-Amira*, 98; *Siyar*, iii, 29-30; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 80a; *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghanan*, 151-3; *Irshad-ul-Mustqim*, 294b; *Ibrat Miqal*, ii, 61b, *Ali-ud-din*, 111a, *Sohan Lal*, i, 129; *Ahmad Shah*, 865; *Sarkar*, i, 417-9; *Elliot*, viii, 114-5.

Sialkot contained 1,484 villages, Aurangabad 307 villages, Gujrat 581 villages and Pasrur 632 villages. *Cf. Sialkot District Gazetteer*, 1883-4, p. 15, *Gujrat District Gazetteer*, 1883-4, p. 17.

4. *Third Invasion and the Conquest of the Panjab and Kashmir, 1751-52*

The time for the payment of the promised annual tribute of the *Chahār Mahāl* had passed without anything being remitted to Kabul. The intrepid Ahmad Shah therefore decided to invade the Panjab. From Peshawar he sent Baru Khan in advance as his ambassador to the court of Lahore demanding the remittance of the revenues. Muin told him that no revenues were forthcoming owing to disturbances in the country. Ahmad Shah sent another agent Sukhjiwan Mal pressing for money. Muin expressed his inability to pay the full sum. He, however, paid him nine lakhs of rupees, promising to remit the balance on Abdali's immediate withdrawal to his home Abdali took the money and continued his advance.

Muin crossed the Ravi at the head of 50,000 troops and 400 *jizairs*, and took up his position at the bridge of Shah Daula, 22 miles above Lahore on the Ravi. Abdali cleverly dashed towards the provincial capital. He cut into the rear of Muin, crossed the Ravi by the ferry of Ghazipur, and reached Lahore, *via* Niazbeg. He encamped near the tomb of Shah Blawal.[1]

Muin hurried back to Lahore, and after some fighting entrenched himself under the city walls. Abdali besieged the town and decided to reduce Muin to capitulation by starvation. The siege continued for four months, and the whole country around Lahore within a radius of about 50 miles was laid waste. Owing to long campaign Muin's trenches became extremely unhealthy and full of foul and poisonous stench. The supply of water in the wells had been exhausted, while no food or fodder were available in the city. No reinforcements had come from Delhi to the defender of the province during these critical months.

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[1] *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi*, 83-5; *Khazan-i-Amira*, 114; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 122a; *Sohan Lal*, i, 132-3.

Muin decided to shift his camp about ten miles away; but this secret leaked out. On the 5th March, 1752, when Muin's troops came out of their trenches, they were fiercely assailed by the Afghans on all sides A severe scuffle ensued in which Muin lost the day. He fearlessly faced the Abdali, and the Durrani King was so much struck by his boldness, frank manners and noble bearing that he reinstated Muin as his deputy in the viceroyalty of the Panjab. Ahmad Shah Abdali then sent his envoy, Qalandar Beg, to Emperor Ahmad Shah of Delhi for the cession of the Panjab. The Emperor granted audience to the envoy in the *Diwan-i-Khas* on the 13th April, 1752, and dismissed him by putting his seal to the treaty thus losing the most important frontier province of the Mughal Empire

While his ambassador was away to Delhi, Ahmad Shah Durrani despatched a strong detachment to conquer Kashmir under Abdullah Khan, who easily overpowered Abdul Qasim Khan, the Mughal viceroy of the province. Ahmad Shah appointed Sukhjiwan Mal the Governor of Kashmir and Abdullah Khan his Deputy The Abdali after this returned to Afghanistan [1]

Muin-ul-Mulk ruled over the Panjab in the name of the Durrani King though practically independent for a year and a half till the time of his death Sukhjiwan Mal also owed nominal allegiance to Ahmad Shah, and the Abdali seldom interfered with them as long as he was sure that they maintained peace and order in their provinces Hence no new changes were introduced in the administration, and the old system of the Mughals prevailed

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[1] *Miskin*, 79, *Husain Shahi*, 32-3; *Khushwaqt Rai*, 85-8, *Tarikh-i-Ahmad*, 8 *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghanan*, 154; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 85a, 122a; *Delhi Chronicle*, 70, 71, *Selections from Peshwa's Daftar*, xxi, 53, 55, *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi*, 93-5, *Siyar*, iii, 44; *Khazana-i-Amira*, 114, *Narayan Kaul*, 183b-184a.

5. *Fourth Invasion and the Annexation of Sirhind Province, 1756-57*

Muin-ul-Mulk died on the 3rd November, 1753. His widow, the famous Mughlani Begam, put herself at the head of the provincial government. In March, 1756, she was made a captive by the Delhi Wazir, Imad-ul-Mulk, who appointed Adina Beg in charge of the province. The Begam invited Ahmad Shah Durrani to invade India promising to secure him crores of rupees from Delhi.[1]

Abdali accepted the invitation. He left Kandahar in the autumn, crossed the Indus at Attock on the 15th November, reached Lahore on the 20th December, and crossed the Sutlej on the 10th January, 1757. On this occasion the Mughal Empire had been reduced to the lowest depth of wretchedness and the invader was offered no opposition whatsoever. Ahmad Shah entered Delhi on the 28th January. "From that day his troops commenced plundering and sacking the city mercilessly, and they kept on dragging away people's wives and daughters so cruelly that a large number of them overborne by the delicacy of their feelings preferred to commit suicide and God only knows the number and nature of all other violence committed in that unfortunate city for a month."[2]

Imad-ul-Mulk, the Delhi Wazir, was ordered to hand

[1] *Ali-ud-din*, 114b.

[2] Siyār, iii, 54. *Cf. Miskin*, 138

"برساکنان شہر ظلم و تعدی مردم لشکر شاہ کہ باجز غارت و مردم آزاری ہیچ نمے دانستند آنقدر بود کہ بگفتن و نوشت راست نیاید"۔

Cf. also *Khazan-i-Amira*, 99 ; *Irshad-ul-Mustqim*, 295a.

"زنان و دختران و پسران محبوسہ را ایرانیان و افغانان و روہیلہ ہا بطریق تحائف و ارمغان بولایت ایران و توران و سمرقند و بخارا و ترکستان و دیگر اطراف و اکناف عالم فرستادند"۔

Farah Bakhsh, 38b.

over all his gold and jewels, and on his pleading poverty, he was openly disgraced, and his servants were severely beaten. Then Intizam-ud-daulah, the ex-Wazir, was summoned, and commanded to produce one crore of rupees immediately He replied "This moment beyond this one ring that I have on my finger, I have not control over even one rupee" He was threatened to be punished by pillory (چوبهائی تیاچی), which was placed before him, declaring also that he would "issue an order for a beating with sticks." Intizam-ud-daulah stood there with his face white as a sheet. The Shah said "This day will I have the money, I have heard that in the house of Qamar-ud-din Khan there lie stored twenty krors of rupees, and out of this accumulation this son of his has covenanted to pay two krors. I relinquished part, but this day I mean to realize one kror, be it by gentle means or by torture Let the position of the treasure-store be pointed out, or if not, I will order a bastinadoing."

Intizam-ud-daulah replied "Whatever treasure there was, my father caused to be buried within his mansion The widow, Shulahpuri Begam knows about it." The Begam was immediately ordered to be produced. "This old lady, the daughter-in-law of one grand wazir, the widow of another and the mother of a third, was told that unless she showed the spot, iron pins would be driven in underneath the nails of her fingers. She fainted at the threat, and on recovery pointed out the room of the buried hoard. After six hours of digging by a hundred pioneers, 16 lakhs in coins, besides golden, silver and gem-studded vessels, were found under the floor (4th February)"[1]

Intizam-ud-daulah's women were stripped of everything. No noble was spared spoliation, the Mughlani Begam giving information as to the worth each of the courtiers was. The

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[1] *Indian Antiquary* 1907, pp. 47-8; *Sarkar* ii, 100.

citizens of Delhi were deprived of all their riches, and thousands of men and women lost their lives under the torture. Hira Nand Johri, the prince of Jewellers, was reduced to beggary.[1]

After thoroughly squeezing Delhi, Ahmad Shah marched southward. The fort of Ballabgarh was captured on the 3rd March, 1757. From this place the Afghans issued out to slaughter and plunder. Ghulam Hasan Samin, who was present in the Abdali's camp says, that they left the camp at midnight. One horseman took ten to twenty horses each attached to the tail of the horse in front. They came back at about 9 o'clock in the morning. All the horses were loaded with booty and girl captives were placed on that. Hundreds of men captives carried on their heads bundles of severed heads. All these heads were heaped before the chief minister's tent, where they were counted and the soldiers were paid five rupees per head. At the time of reckoning the heads of the male captives were also cut off. "Daily did this manner of slaughter and plundering proceed. And at night the shrieks of the women captives who were being ravished, deafened the ears of people."[2]

A fortnight earlier Ahmad Shah had sent his commander-in-chief Jahan Khan and the Rohilla chieftain Najib Khan to devastate Mathura, Brindaban and Agra. About Mathura Ghulam Hasan says: "Everywhere in lane and bazar lay the headless trunks of the slain; and the whole city was burning. Many buildings had been knocked down. A naked man emerged from the ruins and asked me for a little food. I gave him some money and asked: 'who art thou'? He said: 'I am a Musulman, I was a dealer in

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[1] *Husain Shahi*, 37; *Tarikh-i-Ahmad*, 9.

[2] *Indian Antiquary*, 1907, p. 60.

"و شب را از فریاد زنان که به اسیری آورده به آنها صحبت
میکردند گوشهائی مردم کرمیشدند".

jewellery, my shop was a large one In addition to precious stones and engraved and mounted goods, I had 4 000 rupees in cash in the shop On the day of the slaughter the Shah's army suddenly appeared, when nobody had the least expectation of them, it was at dawn. A horseman, drawn sword in hand, came at me and tried to kill me I said I was a Musulman. He said 'Disclose your privities' I undid my cloth He continued 'Whatever cash you have give to me that I may spare your life' I gave him my 4 000 rupees Another came and cut me on the stomach with his sabre. I fled and hid in a corner My shop was emptied For several days past I have had nothing to eat, but a few uncooked grains of corn. Camp followers come in day after day and knock down the houses In many places buried treasure is discovered and carried off'
When I reached the bank of the Jamnah, I found it was fordable The water flowing past was of a yellowish colour, as if polluted by blood The man said 'For seven days following the general slaughter, the water flowed of a blood-red colour Now fourteen days have elapsed, and the colour of the water has turned yellow' At the edge of the stream I saw a number of *Bairagi* and *Sunayasi* huts, huddled close together These men are ascetics of the Hindu faith In each hut lay a severed head with the head of a dead cow applied to its mouth and tied to it with a rope round its neck."

The same story is narrated of Brindaban "Wherever you gazed you beheld heaps of slain, you could only pick your way with difficulty, owing to the quantity of bodies lying about and the amount of blood spilt. At one place we reached, we saw about two hundred dead children lying in a heap Not one of the dead bodies had a head. . The stench and fetor and effluvium in the air were such that it was painful to open your mouth or even draw a breath. Every one held his nose and stopped his mouth with his handkerchief while he spoke."[1]

[1] *Indian Antiquary* 1907 p 62.

Agra was plundered by Jahan Khan at the head of 15,000 soldiers on the 21st March. About 2,000 persons were slain. Then he was suddenly recalled by the Abdali who was camping near Mathura. Jahan Khan joined him on the 24th March.

Nature came to the rescue of the unfortunate inhabitants where the Government of the country had utterly failed in its duty. The Afghans had to drink water of the Jumna which had been polluted by innumerable dead bodies. Consequently, cholera broke out in the Abdali's army, carrying off about 150 soldiers daily. "It *took one hundred* rupees to purchase one *ser* of tamarind, a drink of tamarinds being prescribed with benefit."[1]

The Abdali was consequently forced to retreat, and he started on his homeward journey on the 28th March. Delhi was again plundered. A short while before he had married his son Timur Shah to the daughter of Emperor Alamgir II. Now he himself forcibly married Hazrat Begam, a 16 year old maiden daughter of Emperor Muhammad Shah. "On 5th April she was taken, decked as a bride, to Ahmad Shah's tents; Malika-i-zamani and Sahiba Mahal (widows of Muhammad Shah) and Muhtaram-un-nisa (a daughter of the late Emperor Ahmad and a nursling of Malika-i-zamani from her infancy) accompanied the weeping bride in exile out of India. Other Delhi princesses present in the retreating Afghan camp were Alamgir II's daughter Gauhar-un-nisa, the daughter of Dawar Bakhsh and great granddaughter of Aurangzib whom Nadir Shah had married to his son Nasrullah in 1739 and whom Ahmad Abdali had taken to his bed after the murder of Nadir Shah. With this party went 16 other ladies of the Delhi harem, but 400 maid-servants who were being dragged away with their mistresses escaped from the way and dispersed to their homes."[2]

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[1] *Indian Antiquary*, 1907, pp. 64-5. [2] *Sarkār*, ii, 128.

The Afghan booty from India was enormous. "Abdali's own goods were loaded on 28,000 camels, elephants, mules, bullocks and carts, while 200 camel-loads of property were taken by Muhammad Shah's widows who accompanied him, and these too belonged to him. Eighty thousand horse and foot followed him, each man carrying away spoils. His cavalry returned on foot, loading their booty on their chargers. For securing transport, the Afghan king left no horse or camel in any one's house, not even a donkey. The guns he had brought for taking the Jat forts, he abandoned because their draught-cattle had to be loaded with his plunder, and the Jat Rajah took these guns away into his fort. In Delhi not a sword was left with anybody."[1]

Abdali annexed the Sirhind division to his kingdom which he placed in the charge of Abdul Samad Khan. Najib-ud-daulah his plenipotentiary (*Mukhtar*) was left in Delhi. On his way he obtained from Najabat Khan, the *Zamindar* of Kunjpura, a sum of 20 lakhs. He appointed his son Timur Shah the Viceroy of the Panjab with Jahan Khan as his deputy, and then he retired to Afghanistan.[2]

Timur Shah was only eleven years old. Hence the work of government was exclusively carried on by Jahan Khan. The Afghan General was a seasoned warrior, but a poor administrator Jahan Khan established military rule in the Panjab, and directed his attention chiefly to collect land revenue and other taxes from the people. Jahan Khan mistrusted the Sikhs and Adina Beg Khan, the able Governor of the Jullundur Doab. He provoked their anger repeatedly, which led to their union. It was difficult for the Afghans to resist the combined forces of the Sikhs and Adina Beg. The result was that they created complete confusion in the country, and Jahan Khan found himself incapable of coping with the situation. "Whatever order," says Miskin, "that

[1] *S P D.*, ii, 71, *Sarkar*, ii, 103.
[2] *S P D.*, ii, 71.

was there, also disappeared."[1] Remarking about Timur Shah's army and the boldness of the Sikhs he states: "After this every force in whatever direction it was sent came back defeated and vanquished. Even the environs of Lahore were not safe. Every night thousands of Sikhs used to fall upon the city and plunder the suburbs lying outside the walls of Lahore, but no force was sent out to repel them, and the city gates were closed one hour after nightfall. It brought extreme disgrace to the Government and utter lawlessness prevailed."[2]

Early in 1758, Adina Beg Khan invited the Marathas from Delhi to expel the Afghans from the Panjab, and to annex the country to their dominions. He offered to them easy and tempting terms which were readily accepted. In the beginning of March, 1758, began the Maratha invasion of the Panjab. Sirhind fell after a short resistance on the part of Abdul Samad Khan, the Governor of the place. On the approach of the Marathas towards Lahore, Jahan Khan evacuated the capital on the 9th April, and retired to Afghanistan. Jahan Khan was overtaken by the Maratha advance-guard at Serai Kachchi, 36 miles north-west of Lahore; but he managed to escape. His camp was, however, plundered on the eastern bank of the Chenab, and many Afghans were taken prisoners.[3] Afterwards the Marathas advanced as far as Attock, which was held by them in actual occupation for about four months. Subsequently they appear to have crossed the Indus and stationed themselves at least for a time at Peshawar.[4]

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[1] *Miskin*, 166.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 312; *Miskin*, 178-9; *Karnam-i-Ahmad Shah Durrani*, 1.

[4] *Cf. Dabholkar Collection*, a Marathi letter dated the 4th June, 1758;, *S.P.D.*, xxi, 163, dated the 5th September, 1758; *Chandrachuda Daftar* published by B. I. S. M., in 1920, Letter No. 49, p. 56; *Selection from Chandrachuda Daftar*, published by the Gwalior Records Department in

6. *Fifth Invasion and the Defeat of the Marathas in the Third Battle of Panipat, 1759–61*

The Maratha power had reached its zenith by this time, and they had become supreme from the borders of Berar to the banks of the Indus. Ahmad Shah Abdali's plenipotentiary in India, Najib-ud-daulah, was hard pressed by them and expelled from Delhi in September, 1757. He was then besieged in Shukartal.[1] He wrote to his master: "All this misery has been inflicted by the infidel Marathas on all

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1934, p. 4 also Delhi News-letters, styled *Akhbar-i Darbar-i-Mu alla*, dated the 20th December 1758:—

"رسیدن توکوجی وغیره سلاحداران فرستاد هائی راؤ ملهار جی
هولکر و راؤ جنکوجی سندهیه در پشاور"

[The arrival at Peshawar of the *silahdar* Tukoji and others who were sent by Rao Malharji Holkar and Rao Jankoji Sindhia.]

"خبر رسیده که نرسوجی پنڈت و توکوجی وغیره سلاحداران
فرستاد هائی راؤ ملهار جی هولکر و راؤ جنکوجی سندهیه که
از پشاور بموجب طلب میر حسن علی خان و خواجه میرزا خان
عازم لاهور شده بودند"

[The news arrived that Narsoji Pandit and Tukoji and other *silahdars* sent by Rao Malharji Holkar and Rao Jankoji Sindhia left Peshawar for Lahore as desired by Mir Hasan Ali Khan and Khwajah Mirza Khan.]

Another letter dated the 15th April, 1759 says —

"خبر رسید که صاحب جی پتیل از پشاور کوچ کرده بصوبه
لاهور داخل شده توکو جی کهنڈو جی کدم وغیره سلاحداران
راؤ ملهار جی و راؤ جنکوجی سندهیه که در آن جا اقامت می
داشتند ملاقات نمودند."

[Received the news that Sahibji Patel (Sabaji Patil Shinde) having returned from Peshawar to the province of Lahore met Tukoji Khandoji Kadam and other *silahdars* of Rao Malharji Holkar and Rao Jankoji Sindhia, who were stationed there.]

This information is kindly supplied by Rao Bahadur G S Sardesai, the well-known Maratha historian.

[1] Shukartal is a small fort and village in the Muzaffarnagar district of U.P., about half a mile from the right bank of the Ganges.

our people. You are the Emperor of Muslims. It is your duty to remedy this affair." The Abdali replied: "I am engaged this year in this country because on one side of me Nasir Khan has rebelled, while Darwesh Ali Khan of Herat has risen in revolt on another. God willing, when I am free from the entanglement in this country, I shall remedy your business."[1]

Hardly was he free from these troubles at home when the news arrived that his son Timur Shah had been driven out of the Panjab by the Marathas who had annexed this province to their dominions. Then came a letter from the Mughal Emperor, Alamgir II: "Imad-ul-Mulk is thinking of killing me. If your majesty come this side, I may be saved from the hand of this tyrant, otherwise there is no possibility of safety either of me or of my sons."[2]

Meanwhile Najib-ud-daulah won over most of the Indian Muslim nobles, took written undertakings from them and forwarded all such letters to the Durrani, who "promised to come to India in winter and do what was due to Islam."[3]

With his enormous hordes[4] Ahmad Shah left for India early in autumn of 1759 and arrived at Lahore in October. On the approach of these overwhelming forces the Marathas fled from the Panjab without striking a blow. Leaving Haji Karimdad Khan, nephew of his prime minister Shah Vali Khan, in charge of the Panjab, he arrived at Sirhind on the 27th November, and made straight for Delhi.[5]

Imad-ul-Mulk, the Delhi Wazir, fearing that Alamgir II and Intizam-ud-daulah would join the Abdali against him

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[1] *Nur-ud-din*, 19b.

[2] *Tarikh-i-B'ad Nadiriya*, 124.

[3] *Nur-ud-din*, 21a-b; *Khazan-i-Amira*, 101.

[4] 60,000 horse according to *Imad-i-Saadat*, 116a and *S.P.D.*, xxvii, 245; and 55,000 according to *Rajwade*, i, 139.

[5] *Ali-ud-din*, 119b-120a.

murdered both of them on the 29th and 30th November respectively He placed on the throne another prince under the title of Shahjahan II.[1]

Dattaji Sindhia who had besieged Najib-ud-daulah at Shukartal raised the siege on the 8th December, and crossed over the Jumna at Ramra *Ghat* near Panipat on the 20th December The Abdali was at Ambala. The advance-guards of both came to a sharp engagement on the 24th December near Taraori in which the Marathas were defeated with 400 slain. The Abdali crossed the Jumna in the night at Buriya *Ghat* and entered the Doab where Najib joined him at Saharanpur, and they now marched to Delhi.[2]

Dattaji realizing the weakness of his position quickly fell back on Delhi and reached Barari *Ghat* on the Jumna, 10 miles north of Delhi. Ahmad Shah who had been joined by Hafiz Rahmat Khan Dunde Khan Sadullah Khan, Mulla Sadar and others, lay encamped at Luni, 6 miles north-east of Delhi. The Jumna lay between them. The water in it at this time was at the lowest level,[3] and its banks and the islands in the bed were covered with thick overgrowth of *Jhau* trees. Taking advantage of these, Najib followed by the Durrani crossed the river at Barari *Ghat* on the 9th January, 1760 and suddenly fell upon the Marathas. Dattaji was slain, his nephew Jankoji was wounded, and the Marathas were completely routed.[4]

From Barari *Ghat* the Marathas fled to the south-west and gathered at Kot Putli (99 miles south-west of Delhi), under Jankoji, and were joined by Malhar Rao from Raj-

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[1] *Delhi Chronicle*, 166-7 *Miskin*, 200 2; *Husain Shahi*, 46 *Siyar* iii, 62-3 *S.P.D.*, xxvii, 245.

[2] *S.P.D.*, ii, 109 111, 112, 117 xxi 178 *Nur ud-din*, 28a-29a.

[3] Its bed varies from half a mile to a mile in width, of which the stream occupies only a few hundred yards in the cold weather. *Imperial Gazetteer Punjab*, i, 302.

[4] *S.P.D.* ii, 114; xxi, 181, 182, 185 xxvii, 247; *Nur ud-din*, 30b; *Miskin*, 202-3 *Husain Shahi*, 50-1 *Khazan-i Amira*, 102 *Siyar* iii, 65.

putana. They decided to harass the enemy by guerilla warfare and by ravaging the country of the Rohillas. Malhar, the ablest Maratha cavalry leader, took charge of the vanguard. The Abdali marched to Rewari (50 miles south-west of Delhi), and Malhar easily succeeded in giving him a slip. He came to Bahadurgarh, 40 miles north of Rewari. Four days later on the 26th February, 1760, he crossed the Jumna, and entered the Doab with the object of intercepting Najib's treasure of ten lakhs on its way to the Afghan camp. But he was overtaken unexpectedly by Jahan Khan who dashed over 100 miles in the incredibly short time of 14 hours, and Malhar was routed at Sikandarabad (36 miles south-east of Delhi) on the 4th March, 1760.[1]

Abdali encamped near Aligarh for the hot weather and the rainy season and deputed Najib-ud-daulah to Lucknow to win over Shuja-ud-daulah who joined Ahmad Shah at the head of 30,000 horse and 10,000 foot.[2]

The Peshwa was not disheartened at the defeat of Sindhia and Holkar. He sent a large army from the Deccan under the chief command of his son Vishwas Rao. The actual control, however, was given to his brother Sadashiv Bhau, a young man of thirty, but a man of ripe experience with a reputation for courage and statesmanship. He also had the assistance of a Muslim officer, Ibrahim Khan Gardi, trained by no less a personage than the celebrated Bussy, and who commanded a vast park of artillery.[3]

The Marathas had to face many difficulties from the outset. They had to resist a formidable coalition of all the

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[1] *S.P.D.*, ii, 120, 121; xxi, 187, 188; *Nur-ud-din*, 31b; *Khazan-i-Amira*, 103; *Miskin*, 202-3; *Siyār*, iii, 65; *Gulistan-i-Rahmat*, 58; *Ghulam Ali*, i, 20-3; *Shamlu*, 28.

[2] *Nur-ud-din*, 32a-b; *Imad-i-Saadat*, 124a-125b; *Siyar*, iii, 65; *Shamlu*, 29-30.

[3] *Rajwade*, i, 167, 168.

Muslim chiefs of northern India who had joined Ahmad Shah for the extirpation of the Marathas The Marathas, on the other hand, did not try to rally all the Hindus under their banner Not a single Rajput Raja joined them. On the contrary, the Hindu landlords of the Gangetic Doāb rose against them The Sikhs were never invited to co-operate with them, though Alha Singh of Patiala gave them some help when they were closely confined in the field at Panipat Even Surajmal,[1] the wisest and shrewdest diplomat of the time, could not be persuaded to unite with them Thus they had not a single friend in the midst of a hostile population. They were also encumbered by a large train of baggage, heavy artillery and their families The lack of boats to cross the rivers which were in flood at the time they approached Delhi was a further impediment Still greater disadvantage lay in Bhau's complete ignorance of the essential details of this campaign as he was given no time for preparation He had never been to northern India, and knew nothing about its people and climate Besides, he was a man of short temper and entirely disregarded the advice of old captains who possessed experience of fighting in northern India[2]

The Bhau crossed the river Chambal by the end of May and a little afterwards reached the bank of the river Ghambir to the south of Agra He ardently desired to cross the Jumna to get at the Abdali, but he could not easily cross the Ghambir, a little stream which had been flooded by early rains. The Marathas then marched to Delhi. The

[1] The Bhau was carrying on correspondence with Surajmal who advised the Maratha chief to leave their women, extra camp-followers, and all unnecessary baggage either in the fort of Jhansi or Gwalior and to march to northern India lightly equipped. He also offered to place four forts of his own at the disposal of the Maratha chief for this purpose but the Bhau ignored this wise counsel. *Karnamah i Ahmad Shah Durrani*, 2b–3a.

[2] *S P D.*, ii. 124, 127 xxi. 190 xxvii 258 *Rajwade*, i. 222 *Imad i-Saadat*, 85a b.

city fell on the 22nd July, and the fort capitulated on the 2nd August, 1760.[1]

This success turned Bhau's head and he rejected all peace proposals of the enemy by offering terms rather impossible to be accepted.[2] The capture of Delhi, however, proved fruitless. No food, no fodder and no money were procurable. The soldiers lived on scanty supplies of rice and chiefs on gram.[3] The Bhau therefore left Naro Shankar in charge of Delhi, and himself marched towards Sirhind. He arrived at Kunjpura, an Afghan fort on the bank of the Jumna, (80 miles north of Delhi), strongly garrisoned by its founder Najabat Khan and by Abdul Samad Khan, the ex-Governor of Sirhind, who was stationed there with 10,000 troops. This "castle was a robbers' den where other Afghan freebooters and Abdali agents of that tract used to lodge their booty and find a secure asylum in need. Enormous quantities of grain were stored here for the Shah's army across the Jamuna."[4] The fort was taken on the 17th October, and Abdul Samad and Najabat Khan were slain. Much booty was acquired from the fort. The Dusehra festival fell on the 19th October, and it was celebrated there with great splendour.[5]

At this point the Bhau committed the greatest blunder in not adequately guarding the fords on the Jumna. The loss of Delhi and Kunjpura was too much for the Durrani. The

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[1] *Nur-ud-din*, 33a; *Rajwade*, i, 222, 223, 224; *S.P.D.*, ii, 130, 131; xxi, 193; xxvii, 255, 257, 258; *Siyār*, iii, 66.

[2] *Rajwade*, i, 236, 237, 246, 247.

[3] *S.P.D.*, ii, 130, 131; xxi, 193; xxvii, 255, 257, 258.

[4] *Sarkar*, ii, 268.

[5] At this time Kunjpura estate consisted of 150 villages valued at 5 or 6 lakhs of rupees. *Cf. Karnal District Gazetteer*, 1883-4, p. 42.

S. P. D., xxi, 192, 193, 198; *Rajwade*, i, 255, 258, 259, 260, 265; *Nur-ud-din*, 34a-b; *Miskin*, 225-6; *Shamlu*, 31; *Husain Shahi*, 56-7; *Gulistan-i-Rahmat*, 60.

river was still unfordable, but he was burning with rage. He ordered his army to march under the guidance of Shuja-ud-daulah to the passage of Baghpat (20 miles north of Delhi) The troops were not prepared to undertake this dangerous task, but he led them to the bank of the river and said, "Drive your horses into the river just where we are standing" The artillery was tied to the waists of elephants. The opposite bank was found so muddy that neither man nor horse could cross it. Ahmad Shah ordered all men to bring some branch, grass or leaves, whatever one could find and to deposit it on the mud. The result was that in an hour's time a height of two yards was effected and the entire army passed over with ease. Ahmad Shah then sent one detachment in pursuit of the Maratha guard stationed six *kos* off, all of whom were slain. These events took place on the 23rd and 24th October [1]

The Bhau was extremely surprised at the daring and agility of the Durrani, and he immediately fell back on Panipat. He fixed his head-quarters close to the town while Ahmad Shah encamped three *kos* off. The Bhau enclosed his camp as well as the town with a ditch sixty feet wide and twelve feet deep, and mounted his guns on the parapet. The Durrani defended his encampment by an abattis.

The contending armies were, on the whole, equally matched. The Marathas were superior in artillery and the allied Muslims in infantry and generalship. The opponents lay here encamped for a period of two and a half months, and frequent skirmishes took place between them.[2]

[1] *Nur-ud-din*, 36a-38b; *Rajwade* i, 260, 261 *Husain Shahi*, 53-60.

[2] *Shamlu*, 32-3 *Sarkar* ii, 285-91.

The notable Durrani generals who participated in the battle of Panipat were the following:—Barkhurdar Khan, Shah Vali Khan, Jahan Khan, Shah Pasand Khan, Nasir Khan Baluch, Zamzala Khan, and Murad Khan Irani. Among the Indian chiefs were included Shuja ud-daulah, Najib-ud-daulah, Dunde Khan, Hafiz Rahmat Khan and Ahmad Khan Bangash. Cf. *Karnamah i-Ahmad Shah Durrani*, 6a-b

The Bhau was constantly receiving the supply of grain from Naro Shankar, the *Qiladar* of Delhi. Najib with the approval of the Durrani sent his troops who defeated Naro Shankar's infantry, and the direct route from Delhi to Panipat was entirely closed. Whenever the Bhau paid high wages to *Banjaras* (the grain, salt and grass carriers on bullocks), they brought supplies from Delhi in the night by some obscure path; but on account of strict vigilance of the enemy this method was also stopped.[1]

In retaliation the Bhau ordered Govind Ballal to devastate the territory of the Rohilla chiefs in the Gangetic Doab, and thus starve the Durrani by cutting off his supplies. In this admirable plan the Bhau was to be sorely disappointed. Govind Ballal had neither the capacity nor the means to execute this bold adventure. He marched with nearly 12,000 horse, came as far as Meerut, and stopped all supplies to the Durranis. The Afghan army was naturally hard-pressed and coarse flour was sold in the camp three seers to the rupee. Ahmad Shah sent Atai Khan with 14,000 strong. He covered 60 miles in the night and at daybreak fell like lightning on the camp of Govind Ballal. The Marathas were seized with panic. Govind Ballal was slain and his troops routed.[2]

Abdali thus cut off all the ways of receiving supplies by the Marathas on the side of the Jumna; but Alha Singh of Patiala contrived to send provisions. Abdali sent an expedition into his territory and closed this way also.[3] Consequently, there was a great scarcity of provisions and

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On the side of the Marathas there were Ibrahim Khan Gardi, Jankoji Sindhia, Malhar Rao Holkar, Umaji Gaekwar, Jaswant Rao Panwar, Samar Bahadur, son of Pilaji Jadun, Raja Nihal Singh Dev, Balwant Rao, Vishwas Rao, Antaji Mankeshwar and Raja Bahar Das. *Ibid*; 6b-7a.

[1] *Nur-ud-din*, 41a.

[2] *Nur-ud-din*, 45b-46b; *Shamlu*, 33-4; *Siyār*, iii, 68; *Husain Shahi*, 63-5; *Gulistan-i-Rahmat*, 61-2; *Karnamah-i-Ahmad Shah Durrani*, 8a-b.

[3] *Khazan-i-Amira*, 107; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 113a.

forage in the Maratha camp; and under this hardship, the Bhau, a man of resolution and iron will began to give way He opened negotiations for peace and Hafiz Rahmat Khan who was jealous of Najib's power took up his cause, but through Najib's activity the negotiations for a peaceful settlement fell through.[1]

The Marathas had gone without food for two days. The soldiers were clamouring for an action, and the Bhau, after a midnight council resolved to fight. Early next morning each person took a betel leaf and with horses starving for forage sallied from their camp and fought the great battle with wild but futile gallantry on the 13th January, 1761. Up to the noon the Marathas fought desperately and showed superior talent. Then the Bhau on horseback and Vishwas Rao, the Peshwa's son, on an elephant delivered a fierce charge very nearly gaining the day Ahmad Shah at this juncture summoned his reserves who moved from three sides, encircled the Marathas and brought the Bhau's vanguard under the musket fire all at once and swept away their firm stand. This caused a great tumult. Just at this time a bullet hit Vishwas Rao who was in reality the chief of the Maratha forces. The Bhau saw his feet dangling on the side of the elephant's head He became broken-hearted, felt disgusted with his life and dashed forward into the ranks of the Durranis with his followers. This was the thickest part of the battle and Ahmad Shah was putting his energies to the utmost in repulsing the enemy The Durrani swivels were playing in full force. The special regiments of the Khans which were kept as reserves were sent for and under the terrible effect of their constant fire the Marathas began to retreat. The Bhau was slain and his head was cut off.

The Marathas began to flee in all directions; and the entire army of Afghans, Mughals, Rohillas and Shuja-ud-

[1] *Kashi Raj* 19-21 *Nur-ud din*, 43b-45b.

daulah fell upon them and plundering commenced. Malhar escaped in safety through the kindness of Najib. Jankoji Sindhia and Antaji Mankeshwar were slain by their Muslim captors. Mahadji Sindhia, while flying, was wounded by an Afghan and he became lame for life. The whole peasantry of the neighbourhood joined in plundering and killing the Deccanis. Even the peasant women could not resist the temptation of such a loot. The Maratha losses were enormous. Nearly 30,000 were slain, 22,000 both men and women were taken slaves; while 2 lakh draught cattle, several thousand camels, 500 elephants and cash and jewellery beyond calculation fell into the hands of the victors. "Every trooper of the Shah brought away ten, and sometimes twenty camels laden with booty." So shocking was the news to the Peshwa that in the course of a month and a half he lost 64 lbs. in weight, and within six months he expired.

Having achieved this most splendid victory, Ahmad Shah bedecked with Koh-i-Noor and other precious diamonds, visited the following day the tomb of Bu Ali Qalandar to offer thanksgiving to God. After a time he started for the imperial capital where he arrived on the 29th January, and put up in Mumtaz Mahal's place. Here he allowed his weary soldiers a respite of nearly two months. This time again the Shah plundered the nobles and his troops squeezed the people. Ahmad Shah left for Afghanistan on the 22nd March, 1761.

While passing through the Panjab Ahmad Shah was frequently molested by the Sikhs. "As soon as he had passed the Sutledge, the Sicks began to plunder the stragglers from his camp, which he forbore to resent at that time, his army being loaded with plunder; however, to secure his camp from insult, he every night threw up a slight work round it, and in this manner he continued his march to the Attock, the Sicks following him all the way."[1]

[1] *Browne*, ii, 22.

The Durrani victory at Panipat shattered the Maratha dreams of extending their rule to the Panjab Only two powers, the Durranis and the Sikhs, were left in the field to contend for the possession of the land of the five rivers; and Ahmad Shah, therefore, aimed the next blow against his bearded enemies

7. *Sixth Invasion and the Sikh Carnage, 1762*

Ahmad Shah retired from the Panjab in May, 1761, leaving behind Khwajah Mirza Khan in charge of Chahār Mahāl, Khwajah Abed Khan in Lahore, Saadat Khan and Sadiq Khan Afridi in the Jullundur Doab and Zain Khan in Sirhind.

The Sikhs proved more than a match for Abdali's deputies. About 40,000 of them collected on this side of the Chenab, and defeated and killed Khwajah Mirza Khan.[1] Then they marched upon the Jullundur Doab, and instantly ousted both the Afghan officers.[2] The Sikhs thereafter turned to Zain Khan and plundered Sirhind Here they were greatly opposed by Bhikhan Khan, the Afghan chief of Malerkotla The Sikhs consequently raised the siege and hastened to Malerkotla, and laid waste the entire territory.[3]

[1] *Miskin*, 237

"آنکه در تمام ملک سکهان سایر و دائر بودند وپیش ازین نواب خواجه مرزا خان هم معه یک هزار سوار و پیاده از دست چهل هزار سکهان جنگیده شهید شده بودند".

[2] *Ibid.*

"سعادت خان و صادق خان افغان آفریدی که از طرف احمد شاه درانی حاکم دوابه بودند آن را هم سکهان چون مگس از شیر از آن سر زمین بر آورده هزیمت دادند".

[3] "The following year, the Sicks to the number of about forty thousand horse, ravaged the whole territory of Malnair (Maler), in revenge for the assistance given by Hinghun (Bhikhan) Khan to the Durranny Aumil (Zain Khan). *Browne*, ii, 23.

Ahmad Shah on reaching Afghanistan sent his general Nur-ud-din to fight the Sikhs, but he was defeated and driven away by Charat Singh[1] (grandfather of Ranjit Singh). On this Khwajah Abed Khan, the Governor of Lahore, besieged Gujranwala, the head-quarters of Charat Singh; but in this undertaking he miserably failed, and saved his life by fleeing to Lahore.[2] These successes so emboldened the Sikhs that under the leadership of Jassa Singh Ahluwalia (founder of Kapurthala house) they attacked Lahore, defeated and killed Khwajah Abed, and struck their own coin.[3]

After a time the Sikhs laid siege to Jandiala, because the Hindu chief of the place, Aqil Das, always helped the Durrani against them. They must have captured the fort, had not their efforts been foiled by the suspension of shanks of beef from the fort walls. Overpowered by their religious scruples, the Sikhs raised the siege, and retired towards Sirhind, and got busy in fighting against Zain Khan near Malerkotla.[4]

Ahmad Shah Abdali, on hearing of these outrages in his province of the Panjab, was highly incensed at the Sikhs. He resolved to crush this menace once for all, as he had done in the case of the Marathas the year previous. He hurriedly arrived at Jandiala only to find that the Sikhs had retired across the Beas and the Sutlej. With a lightly

[1] *Sohan Lal*, ii, 6.

[2] *Khuswaqt Rai*, 94.

[3] *Khazan-i-Amira*, 114. For an account of this coin *vide* Appendix.

[4] *Ali-ud-din*, 123b; *Tarikh-i-Ahmad*, 16-7; *Tarikh-i-Ali*, 145; *Husain Shahi*, 77:—

"سگان از کل پنجاب جمع شده قریب هفتاد هشتاد هزار سوار
فراهم آمده قلعه جنڈیاله را که هفت کروه از امرتسر فاصله دارد
محاصره نموده اند و محصوران حصار که مطیع الاسلام وفقراء نانک شاهی
سامع بانگ و صلوات اند از دست اینها به تنگ آمده رانهائی گوشت
گاؤ را بر فصیل قلعه ایستاده کرده اند".

equipped force he made one of the most rapid marches he had ever undertaken

The Sikhs lay encamped at village Kup (22 miles south of Ludhiana) near Malerkotla. They were roughly about 50,000 in number[1] Their *bahir* consisting of camp, arms, ammunition, kitchens, provisions, families and servants etc., was placed at Garma Pind, four miles distant. They were absolutely in the dark about Ahmad Shah Abdali's presence in the Panjab, owing to advanced winter as it was generally not the time for the invasion, and so they had taken no precautions whatsoever to protect them. In the Panjab there was no other superior force to them, and considering themselves masters of the situation they were fighting with an easy mind.

Miskin present in the battle-field says —"Sardar Zain Khan at the head of 10 to 15 thousand horse and foot lay encamped at Malerkotla. The Sikhs were stationed 7 *kos* distant. One night (4-5 February) the Durrani courtiers informed (Zain Khan) that Ahmad Shah Abdali had crossed both the rivers of the Doab, and would attack the Sikhs the following day and that he (Zain Khan) should keep the Sikhs engaged in fighting in the morning (evidently to check their flight) But the Sikhs also got this intelligence and they tried to escape Qasim Khan had already been ordered to begin the fight. We also arrived to *oppose them. The Sikhs took to flight. We pursued* them for half a *kos* Just then the Sikh cavalry turned aside from the direction of Ahmad Shah and dashed upon us. Qasim Khan could not stand the heavy onslaught and fled away to Malerkotla in spite of *my protests.* I retired to the left. Meanwhile the Sikhs again fled away (to Garma Pind to save their baggage) I joined Murtaza

[1] Two lakhs according to *Khazan-i-Amira* 114 *Siyar* iii, 74; *Tarikh i-Muzaffari*, 122a; *Tarikh i-Salatin i-Afghanan*, 171; and 80,000 according to *Husain Shahi*, 62; *Tarikh-i-Ahmad*, 17 but 50,000 according to *Miskin*, 241 (present in the battle).

Khan Bharaich, one of Zain Khan's officers, who stood his ground on a small eminence at the head of 500 horse and foot. Just at this moment the Shah's army arrived and taking Murtaza Khan's contingent for a body of the Sikhs[1] besieged us. Among our people I was dressed in a cap. I left them, went to the Shah's men, and told them all about it. Ahmad Shah Durrani was satisfied with my explanation, whilst his own scouts also brought him the same intelligence."[2]

Ahmad Shah directed his attention to the Sikhs, checked their retreat, and cut off all the ways of escape. The Afghans fell upon the Sikhs shouting dreadful howls, and cries of "faith! the faith! kill *kafirs*! this way brothers! quick! quick! kill these infidel dogs", rose higher and louder. The Sikhs were seized with a sudden panic, and instead of fighting a pitched battle they decided to flee while fighting. Under orders of Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and Charat Singh Sukarchakia the Sikhs formed themselves into a solid square, and the fight commenced.

Jassa Singh sent his messengers to Garma Pind ordering the *bahir* to move towards Barnala. The camp had proceeded only five miles, when Ahmad Shah ordered Shah Vali Khan, Bhikhan Khan of Malerkotla and Zain Khan, in a body of 8,000, to pursue the Sikh baggage train. It was attacked, and a large number of men, women and children were massacred.

The main body of the Sikhs was putting up one of the

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[1] Indian Muslims were ordered to wear grass, blades of green wheat or barley or green leaves of trees on their heads to enable the Durrani soldiers to distinguish them from Sikhs, who with their flowing beards, long, loose shirts and heavy turbans had a great resemblance with the Muslims. Their only difference lay in trousers and Sikh drawers; but on horseback in the thick of the fight this did not serve as a prominently distinguishing badge. *Tarikh-i-Ahmad*, 17.

[2] *Miskin*, 241-2.

toughest struggles they had ever made. On learning that their baggage train had been assailed, they quickened their speed, and through a weak point galloped forward and joined their *bahir*. The Durrani, however, took advantage of the slight disorder in their ranks, and slaughtered many Sikhs. On reaching their camp the Sikhs again threw themselves into order, and their so suddenly arranging themselves in a regular formation drew admiration even from the Abdali.[1]

The Abdali now aimed at pushing himself between their main body and the baggage train, and four selected contingents made a sudden dash upon them. Here again a fierce action took place. Several Sikh chiefs, particularly Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and Charat Singh Sukarchakia hastened to this place, and encouraged their brethren to continue fighting unabated. The enemy admired their wonderful swordsmanship and marvelled at their sprightliness, strength and skill. But ultimately the Durranis were successful and the main body of the Sikhs was separated from their baggage train, and thousands of Sikhs were cut to pieces.[2]

The main body of the Sikhs, being free from encumbrances increased their speed of retreating, and till afternoon they covered nearly 20 miles. The sun had begun to decline on a short wintry day. The Afghans were completely exhausted by a journey of 150 miles and the hard fighting of the day. They had now reached by a pond of water near Qutba village. Both the armies rushed to the edge of the water. On one side the Sikhs were drinking water, and on the other the Durranis. The general engagement between the two forces had almost come to an end; but skirmishes continued. The Sikhs took advantage of this situation and galloped off to Barnala (25 miles south-west of Malerkotla) and, but for a straggler here and there,

[1] *Ratan Singh*, 445-7; *Miskin*, 242.
[2] *Ratan Singh*, 448-53.

they were clear of the danger zone. By evening the Sikhs were in a desert. Ahmad Shah gave up the pursuit in order to give rest to his exhausted troops. This battle is known by the name of *Ghallughara* or bloody carnage in which about 12,000 Sikhs were killed.[1]

Ahmad Shah was now in the territory of Alha Singh of Patiala who was ordered to wait upon the Abdali. On his delaying compliance, Ahmad Shah stormed his forts of Barnala and Dhundadhura. Alha Singh realizing the futility of his attempt presented himself before the Abdali. He was immediately imprisoned and ordered to rid himself of the most visible symbol of Sikhism by getting himself clean shaved; but he was saved from this calamity by the friendly intervention of Shah Vali Khan on the payment of a large sum of tribute.[2]

Ahmad Shah returned to Lahore, and on his way at

[1] The Sikh losses in this battle are variously estimated: *Miskin*, 243 (25,000); *Khazan-i-Amira*, 114 (29,000); *Siyār*, iii, 74 (20,000); *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 122a (22,000); *Husain Shahi*, 83 (30,000); *Forster*, i, 319 (25,000); *Malcolm*, 98 (upwards of 20,000); *Tarikh-i-Ahmad*, 17 (30,000); *Tarikh-i-Ali*, 146 (20,000); *Tarikh-i-Sultani*, 146 (20,000); *Ahmad Shah*, 885 (17,000); *Prinsep*, 24 (25 to 30,000); *M'Gregor*, i, 132 (17,000); *Cunningham*, 109 (12 to 25,000); *Hugel*, 271 (20 to 30,000); *Ganesh Das*, 200 (30,000); *Ali-ud-din*, 124a (30,000); *Ratan Singh*, 457 (30,000); *Gyan Singh*, 827 (13,000); *Shamshir Khalsa*, 112 (10 to 12,000); *Karam Singh*, 221 (15 to 20,000); *Sarkar*, ii, 486 (10,000).

A Marathi letter written from Shamli 20 days after the battle reproduced in *Rajwade*, vi, 465, says that five to seven thousand Sikhs were slain.

[2] *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghanan*, 171-2; *Ali-ud-din*, 124b.

"شاهنشاهی فرمود که مو سر او تراش نمایند اُو عرض کرد که مُو سر خود را خرید مے نمایم شاه را عرض کردند که آلا مو سر خود خرید مے نماید از موقف جلال فرمان صادر شد که بپرسید چه میدهد اُو گفت که لک روپیه قیمت موهائی خود میدهم فرمودند که لک روپیه بگیرند و اُو را خلاص سازند".

Amritsar decided to blow up with gunpowder the sacred buildings of the Sikhs now known as Darbar Sahib. His pacific chief minister, Shah Vali Khan, pleaded against this move, but the Indian Muslim chiefs, then in attendance upon him, particularly Yaqub Ali Khan and Najib-ud-daulah, urged him not to desist from such a noble design, and Ahmad Shah destroyed the tank and the temple, and polluted them with cows entrails and blood[1]

The Abdali reached Lahore on the 3rd March, 1762. He brought fifty cart-loads of Sikh heads from Kup They were displayed on the city gates and the walls. He also "caused the walls of the principal mosques which had been polluted by the Sicques, to be washed with their blood, that the contamination might be removed, and the ignominy offered to the religion of Mahomet, expiated"[2]

Ahmad Shah stayed in the Panjab for nine months more in order to suppress any further rising of the Sikhs. In July he set up his camp at Kalanaur in the Gurdaspur district to avoid the oppressive heat of Lahore The Sikhs, however, gave him no peace, and he was very much annoyed at their guerilla tactics. "The Sikhs created disturbances everywhere and plundered the country The Shah despatched his nobles in every direction to punish them; but they did not fight with a will, and being easily defeated came back. This made the Sikhs stronger and bolder, and they began to commit depredations to the very suburbs of Lahore."[3]

During these expeditions if a Sikh fell into the hands of

[1] *Aliuddin*, 125b *Date Shah*, 15a *Forster* i, 320 *Nur-ud-din*, 57a, *Tarikh-i-Sultani-Afghanan*, 172 *Ahmad Shah*, 563 *Gulzar-i-Shahi*, 525.

[2] *Forster* i, 320 *Khazan-i-Amira*, 114 *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 122a *Khushwaqt Rai* 93.

[3] *Ahmad Shah*, 957 f. At this time Mohin travelled from Sirhind to Sialkot and back. He says that the Sikhs were growing stronger and stronger everyday while the Afghans were laying waste the whole country and destruction and famine prevailed everywhere which was used at

the Afghans and was asked to part with his arms, he would never do so boldly declaring that wearing arms was a part of his religion, as saying prayers was with Muslims and wearing a sacred thread with Brahmins. To give a tit for tat to the Abdali, the Sikhs destroyed mosques and tombs and used them as stables. They also gave them insulting names. Mosques were called *Mastgarh*, Musalmans as *Musla*, and Ahmad Shah was named *Ghilja*.[1]

Ahmad Shah led an expedition against the Sikhs towards the river Sutlej. He ordered all the Hindus to remove their hair and beards as these were the symbols of Sikhism. One day he was smoking a hubble-bubble, when suddenly a Sikh rushed upon him. The Abdali struck him with an arrow, and he fell dead on the spot. The Sikhs then disappeared and Ahmad Shah returned to Lahore.[2]

Ahmad Shah decided to make use of his stay in the Panjab by recovering Kashmir from his own nominee Sukhjiwan Mal who had thrown off his allegiance to the Abdali and submitted to the Delhi Emperor. Sukhjiwan Mal was an exceptionally capable and just ruler in administering government, very liberal in religion, patron of Muslim culture, kind to the poor[3] and supporter of art and literature.

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the rate of seven seers per rupee :—

"گرانی غله در آن مکان بسیار بود یعنی یک روپیه را هفت آثار آرد می فروختند در سیالکوٹ و لاهور و دوابه همین نرخ بود"۔ P. 246.

"اول ترس سکهان روز بروز زیاده میشد و دویم فوج شاه که از هرچهار طرف لاهور را غارت و تاراج برده ویران و بے چراغ ساختند" P. 247.

[1] *Ganesh Das*, 201-2.

[2] *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghanan*, 172-3.

[3] In 1754 there was a severe famine in Kashmir. Sukhjiwan Mal distributed quite free one lakh sacks (*kharwars*) of rice among the poor, and permitted the public to buy rice from the Government stores at the rate of one anna per seer. *Narayan Kaul*, 185a.

But he had a rival in Raja Ranjit Dev of Jammu who was induced by Shah Vali Khan to come to Lahore and guide an expedition to Kashmir. The Afghan troops numbering about 3,000, supplemented by a contingent of Ranjit Dev were placed under the command of Nur-ud-din. This small expedition led in June failed as all the passes leading into Kashmir were strongly guarded, and it was found difficult to cross the flooded rivers and streams. The second expedition organised in October on a larger scale achieved complete success. The Durrani army entered Kashmir by the Tosha Maidan. Sukhjiwan Mal came to oppose the invaders at the head of 50,000 troops; but just at the time of battle he was deserted by his commander-in-chief, Bakht Mal. Sukhjiwan Mal was therefore easily defeated and captured. He was immediately blinded by applying a lance, and was sent to Lahore where he was trampled down by horses to death The province of Kashmir was placed under the charge of Nur-ud-din.[1]

Ahmad Shah appointed Kabuli Mal, a Hindu, the Governor of the Panjab, thinking that he might be able to win over the Sikhs and thereby establish peace in the province He left Lahore for Afghanistan on the 12th December,

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[1] *Khazan-i-Amira*, 114 6 *Siyar* iii, 74; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 122a-b; *Narayan Kaul*, 186a-187a. About Sukhjiwan Mal the contemporary Ghulam Ali Azad says: "He was a handsome youth, possessed of good qualities and friendly feelings towards Islam. He repaired all the shrines and gardens. After finishing the court business, he fed two hundred Muslims with a variety of food every day On the 11th and 12th of every month he got sacramental food cooked and distributed among the people. He bestowed favours on every visitor to the court whether he was poor or rich. Once in every week he held a poetical conversazione It was attended by all the well known poets. At the end of it he embraced every one of them. He engaged five best scholars to compile a history of Kashmir from the earliest times Each writer was provided with ten assistants. The head of these historians was Muhammad Taufiq whose original name was Lalaju." *Khazan-i-Amira*, 114 6. *Cf Siyar*, iii, 74 *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 122a b.

1762. The Sikhs had grown so bold and fearless that they attacked him just under the walls of the Lahore fort when Abdali was on the bank of the Ravi. "His troops were crossing the river, when the Sikhs most fearlessly approached them and started plundering their baggage. Some of them came nearer and discharged their guns from close quarters. Ahmad Shah was standing on the river bank at the head of his personal contingent of 12,000. He marvelled at their boldness, looked surprisingly at them, but remained silent until his troops crossed over; and he was left alone with his detachment. The Sikhs finding the Afghans smaller in number grew bolder, galloped their horses close to the Shah and emptied their matchlocks. The Shah said his afternoon prayers, rode on horseback and attacked the Sikhs. His troops made a sudden sally with drawn swords, and cut down the Sikhs so quickly as fire destroys cotton. The Sikhs took to flight towards the river Beas. By this time night had fallen. The Shah gave up their pursuit, crossed over the Ravi, and marched homeward."[1]

8. *Seventh Invasion, 1764-65*

On the departure of Ahmad Shah the Sikhs created a havoc all over the Panjab. They vanquished the Afghans wherever they rose against them. "The mosques that had been ever rebuilt or restored to use by the Mahometans, were demolished with every mark of contempt and indignation; and the Afghans, in chains, washed the foundations with the blood of hogs. They were also compelled to excavate the reservoir at Amrut Sir, which in the preceding year they had filled up. The Sicques, however, keenly actuated by resentment, set a bound to the impulse of revenge, and though the Afghan massacre and persecution must have been deeply imprinted on their minds, they did not, it is

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[1] *Ahmad Shah*, 895-6.

said estroy one prisoner in cold blood."[1]

In May, 1763, they defeated the Afghan chiefs of Kasur, and sacked the town The Jullundur Doāb was run over in June Abdali's commander-in-chief, Jahan Khan, was repulsed on the banks of the Chenab by the middle of November, and Malerkotla was laid waste in December Early in January, 1764, they entered the Sirhind province, and defeated and killed Zain Khan, the Governor, on the 14th January, 1764 The Sikhs occupied the territory situated between the Sutlej and the Jumna In February, they raided the Gangetic Doāb, the country of Najib-ud-daulah The eye-witness Miskin, who had recently taken service under Najib writes ' In that year, 40,000 of their horsemen crossed the Jumna and disturbed and looted the Saharanpur and Meerut districts Nawab Najib Khan, for a month or two, moved in every direction where the Sikhs were reported to be roving, in order to protect the country, and fought and usually defeated them As they did not make a firm stand anywhere and offer battle, he had to run about after them, but they did not give up their jackal tricks."[2]

The Sikhs afterwards coerced Kabuli Mal, the Durrani Governor of Lahore, and forced him to cut off the noses and ears of certain butchers of the city Then they advanced to Multan and the Derajat. "They led an expedition against Multan, and plundered the city The Dogs have brought an immense booty from there, and I cannot describe what the Dogs did there [3] Another section of the Sikhs under Charat Singh Sukarchakia devastated the country as far as the Jhelum, and took possession of the fort of Rohtas.[4]

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[1] *Forster* i, 321; *cf* *Tarikh-i-Salatin i Afghanan*, 173.

[2] *Miskin*, 266 *Sarkar* ii, 395.

[3] *Jang Namah*, 33.

[4] *Sohan Lal*, ii, 11 2 *Ratan Singh* 436-8; *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghanan*, 174.

All these distressing news greatly exasperated Ahmad Shah Abdali who grew furious at the defiance and contumacy of the Sikhs whose lawless activities had spread over a vast country lying between the Indus and the Ganges. He was not prepared to allow his prestige which had risen to its zenith after the third battle of Panipat to wane. Besides, he wanted to punish Jawahir Singh, the Jat Raja of Bharatpur, who had besieged his plenipotentiary Najib-ud-daulah in Delhi.

Ahmad Shah Durrani collected an army of 18,000 strong, and called upon Nasir Khan, the Baluch Chief, who was making preparations to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca to join him. He wrote[1] :—

"I have received news from Multan and Derahs that the Sikhs have laid waste the Lahore territory. They have devastated the entire country as far as Multan[2] and Derahs. They have demolished mosques, taken Muslims as captives and have prevented the Muslims from performing all the

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[1] Nothing was known about this invasion of Ahmad Shah Abdali and it remained hitherto almost a blank in the history of India. The details of this campaign are based on Nur Muhammad's *Jang Namah*, a rare manuscript of unique value. The author followed in the train of the invader, took notes of his deeds on personal observation and compiled the work in Persian verse the same year, covering 226 pages. The only copy of this work known to exist was in the library of the Khan of Kalat (Baluchistan). The late Karam Singh, a research scholar of Sikh history, copied it in 1906. This has now been printed by the Khalsa College, Amritsar.

[2] No Panjab Historian has so far admitted the Sikh invasion into Multan as early as 1764, but nobody can challenge the accuracy of Nur Muhammad. Further on the author of the *Jang Namah* says: "They led an expedition against Multan and gave the city over to plunder. The Dogs (Sikhs) have brought immense booty from there. My mind refuses (to describe) what the Dogs did there. O faithful ones! since the days of auspicious-natured Adam none remembers to have heard of such miseries inflicted anywhere except in Multan. But as God willed it, each of us should also submit to it." *Ibid.*, 174.

religious observances[1] The things have grown so bad and you are going on a pilgrimage A religious war with them is better than a pilgrimage I start from this place and you march from there Both of us united will root them out We will burn their houses and will capture their women and children as slaves."[2]

The religious appeal from his master stirred Nasir Khan's mind He gave up the idea of the pilgrimage for the time being, and made preparations for the invasion of India It also seems probable that the approach of the Sikhs to the very suburbs of his territory, the boundary of which extended as far as the Derajat, had raised doubts in his mind that he must try to put a check on their unlimited ambition.

The Khan's religious enthusiasts (*Ghazi*) at once responded to the call and they began to pour in Kalat in their fur dresses holding matchlocks in their hands. The Khan ordered the Baruhis of Jehalbani to assemble at Bazidi stage and those of Sadabani at Ganjaba. He himself marched from Kalat with great pomp and show, and halted at the first stage of Bazidi, where he was joined by the Jehalbans. The next halt was made at Ganjaba, where Sadabani, Lasha and Kachhi Baluches swelled his ranks At this place Qazi Nur Muhammad the memorable writer of the *Jang Namah* who was a grey-bearded old man expressed his wish to become a *Ghazi* and joined the Khan. The Khan advised him to stay behind in view of his old age and the long and tedious journey, but the Qazi was steadfast and firm. The Khan then asked him to compile an account of the invasion and of his brave deeds and took him in his train.[3]

[1] "When the exalted Shah (Abdali) returned (to his country in 1763) that progressive sect (Sikhs) came out from forests and mountains and busied themselves in plundering the property of the Muslims, turned their mosques and monasteries into stables for their horses, entirely stopped the Islamic practices like azan, etc., in the Muslim habitations and subjected them to great persecution." *Tarikh-i-Salatin i Afghanan*, 173.

[2] *Jang Namah*, 41 2. [3] *Ibid.*, 43-4.

At the third stage more tribesmen of the neighbouring villages came and followed him. At "Jani ke Dere" Rahman Khan, Governor of Shikarpur, visited the Khan saying that he had arranged provisions for his troops and fodder for the horses in accordance with the instructions of Ahmad Shah Durrani. Here the Khan was joined by Gahram Khan at the head of a force of Magsis and Lasharis. Shikarpur was the next station where they stayed for two days. Then passing through Bakhtiyarpur, Kasinge, Kandah Kot and Kasmor they arrived at Shikarpur Sani, where Sardar Ghazi Khan[1] joined him. Derah was the next stage where a halt of three days was made. On the third day Nasir Khan ordered all his troops for a march past (alimah) and watched them from his *Kohparah* horse. The clerk (*munshi*) counted them and found the number to be 12,000.[2]

Marching from Derah they encamped on the bank of the river (Indus) where they spent three or four days in search of boats. After covering several stages they arrived on the bank of the Jhelum where they halted for two days. On the third day Bakhtiyar Khan joined the Khan with a thousand of the best troops of his tribe. They crossed the river by means of boats and advanced farther. Now they had the river Chenab on the one hand and the Jhelum on the other. Both the chiefs covered four stages together and reached Sahiwal, which was an old town of the Baluches. Here they received a message from Ahmad Shah to march quickly. Nasir Khan, therefore, crossed the Chenab by forced marches and arrived at Chiniot.[3]

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[1] This Ghazi Khan attended to the toilet in the fashion of women. He took *bhang* and opium and indulged in wine and women. Ahmad Shah's contractors (*Ijarah dar*) came, looted and laid waste his country. *Jang Namah*, 52-3.

[2] *Ibid.*, 45-60. (30,000 according to *Nur-ud-din*, 92b; but I follow the eye-witness Nur Muhammad. 30,000 was the total strength of the Afghan forces this time).

[3] *Ibid.*, 61-72.

Nur Muhammad paid a visit to the town and described its pitiable condition in pathetic words. He states: "The city has been ruined by the atrocities of the Sikhs. All the people of the place were in trouble and misery. The whole town including its suburbs lay in ruins. Its buildings had been pulled down, and all the mosques were deserted. They were spoiled by the dung and fodder of horses. The learned people, the nobles and the Sayyids of the city led a miserable life. When the Dogs (Sikhs) partitioned this *land, the city fell into the share of accursed Jhanda (Singh* Bhangi). They divided among themselves the whole country, Sirhind, Lahore, Panjab, Multan, Jhang, Khusab, and the land of the Chenab."[1]

At this place another message to the same effect cāme from the Durrani Emperor who lay encamped at Eminabad. Nasir Khan consequently travelled by double marches. When he was at a distance of 10 miles from him, he sent a man in advance to Ahmad Shah Abdali asking whether to present himself at his service the same evening or the next morning. Ahmad Shah detained his messenger, but sent word through his own man that he should rest in the night and join him the following day. The Khan started early in the morning and was received by Sardar Jahan Khan six miles away from the camp. He then saw Ahmad Shah Abdali who accorded him a warm reception.[2]

On the following day the whole army marched before daybreak and halted at a distance of 9 *kos*. They came to the river (Ravi) on the third day. Ahmad Shah crossed over at once, but Nasir Khan stayed at Shahdara for the night and joined the Durrani the next morning. Ahmad Shah held a *darbar* in the Fort of Lahore. It was attended

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[1] *Ibid.*, 72. "Chiniot also suffered much from the Durrani inroads during the last half of the eighteenth century." *Imperial Gazetteer, Punjab*, ii, 217.

[2] *Ibid.*, 73-7.

by all the big officials and local chiefs of note, while the captains of the army stood in a line on one side. The Durrani said, "Let me know the exact place where the Sikhs are. In the absence of this information how can I fight them." Each chief expressed his opinion. The Khan of the Baluches said, "I am ready to obey the orders of the king. I would not mind in undertaking to powder a mountain if it falls in the way. About the Sikhs I do not care, because they cannot dare face men in the field. They come like thieves to fight. If they fight in a regular battle they would learn what fighting is, but the crux of the problem is that they flee away before the royal troops. They measure their strength with the poor and the weak. The royal troops should advance to take them by surprise. We will end this trouble once for all and will bring their women and children as captives."[1]

Ahmad Shah Durrani replied, "Whatever you have said is quite true, but they have gone away from here. There is neither water nor fodder and I am afraid my troops may perish. They are hidden in the Lakhi Jungle which is about 150 miles from here. But we will attack them there and will destroy them." All agreed to adopt this course and went to their camps to prepare for the journey.[2]

Next morning by sunrise all the chiefs gathered in the presence of Ahmad Shah Abdali. Then a horseman of the *Qarawal*[3] came in hot haste, telling that a strong contingent of the enemy had fallen on the *Qarawal*, and if immediate reinforcements were not despatched by the king, things would go very bad.[4]

On that day the Baluches under two Sardars, Gahram Khan and Ahmad Khan, appointed by Nasir Khan, were

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[1] *Ibid.*, 77-81. [2] *Ibid.*, 81-2.

[3] When the army went to the battle-field, their camps, kitchens, families and servants known as *Bahir-o-Bungah* were left in charge of a strong contingent, which was called *Qarawal*. [4] *Jang Namah*, 83.

in charge of the *Qarawal*. When the Sikhs attacked[1] them Ahmad Khan with his son advanced to achieve martyrdom, and both of these lost their lives instantaneously. Twelve other Baluches were also killed.[2]

The battle was going on in this way when the reinforcements from the Durrani arrived. Nasir Khan was ahead of all of them preceded only by a youth named Pir Abdul Nabi, the chief of Raisania. He frightened the Sikhs as a lion did the dogs. One Sikh shot him and lodged a bullet in the leg He fell down wounded and his companions removed him from the battle-field.[3]

Nasir Khan then came forward and approached close to the Sikhs. One Chartu (Charat Singh Sukarchakia) round whose neck a sword was hanging, advanced to oppose him. The Khan violently fell on him; but he at once fled to his troops. Suddenly a Sikh fired a gun under the effect of which the Khan's horse dropped dead. The Baluches cried out "*bismillah, bismillah*," and thanked God on finding him safe and sound. Greetings were exchanged and he was congratulated. The Khan's two attendants Muhammad Husain and Mir Manga discharged their guns on that Sikh, one killed his horse and the other destroyed its rider.[4]

In the meantime the rest of the Durrani army came on the scene. The Sikhs took to flight and the Afghans galloped off in pursuit One brave Baluch named Mazar was fighting the Sikhs, but some Sikhs shot him dead.[5] With Mir Mazar there was another hero named Haji who gave up his life in God's cause by the bullet of a Sikh. Another youth Jalli, who was fighting in front of the Khan laid down his life from two arrows aimed at him by a Sikh.

[1] *Ibid.*, 87

[2] *Ibid.*, 88.

[3] *Ibid.*, 90-2.

[4] *Ibid.*, 92-5.

[5] "Can this be called a fight that a brave youth was sent to heaven by being shot from a distance? If the fight had been carried by the sword he would have killed several Sikhs." *Ibid.*, 96.

Ghulam Husain youth of Bingalzai aimed his gun at a Sikh who shouted, "If you are a man, dismount and combat with me." The youth was enraged, fought with the Sikh and laid him prostrate on the ground. He now sat on him. The Sikh tried to seize the sword of his adversary, but he firmly grasped his hand. When he could not release it he bit his hand. The Pathan hero grew furious and cut off his head with a dagger.[1]

The chief of Sasulian was a young man. He threw down a Sikh from his horse, but another Sikh immediately killed him. Another youth of Alhari clan named Jalal was a handsome and brave young man. He roamed in the midst of the Sikhs like a tiger. He shot down a Sikh, but suddenly another Sikh cut him into two pieces.[2]

Mir Barfi was a daring youth, expert in the use of the spear. He was fearlessly wandering in the field of battle. One Sikh opposed him, but this Baluch pierced him through with his spear. In the struggle which ensued the spear fell down from his hand. Mullandar and Fatuhi Darogha, other brave soldiers, killed two Sikhs.

Nur Muhammad says that he was present in the battle-field on that day. He had a sword in one hand and a pen in the other. A Sikh brandishing his sword sprang upon him, but he was instantly shot dead by a Bruhi youth.[3]

In short when the night fell the Sikhs disappeared out of sight. All the heroes (*ghazi*) retired from the battle-field with satisfaction. Nasir Khan congratulated the King

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[1] *Ibid.*, 95-8.

[2] "It is sad that the infidels martyr men by shooting from a distance. They would have seen our skill if they had fought with swords." *Ibid.*

[3] "I am sorry his name and address are not known to me, otherwise I would have praised him. God has made the sword either for Pathans or for Baluches and nobody else can rival them." *Ibid.*

(Ahmad Shah Durrani) on this victory, who advised the Khan not to fight again in the front ranks and thus endanger his life.

The Sikhs having fled from the battle-field made straight for Amritsar When the Shah learnt all this, he at once prepared to invade the place which he had already ruined, but which had been rebuilt by the Sikhs

The Shah left all his baggage at Lahore and with horsemen unencumbered by field equipments marched for the place and reached there on the fourth night The Sikhs had already fled from "Guruchak," and when the Shah reached there he did not find any of the infidels, with the exception of a few men in the fort. They were seeking death, and their aim was to sacrifice their lives for their Guru When they saw the Shah and his troops, they came out of the fort. They numbered only thirty and did not mind their death at all. In a heroic fight with the *ghazis* they were all killed The Afghans ran right and left, but came across no other Sikh.[1]

Ahmad Shah Durrani returned to Lahore and held a council of war All expressed their opinion Nasir Khan said, "We must leave this place in pursuit of the Sikhs If any of these infidels will come before us, that black-faced person will be killed with the help of the fortune of the King. We should stay at Sirhind for so long as to get news from Najib Khan at Delhi about his position. When the tidings of your approach to Sirhind will reach Delhi, the infidels will begin to tremble out of fear of the world emperor They will run hither and thither, and Najib Khan by escaping from the siege will come to our service Then you can settle what course to follow, either to go forward or to come back"[2] These suggestions were accepted and the following day was fixed for the march.

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[1] *Ibid.*, 106.

[2] *Ibid.*, 107-8.

The next morning all the troops came out of the city of Lahore and started for the Doāb where the Sikhs lived. When they marched the King said, "The country belongs to the *Kafirs*, plunder and lay it waste thoroughly." "When the troops learnt it they fled to every town and village, because they desired such a thing from their heart and had prayed to God day and night for it. The troops led their attacks in all directions and created a havoc wherever they went. They made no distinction between Sikhs and non-Sikhs.[1] The troops plundered indiscriminately and thus the country was ruined. The inhabitants of every village took to flight going as far away as they could. A large number of cows, asses, sheep and goats, sugar-cane fields, and heaps of sugar-cane molasses and sesame fell into their hands. The men as well as cattle ate nothing but *gur* and *til*. Even the male and female slaves and all big and small lived on beef, sugar-cane molasses and sesame. A thousand blessings on such a King who confers the whole country on his troops. Only such a prince can show generosity as requires no weight and no scales. In this way all the troops laid waste the entire country from morning to evening, and after fourteen or fifteen days we reached the town of Batala"[2] (56 miles from Lahore).

Then the Afghans crossed the Beas and entered the Jullundur Doāb where the people had been so much terrified that they took shelter either in the hills or hid themselves in the thick vegetation on the river banks. A large number of them took refuge in the dens of Dholbaha.

The Afghans were leisurely marching through the Jullundur Doāb when one day the Sikhs suddenly appeared before them. Their heads were full of pride and hearts bent upon revenge. They checked the progress of the advance-guard. The leader of the advance-guard at once sent a message to the Shah that the devil Sikhs had fallen

[1] *Ibid.*, 110. [2] *Ibid.*, 110-1.

on them On that day Sardar Jahan Khan had the command of the troops. He was familiar with the Sikh warfare, because he had fought many battles with them, and knew their cunning and tricks well. The Khan stood at his place and did not move forward at all. He waited for the reinforcements The damned Sikhs were creating a havoc in the field They had guns and matchlocks in their hands and were killing people right and left. All of a sudden the royal troops under Nasir Khan arrived. The Khan on seeing the Dogs rushed upon them with the fury of a lion. He was followed by his own special contingent which displayed the greatest valour in the fight. Then began the hand-to-hand fight which Nur Muhammad describes in his own characteristic way Sayyid Nur Shah was in the forefront, and he killed an enemy with his sword. Ghulam Husain Bingalzai brought down another foe from his horse with a stroke of the sword. The cashier of the Khan struck a horseman so dexterously that he was immediately despatched to hell. Muhammad Husain also killed one black-faced infidel. Barfi Qambarani cut an enemy into two pieces with his sword, and alighting from his horse stripped him of his arms In this struggle Suleman Jasawal galloped off his horse behind a Sikh, and on drawing near by hit him with his sword so hard that he fell down from his horse. Just at this moment another Dog fell upon him from behind, and cut off his head with a single stroke of the sword. Thus this young man repaired to heaven

When the Khan spurred his horse the infidels took to flight, and kept on running for six miles They came upon a deserted village which had fallen into ruins on account of the ravages of time The Sikhs hid themselves there. Nasir Khan followed them and on arriving near the village alighted from his horse, while all his troopers stood round him with guns in their hands The night fell. It was pitch dark. The *Shahanshah* was waiting for the Khan, and on seeing the darkness thickening was growing restless and

expressed his desire that he should not fight in the night. He ordered his Wazir to recall the Khan. The Wazir sent him an express message that he was immediately wanted by the Shah. The Khan replied that he would not return till the enemy came out; but on search it was discovered that no Sikh was there. So he mounted his steed, came back to the Shah, and congratulated him on this victory.[1]

The day's battle being over, the Durrani continued his march and reached the Sutlej on the third day. It was crossed probably at Machhiwara. He posted Nasir Khan on the opposite bank of the river to see that no horses or camels were driven away by the enemy. Nasir Khan had just taken up his position when the Sikhs suddenly appeared in sight. They intended to have one more trial of strength with the Afghans on the very bank of the river. They waited for an opportunity for the whole day, but Nasir Khan did not budge an inch from his place and stood on his ground in a solid square. The Sikhs eventually retired in disappointment.[2]

Ahmad Shah spent the night there, and marched onward the next morning. When they had gone only a little farther, they wanted to decide what route to follow to Delhi. On the right hand side lay the main road *via* Sirhind, but this territory was not rich and fertile and lacked in plentiful supply of provisions and fodder. The country on the left side was green and prosperous and was thickly populated. Consequently, they adopted the left hand route. They divided themselves into bands and marched leisurely seldom travelling more than six miles in a day. They obtained plenty of wheat, barley, vegetables and pulses, and as a result both men and animals gained considerably in weight.[3]

Ahmad Shah encamped in the famous Pinjor Garden situated near Kalka on the Simla road at the foot of the

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[1] *Ibid.*, 112-6. [2] *Ibid.*, 118. [3] *Ibid.*, 119.

hills. Here he stayed for two days[1] to enjoy the tiger hunt in the neighbouring hills, and by way of Garhi Kotaha, reached Kunjpura situated on the banks of the Jumna near Karnal (nearly 100 miles) in two months' time by the end of February[2]

Here he came to know that Najib-ud-daulah had made peace with Jawahar Singh.[3] He held a *darbar* at this place and sought the advice of his chiefs whether to go to Delhi or to return Nasir Khan said, "It is better if we go to Delhi and spend the four months of the rainy season there. We will know how things stand between Jats and Marathas on the one hand, and with Najib Khan on the other We will also know what the difficulties of Najib were, how he fought, how he settled terms and how he got rid of his troubles All these affairs will be managed at Delhi. We will also get information about Ali Gauhar (Shah Alam II) and about his intentions, whether he fights us or makes friends with us. Rumour says that he cherishes hostile intentions. If this is true we will set him right, but if he behaves in a friendly manner we should be kind to him. We should also treat Shuja kindly because he supplies us with treasure and goods. When we have settled all these affairs, we will raise a huge army consisting of the forces of Najib Khan, Shuja and other chiefs, also of the Jats and the Marathas without sparing anybody Then we will attack the Sikhs and will root them out easily because a hare can be successfully hunted by a local hound "[4]

The other Durrani chiefs dissented with this view They were afraid of the sweltering heat of the Indian summer the

[1] *Ibid.*, 122.   [2] *Browne*, ii, 25.

[3] Father Xavier Wendel, a Jesuit Missionary at Agra, in his *History of the Jats* written in French and compiled in 1768, on page 98, says that if the Sikhs had not retarded Ahmad Shah Durrani's progress and finally obliged him to retrace his steps, Jawahir Singh would have seen the Durrani and Najib arriving in his own country

[4] *Jang Namah*, 131.

oppressive rainy season, the swelling rivers difficult to cross and the attacks of the Jats and the Sikhs. They pressed Ahmad Shah to return and he immediately marched homeward.

On his return journey Ahmad Shah travelled by quick marches, and reached Sirhind in three or four stages. The ghastly sight of the once flourishing city which had been laid waste by the Sikhs in January, 1764, shocked the Afghans greatly. Nur Muhammad rode through all the streets of the town, but found it all destroyed and deserted.[1]

Alha Singh, the founder of the present house of Patiala presented himself before the Abdali and offered him costly gifts. The Shah enquired of him the cause of the ruin of Sirhind city. Alha Singh blamed the trans-Sutlej Sikhs for this atrocity though he had himself also participated in its destruction along with them, and told him that he fought many times against the Sikhs, but to no effect.[2] He begged the Shah to grant him the territory of Sirhind, and promised to repopulate the town. The Abdali considered it an excellent opportunity to cause a split among the Sikhs by granting him this favour and thus making him a tributary to the Durrani Government to which all other Sikhs were violently opposed. He conferred upon him the title of Raja, invested him with a robe of honour and kettle-drum, and appointed Alha Singh to the governorship of Sirhind on his agreeing to pay an annual tribute of three lakhs and a half.[3]

Ahmad Shah Durrani halted at Sirhind for a few days and then marched towards Lahore under the guidance of

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[1] *Ibid.*, 133. [2] *Ibid.*, 139.

[3] *Jang Namah*, 139-40; *Bakhtmal*, 104-5; *Khushwaqt Rai*, 168; Griffin's *Rajas of the Punjab*, 26; *Tarikh-i-Patiala*, 61-2; *Gosha-i-Panjab*, 44; *Raj Khalsa*, 385; *Ahmad Shah*, 886; *Bute Shah*, 278a; *Gyan Singh*, 1041.

Alha Singh. He soon crossed the Sutlej and encamped on the opposite side. At this place news was brought to Ahmad Shah that the Sikhs were gathering at Guru Chak to fight him The Afghan heroes grew enthusiastic to arrive at Guru Chak as soon as possible. They had hardly advanced one *kos* when they were informed that a large army of the infidels (Sikhs) had fallen on their advance-guard and had checked their progress Ahmad Shah on hearing it was enraged and said, "My troops are too indolent in carrying on a religious war, that is why the Sikhs attack us in such a way But I will beat these infidels so severely that the bones of their bodies will turn into cotton." [1]

The Afghan army immediately got ready to fight. The Shah himself was in the centre. On his right were Shah Vali Khan, Anzala Khan, Jahan Khan, Shah Pasand Zabat Begi etc., with 12,000 troops, while on his left was the Chief of the Baluches The Sikhs on the other hand also organised themselves in a regular battle array In the centre was Jassa Singh Kalal who was fearlessly standing like a mountain, and close by him was the other Jassa Singh Tarkhan who looked like a lion in stature. There were many other heroes with Jassa Singh [2] On his right[3] was Charat Singh with Jhanda Singh, Lahna Singh and Jai Singh, while on the left were Ram Das, Hari Singh Bhangi, Gulab Singh and Gujar Singh.

Ahmad Shah Durrani issued strict orders to all the

[1] *Jang Namah*, 140-2.

[2] Their names probably were not known to Nur Muhammad. They must be the other Sikh *misldars*. On this occasion all the Sikhs had combined under Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, the chief leader, who generally occupied the central position.

[3] *Ibid.*, 145-7 The organisation of the Sikh army into a regular battle-array on this occasion shows that the Sikhs had given up their guerilla tactics, and had henceforth decided to have a pitched battle. This is for the first time we come across this order of fighting in the history of the evolution of Sikh army since 1715.

chiefs not to move from their places to avoid confusion which the enemy always tried to aim at. The battle was going on in this way when the Khan was summoned by Ahmad Shah, who said to him: "The Sikhs have nearly subdued the right wing, because the heroes pursued the Sikhs and fell an easy prey to their clever tactics. This side has fallen empty and the Sikhs have occupied it. You see that they are growing stronger there. These infidels are showering arrows and bullets like Tartars. They attack now to the right and then to the left, and I am very much struck with their boldness.[1] You go to that side and give them a hard time. But remember not to advance from your place. The enemy will come to you of their own accord and you must not go to them."[2]

The Khan with his troops immediately repaired to that side and ordered all of his *sardars* to stick fast to their position and not to move at all. Charat Singh and other Sikhs rushed on them but the Ghazi Baluches kept on standing like a mountain."[3]

The Khan[4] of the Baluches succeeded in driving the Sikhs back. He also pursued the fleeing Sikhs who on finding the Baluches broken from the main body, suddenly turned back and surrounded the Khan who commanded only fifty horsemen.[5]

The Khan and his companions alighted from their horses and cleverly defended themselves against their onslaught. The Sikhs tried their hardest but could not succeed in breaking through them. Some Sikhs and Baluches lost their lives in this fight which lasted for several hours. Then the

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[1] *Ibid.*, 149. [2] *Ibid.*, 148-50.

[3] *Ibid.*, 152.

[4] At this point one leaf from the original manuscript is missing and therefore it cannot be known what Charat Singh did after this.

[5] *Jang Namah*, 155-7.

Sikhs dispersed and the Khan came back to the main body of his troops.[1]

He had hardly reached there when another contingent of the Sikhs arrived on the spot. The Sikhs were immediately surrounded between the king and the Khan of the Baluches. A fierce struggle ensued which went on till darkness spread after sunset. In the end the Sikhs returned and the *Ghazis also* came back to their camp[2]

For the description of the second day's fight we hand over the pen to the Qazi who paints a beautiful picture of it "On the following day when the sun rose in its full glory the lion-hearted and the just king marched from that place When he had gone about three miles onward the black-faced Dogs came in sight. These rebellious, stone-hearted and strong-limbed infidels galloped on the advance-guard of the royal troops and attacked not only the front lines but also the right and the left sides. This day these wretches had arranged their army in a different way, namely they placed their right wing (of yesterday) on the left side, while on the right hand side they cunningly set the left wing. (In short) the right side became left and the left became right. Their dust turned the bright day into night. These shameless Dogs craftily and purposely changed their advance-guard into rear and the rear into van. Thus organised in this manner the black-faced Dogs galloped off in the battle-field.

"But the army of these hideous Dogs was greater than it was yesterday. They came into the field of battle and commenced fighting with the *Ghazis* The celebrated king and hero of heaven, at the head of a strong force galloped round the Muslims and encouraged all the *Ghazis*. A little farther the virtuous king encamped He fixed his banners

[1] *Ibid.*, 157-8.

[2] *Ibid.*, 163.

there and the whole army came to a halt. The king ordered all the *sardars* and soldiers to organise themselves in the same order as they had done the previous day and he ordered the Khan of the Baluches to lead the attack and all others to take their respective positions. The just king rode round the victorious army and said to everybody, 'Be cheerful but do not move from your place'. Then he came to the Khan of Baluches who was ahead of all and said, 'O celebrated and valiant hero! the Baluch force is my strength. Stick to your place like a mountain in its grandeur, dignity and awe. Do not put your foot ahead of your place and attentively wait for my orders. When you get orders to fall upon the heads of the infidels gallop off as your chiefs advise you.'

"After a while the king ordered the whole army to attack. Everybody rode onward and the hideous-faced Dogs took to flight. In the course of a journey of about three miles none of the Dogs was to be seen in the field. All the *Ghazis* who had fought for God returned. When the faithful troops came back the damned Dogs appeared in the rear. The army of the Dogs lay scattered and dispersed. They madly galloped in all directions and created a tumult in the battle-field. The world-protecting, angel-like and exalted *Shahanshah* again moved round the army, encouraging his soldiers. He said to the Khan, 'Nobody should go ahead and none should move from his place. Then he slowly muttered, 'Wait, the devilish foe will itself come to you. Do not step outside your ranks but stick to your place like the Caucasus mountain. When you find that the Dogs have approached you, fall on their heads. I have advised all the *Ghazis* similarly. When you move forward all of you should remain closely united. None should go ahead and nobody should lag behind, and no person should keep away from the main body. All should fall on the enemy in a body simultaneously.'[1]

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[1] *Ibid.*, 178-82.

"The lion-hearted, heavenly, exalted King toured round the army in this way He encouraged each Khan, leader and chief, big or small. He said, 'O Sardars! when the Khan attacks the infidels, you should also attack them simultaneously at the same place Do not lag behind in attacking them.' When the Khan heard it, he found no counsel better than this. He stood at the place to which he had returned, because the evil-natured ones wandered at a distance.

"This day many of the Dogs were killed by the sword and the gun. When the sun had set no belligerent remained in the field.

"On the third day, the Durrani march began with the breakof day The Afghans had hardly covered a distance of about six miles, when the Sikhs all of a sudden made their appearance The Sikhs fought as they had done the previous day They adopted the same old tactics and disappeared. They came roaring like a lion, and went away slyly like a fox. They came, discharged their guns from a distance and held back. They did not flee, but delayed fighting When the Shah marched these Dogs constantly followed the Afghan troops, and when the Durrani halted they fought with him. In this manner the Sikhs worried the Afghans for seven days continuously from morning to evening."[1]

On the seventh day of his marching through the Jullundur Doab, the Abdali arrived at the ford on the Beas before mid-day Ahmad Shah stood on the bank and ordered that his camp consisting of loaded camels, shopkeepers, craftsmen, merchants, traders, women, children, boys, bullocks and donkeys should be conveyed first across the river When

[1] *Ibid.*, 182-3. The third day's battle took place at Nurmahal 16 miles south of Jullundur. *Cf Shamshir Khalsa*, 120. Another battle was fought at Kapurthala in which the Durrani sustained a heavy loss in men and beasts. *Khushwaqt Rai*, 96.

the whole encampment had crossed over, and Ahmad Shah was on this side, he was informed that 30,000 Sikhs were waiting to fight him. Ahmad Shah at once organized his troops and assigned fixed positions to various captains. It had just been done when the Sikhs attacked them. The fight began and after some time the Sikhs took to flight. "When all the pig-eating, wretched Dogs were lost to view by the faithful ones, they returned from the field and stood on the edge of the flowing water."[1]

Ahmad Shah then crossed the river, followed last of all by Nasir Khan. "This was the last battle of the Dogs, and this was their last day of fighting. Their cunning and tricks availed them nothing, because they were sad and disappointed. This was the second river of the Doab by which name it is known all the world over. The faith-protecting king, in all grandeur, glory and victory, marched from this place, and after some stages arrived on the Ravi, and crossing it over with all his troops and baggage (without stopping at Lahore), he came to the river Chenab travelling by easy marches."[2]

Nur Muhammad narrates a pathetic tale of woe which befell the Afghan army in the passage of the Chenab. The river was divided into eight channels. The six were easily forded, but the last two were stronger and wider. It was in one of these where the Qazi witnessed a terrible sight and himself experienced an almost fatal but otherwise a jolly accident.

Thus says the Qazi:—

"All persons from far and near, the mountain-like, strong, loaded camels with mouths full of foam, dromedaries,

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[1] *Ibid.*, 184.

[2] *Ibid.*, 183-6. The Sikhs did not pursue the Abdali further because they wished to celebrate the Baisakhi festival at Amritsar which fell on the 10th April, 1765.

pairāks (?), elephant-like horses and ponies; bullocks and buffaloes countless in number and going in rows of lakhs entered the rapid water. When about half of the bed had been crossed the strong current made all men and animals restless The persons, sitting on horses and camels, and numbering about a lakh, the laden camels, horses, ponies, bullocks, buffaloes and asses were drowning into water at every place, and the cup of their fortune turned upside down like a bubble The water shook and pushed down the horses, camels, men, women, horses and beasts of burden loaded with goods, gold, silver, chattels, apparel and numberless tents and were carried away by water in every direction. May God save us from such a day!

"On that day nobody thought of the other and a father cared nothing for his son. People became so desperate that they threw themselves into water along with the goods The beautiful women (captives) in veils, whose faces even the sun had not seen, fell in large numbers into water, and it seemed as if doomsday had come. However strong the affections of one for the other one took no notice of him or her.

"I was riding a horse that day and was going in one of the rows. There were one lakh of loaded camels who were crossing the river in 100 lines. On the tops of the loads women were placed. They fell into the furious water from the backs of camels. At this time one woman, cypress-like in stature with a narrow mouth like a pistachio-nut, and dark and charming eyes resembling almonds, red lips, arch-like eyebrows, and eyelashes looking like half-drawn arrows, and whose beauty might have victimized hundreds of men, was riding on a loaded camel, going in rows from one bank to the other. Her camel gave way before the current and she helplessly fell on my horse. Her body was on my saddle while the legs were dangling in water She caught me by the back with both of her arms.

My back was breaking under her weight; I was bent and my horse was trembling. In order to save myself from this agony I wished to throw myself into water. It was not the place where the owner of this fairy-like lady would have come to my assistance. Nor could my horse reach the bank because on all sides the path was blocked by thousands of camels. The woman too did not leave me and I was perturbed. Meanwhile the veil went off her face and the water sparkled by the reflection of her complexion. Even the sun also lost his lustre. I was overpowerd by the look of her eyes. Her appearance was bright like the sun and its heat and light had burnt my heart and soul to ashes; yet at such a dreadful time I was rather afraid of my own life and as she was not getting away from me I despised her. At last her owner came up and relieved me of the woman. Whenever I remember that day and that woman, I begin to tremble all over as if for fear of the doomsday.

"So many men were drowned in the river besides camels, horses, and other beasts of burden as were not even slain in the battles ot the Sikhs." [1]

Ahmad Shah on crossing the river encamped on the opposite bank, and despatched Jahan Khan in advance to arrange for a bridge of boats on the Jhelum. The Shah now travelled leisurely covering about 10 miles everyday and thus allowed the troops a good rest. The Jhelum was safely crossed and they encamped in the fort of Rohtas. Here the Shah thanked Nasir Khan for his valuable help, granted him the territory of Quetta at his request and aslo offered him the neighbouring territories of Derajat, Multan and Jhang, which he respectfully declined to accept for fear of having every day trouble from the Sikhs. From here the Durrani went to Kabul *via* Attock and Peshawar, while Nasir Khan crossed the Indus at Dera Ismail Khan with the

[1] *Ibid.*, 186-90.

assistance of Ismail Khan and passing through Dera Ghazi Khan reached Kalat.[1]

Thus the Panjab was left ultimately to the Panjabis. Being a wise statesman, Ahmad Shah had realised that among the exploited population of India, a section of society had succeeded in raising itself superior to him, and hence he was gratified by leaving a grateful and contented Sikh chief in the Cis-Sutlej country, on whom he could depend for an annual subsidy The rest of the Panjab was lost to him for all intents and purposes.

9 *Eighth Invasion, 1766-67*

Ahmad Shah Abdali had left the Panjab in April, 1765, and only a month later the Sikhs expelled his Viceroy from Lahore, occupied the provincial capital and struck their own coin. Then they set themselves to the task of extending their territories by overcoming local opposition from various Muslim Chieftains.

The dauntless Ahmad Shah was not going to lose the most valuable province of his kingdom so easily In the autumn of 1766 he left for India He crossed the Indus at Attock early in December On the other side of the Jhelum he was opposed by Ballam Singh and other Sikh chiefs at the head of 8,000 troops, but they were defeated and their leader slain.[2] The Sikhs again collected the remains of the defeated party, and made another attempt on this side of the Jhelum, but with equal ill success [3]

On the 21st December, he was at Fazilabad near Lahore, and Sobha Singh Lahna Singh, Gujar Singh, Hira Singh and Ajib Singh who were in Lahore with a body of 8,000 horse abandoned the fort. Gujar Singh and Lahna Singh retired to Kasur, whilst Ajib Singh and Sobha

[1] *Ibid.*, 190-210.
[2] C. P C., II, 16A.
[3] *Ibid.*

Singh went to Baba Farid.[1] The same day Jahan Khan entered Lahore. Ahmad Shah reached here on the 22nd December. Here a deputation of the noted Muslims of the city waited on the Abdali, and requested him to reinstate Lahna Singh as his viceroy of the Panjab, asserting that he was a very just and liberal ruler.[2] Ahmad Shah sent him a friendly letter and a present of dry fruits of Kabul and invited him to take charge of Lahore. Lahna Singh declined the offer of accepting office under him stating that by doing so he would fall in the estimation of the Sikhs. He also returned his fruit accompanied by a quantity of inferior kind of grain, stating that fruits were the food of kings while he was a poor *zamindar* and lived on the grain sent to him as a sample.[3] Ahmad Shah then marched towards Sirhind.

Charat Singh, Jassa Singh Kalal and Hira Singh lay encamped at Kalsah at the head of 20,000 cavalry. Tara

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[1] The following saying came into existence on this occasion at the flight of the three confederate Sikh Chiefs from Lahore:—

"سوبھے دی سوبھا گئی - گوجر دا گیا مال
لہنے نوں دینا آیا - تینوں ہوئے کنگال"

[Sobha (Singh) lost his honour (*Sobha*); Gujar (cowherd) (Singh) his cattle; and Lahna (to take) (Singh) had to pay; all three were ruined.]

[2] *Ali-ud-din*, 130a.

"که لهنا سنگهه بسیار نیکذات و خیر خواه خلایق بود که باوجود اقتدار و آئین عناد این هر دو طائفه هنود و مسلمین نبرد روزیکه یوم مبارک عیدالضحیٰ مے آید بقاضی و مفتی و امام مساجد دستارها میداد و اعزاز و اکرام عالمیان بسیار می کرد"

[3] *Khushwaqt Rai*, 129.

"بادشاه قدرے میوه برائے لهنا سنگهه فرستاد لهنا سنگهه آں میوجات را واپس کرد و غله از قسم شاماخ و ارزن و کا مرد زرد بخدمت بادشاه فرستاد که آن میوه لائق پادشاهان است و این میوه غذائی ما مردم زمینداران است من زبان خوردن آن میوه ندارم"

Singh and Khushhal Singh with a body of 6,000 horse were stationed at Taragarh. On the 28th December, Ahmad Shah Abdali at the head of a select force of 50,000 horse and 7,000 *jizairchis* lay encamped at Fatahabad, 20 miles from Amritsar, while Jahan Khan had occupied Amritsar on the 27th December Charat Singh and Lahna Singh attacked the Shah's baggage at Lahore, and Ahmad Shah was obliged to pursue them thither The Sikhs, however, fled away, but kept hovering round about the Shah's camp within a radius of 15 to 25 miles [1] They constantly harassed him and scornfully rejected all proposals of peace —

"The Raja of Chamba sent a *Vakil* to the Sardars of the Sikhs, and Sa'adat Yar Khan of the family of Adina Beg sent them word that they should make peace with the Shah, since His Majesty had no intention of dispossessing them of their country, but was proceeding to Hindustan; that he would introduce them to His Majesty and settle what country they should cede and what sums they should pay, and that he would put them in possession of Lahore. The Sikhs abused the *Vakil* of the Raja of Chamba and drove him out of their army They also wrote to Sa'adat Yar Khan refusing to make peace with the Shah "[2]

On the 15th January, 1767, Ahmad Shah Abdali was in the neighbourhood of Nur-ud-din-ka-Kot, from where he wrote to Jassa Singh Kalal, Jhanda Singh and Khushhal Singh that if they were desirous of entering his service, they should come and join him, but that if they had any hostile intention, they should meet him in the field. The Sikhs never replied to it.[3]

On the 17th January, 1767, Charat Singh, Hira Singh, Lahna Singh and Gujar Singh attacked Jahan Khan at Amritsar In an engagement lasting for about three hours Jahan Khan was defeated, and five to six thousand Durranis

[1] C. P. C., ii, 36 and 103A.
[2] *Ibid.*, 108A.
[3] *Ibid.*, 50.

were killed and wounded. Ahmad Shah immediately came to his assistance and obliged the Sikhs to fly towards Lahore. Another batch of the Sikhs fell on the Abdali camp at Jalalabad on the Beas, but they were repulsed by Nasir Khan who was in charge of it.[1]

Ahmad Shah crossed the river Beas the same day. On the 18th January, the *Vakil* of Amar Singh and Himmat Singh of Patiala, came and presented Ahmad Shah with Rs. 5,000 and two horses as *nazar*. To Shah Vali Khan and Jahan Khan he presented Rs. 2,000 each. The *Vakil* of the son of Rai Kalha also waited on the Shah. The Shah gave orders to the *Vakils* to write to their respective masters to come into the presence. At Nur Mahal Amar Singh joined him. Abdali crossed the Sutlej and halted at Machhiwara where he was again attacked by the Sikhs.[2]

Ahmad Shah marched as far as Ismailabad, 20 miles south of Ambala, where he was joined by Najib-ud-daulah on the 9th March. Najib persuaded the Shah to march back and to devote all his energies to the extirpation of the Sikhs. Consequently, he set off backward on the 17th March. He was at Ambala on the 18th, and called upon Amar Singh to pay nine lakhs of rupees as the revenue of Sirhind. At Sirhind Ahmad Shah granted Amar Singh a robe of honour, a standard and kettle-drum and the *subahdari* of Sirhind accompanied by the superlative title of *Raja-i-Rajagan*. Thus Ahmad Shah was contented to leave behind at least one grateful and obedient Sikh Chief.[3]

Ahmad Shah halted at Machhiwara on the bank of the Sutlej and stayed here for a month and a half. He

[1] *Ibid.*, 65.

[2] *Ibid.*, 79 and 139; *S.P.D.*, xxix, 119 and 165.

[3] *C. P. C.*, ii, 107C and D, 130A, 213, 214, 234, 254, 266, 415; *Delhi Chronicle*, 211; *Nur-ud-din*, 109b-110a; *Husain Shahi*, 84-5; *Khushwaqt Rai*, 168; *Gyan Singh*, 1041; *Cunningham*, 113; *Rajas of of the Punjab*, 33.

organized various expeditions in pursuit of the Sikhs. The Sikhs gathered at Amritsar to celebrate the Baisakhi. The Sikhs to the number of 120,000 men, both horse and foot, all faithful to one another and equipped for war are assembled at Chak.'[1] But Abdali could not summon up courage to attack them. One body of the Sikhs had managed to reach Najib's country in the Gangetic Doāb They sacked Nanautah on the 14th May, and plundered Ambahta, Méerut and the Barha Sadat settlements in Muzaffarnagar District. Ahmad Shah despatched Jahan Khan in their pursuit, and he reached their camp about 125 miles away in three days. The Sikhs were taken quite unawares, and were engaged in a fight between Shamli and Kairana. The Sikhs were routed and a large number of them were slain.[2] Jahan Khan came back to Machhiwara in the course of a week. After this Ahmad Shah Abdali marched homeward.[3] A despatch stated "The Sikhs are so strong in numbers that it is impossible for the Shah to reduce them till after a long time."[4]

10 *Ninth Invasion, December, 1768 to January, 1769*

Ahmad Shah Abdali attempted to invade India about the close of 1768 But on this occasion his fortunes were at the lowest ebb His physical strength was waning day by day on account of excessive fatigue caused by his numerous expeditions not only in India, but also in various parts of Afghanistan, Turkistan and Khorasan. For some time past he had been suffering from a festering wound in the nose which had developed into a cancer His mental worries also were not few on account of constant disturbances in his own country, while India which was the only

[1] *C. P C.*, ii, 345.

[2] 9,000 according to Miskin who was present in the campaign. *Cf* *Miskin*, 268.

[3] *C P C.*, ii, 412; *Nur-ud-din*, 111b-112b, *Miskin*, 267-8.

[4] *C. P C.*, ii, 393.

rich part of his kingdom was gradually slipping away from his hold owing to the rise of the Sikhs in the Panjab. His Afghan followers were growing rebellious due to the failure of his recent Indian expeditions. The result was that this campaign miserably failed. He came as far as the Chenab, while his advance-guard arrived at Eminabad only 34 miles from Lahore; but "owing to dissensions among his followers, he was compelled to return to his own country. On the way between Peshawar and Kabul a tumult arose in his army, his whole camp was plundered, and many of his chiefs and soldiers were either killed or dispersed. The Shah and Shah Vali Khan, his Wazir, in a miserable plight, took the road to Kandahar."[1]

11. *Tenth Invasion, December, 1769-January, 1770*

About the close of 1769, Ahmad Shah Durrani made his last attempt to replenish his treasury and to turn the attention of his turbulent Afghans from home affairs to the glory which he wished to win once more in the fertile fields and rich cities of India. He, however, had lost control over his followers to such an extent that they were not prepared to undertake the risky and hazardous journey through the territory of warlike Sikhs in order to reach the country on the other side of the Jumna, flowing with milk and honey. Consequently they accompanied him without any hesitation as far as Peshawar to avoid the bitter cold of Afghanistan and to enjoy the mild and pleasant climate of the most salubrious province of India at the expense of the Shah. But they did not accompany him farther, and do not appear to have crossed the Indus on this occasion.[2]

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[1] C. P. C., ii, 1499; *Imperial Records, Bengal Select Committee Proceedings,* 1769, pp. 134, 195, 203, 238, Richard Smith to Harry Verelst, President and Governor of Fort William, dated Allahabad, 17th February, 9th March, 19th March, and 8th April, 1769.

[2] *Imperial Records, Bengal Select Committee*, 1770, pp. 52, 57, Captain Gabriel Harper to John Cartier, dated Faizabad, 26th January, 1770.

These records speak of another effort of Ahmad Shah Durrani, which,

Thus was the last invasion of Ahmad Shah Durrani. In spite of his best and constant efforts he ultimately failed in suppressing a militant nation, closely knit together by ties of race and religion, and possessed of invincible courage and irresistible will.

12 *Death, Achievement and Character*

Ahmad Shah's health considerably declined early in 1772. Realizing that his end had come, he summoned his chiefs to an assembly, and nominated his son Timur Shah his successor. From Kandahar, he retired to a place he had built at Toba Mahārūf in the Achakzai country in the Suleman Mountains, where the summer was cooler. Here he died at Murgha on the 14th April, 1772.[1]

Ahmad Shah was buried in his favourite city of Kandahar. His tomb is octagonal in form which stands in the heart of the city, surrounded by grassy lawns, apartments and mulberry

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however did not materialise. "Ahmad Shah Durrani has marched from Kandahar to Peshawar, and intends entering Hindustan on the breaking up of the rains." (*Ibid.* 259 dated 19th July 1770.)

"A rumour prevails that Ahmad Shah Abdali is advancing towards Hindustan." (*Ibid.*, November 23, 1770, dated Fyzabad, 31st October 1770, p. 199.)

In August, 1771, there were strong rumours of Ahmad Shah's approach in the coming winter. General Barker however, expressed his satisfaction in a letter to Jhanda Singh that he would not be able to cross the Indus for fear of the Sikhs. *C P C.*, iii, 868.

Jahan Khan, *the celebrated Commander-in-Chief of Ahmad Shah* Durrani, died of colic on the 14th March, 1770. *Delhi Chronicle* 225.

[1] *Malleson*, 291 2. *Hough*, 135, f. n. *Elphinstone's Caubul*, 557 and other European writers place this event in June, 1773. The inscription on the grave of Ahmad Shah at Kandahar says: "When he died, the Hijra year was 1186." This year lasted from the 4th April, 1772 to the 24th March, 1773. *Delhi Chronicle*, p. 250 says that Ahmad Shah Durrani died on the 14th April, 1772. *Husain Shahi*, 88, supports this date.

In the same day's entry the Delhi Chronicle records that the Sikhs crossed the Indus and plundered Peshawar.

trees, is one of the most interesting and imposing objects of the town. It cost about Rs. 90,000. It has a gilt cupola of about 30 feet in diameter and 60 feet in height. There is a gallery round it and minarets at angles. The ceiling is gilded. The corners are covered with Arabic inscriptions which contain numerous blessings on the soul of the king. The Persian inscription on the grave gives the date of his death :

" The king of high rank, Ahmad Shah Durrani,
Was equal to Kisra (Cyrus) in managing the affairs of his government,
In his time, from the awe of his glory and greatness,
The lioness nourished the stag with her milk.
From all sides in the ears of his enemies there arrived
A thousand reproofs from the tongue of his dagger.
The date of his departure for the house of immortality
Was the year of the Hijra 1186. "[1]

Alexander Dow painted the following picture of him in 1768 : " This prince is brave and active, but he is now in the decline of life. His person is tall and robust, and inclinable to being fat. His face is remarkably broad, his beard very black, and his complexion moderately fair. His appearance, upon the whole, is majestic and expressive of an uncommon dignity and strength of mind. Though he is not so fierce and cruel as Nadir Shah, he supports his authority with no less rigour, and he is by no means less brave than that extraordinary monarch. He, in short, is the most likely person now in India to restore the ancient power of the empire, should he assume the title of king of Delhi. "[2]

Ahmad Shah Abdali was one of the greatest conquerors who have ever appeared in Asia. His chief contribution

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[1] *Hough*, 134-5 ; *Kennedy*, 251-2 ; *Masson*, i, 281 ; *Mohan Lal's Travels*, 316 ; *Malleson*, 292 ; *Havelock*, ii, 13-5.

[2] *Alexander Dow*, ii, Appendix, 81.

lies in the fact that he was the creator of independent Afghanistan A conquered people who had remained subject for centuries were converted by his genius into conquerors, and the nation which he called into life has existed during the past two hundred years in spite of numerous trials and hardships it had to face partly from foreign aggression and partly from internal turmoils. At the time of his death he left a vast empire to the Afghans, extending in the north from the Oxus and mountains of Kafaristan to the Sea of Oman in the south, and in the east from the mountains of Tibet and Kashmir to Khorasan, Iran and Kerman in the west It consisted of Kashmir, Peshawar, Multan, Sind, Kabul, Kandahar, Baluchistan Herat Persian Khorasan, Balkh and Khulam

He adopted a different policy regarding various parts of his kingdom. In his dealings with Afghans and Baluches he pursued the principle of conciliation. He tried to please and win over the people first and the chiefs afterwards The chiefs who could not be reconciled were reduced by force, and then treated kindly He won over the people by giving equal consideration to the many tribes of Afghans, and several tribes of doubtful origin, but speaking the Pashto language, specially those living in the Farrah district and along the Helmund river were connected with the genuine Afghans.

Besides, he enforced many humane reforms in order to win their good-will and co-operation. He stopped the form of punishment requiring the loss of limbs such as nose or ears, and forbade his successors to revive this cruel practice The Durranis were required not to marry their girls to strangers, and advised to ally themselves with one another With a view to keep the patrimony intact he issued instructions that in future the family property should be inherited only by the sons, and the daughters, who up to that time received a share, should be entirely excluded. Further, at the death of an Afghan, the widow was to be married

to the next of kin, with the exception of father and son. In case of death of a married woman without an issue, her relatives could not demand dowry from her husband. It is believed that he abolished the system of divorce. A master could not kill his servant. He gave up the practice of prostration before the sovereign, who was to be saluted by carrying the hand to the forehead without bending. The Sayyids and priests were granted the privilege of sitting in the presence of the king, and also of dining with him on Thursdays. His troops were paid in his presence. He did not impose heavy taxes on his people, and "the revenues of Afghanistan, properly so termed, never found their way into his private coffers."[1]

The chiefs were kept contented by giving them a share in the administration of the kingdom. He extended their powers, though they were made dependent on him. He formed a council composed of the leading chiefs of various tribes. They were consulted on almost all the important state affairs, and their advice was often adopted. "His government in short resembled much more a federated republic of which he was the head, than an absolute monarchy. After a victory he always gave up a large part of the spoils of the enemy to his soldiers ; he never adopted an arrogant tone of superiority with their chiefs which could hurt the feelings of those with whom he had once been on equal terms, and who had elevated him to the sovereign power."[2]

The other parts of his kingdom were not treated so liberally. The territories in Turkistan were ruled over by force ; but the Tartar chiefs were retained in their positions, and treated with moderation. In Khorasan some chiefs were attached by favour, others by taking hostages from them, and the rest by coercion. Unfortunately, "the Indian provinces were kept by force alone,"[3] and the

[1] *Ferrier*, 93-4. [2] *Ibid.*, 95.

[3] *Elphintone's Caubul*, 557.

massacres of Delhi, Ballabgarh, Mathura, Brindaban, Agra, Panipat and Kup and the destruction and pollution of the Sikh temples and tank at Amritsar will remain for ever the "terrible blemishes on his reputation," and "an indelible stain on the glory" of this great leader[1] To him India was the land of gold, and his supreme passion for money was the leading feature in his dealings with her He indulged in massacres not because he possessed a blood thirsty temperament, and under the influence of his pacific chief minister, Shah Vali Khan, he must have desisted from these outrages, had it not been for the fact that he wanted to give a thrill of life and enjoyment to his Afghan followers and to satisfy his allies, the Indian Muslim chiefs particularly the Rohillas, who delighted in innocent bloodshed of poor Hindus and Sikhs.

Sayyid Muhammad Latif justifies the Durrani atrocities committed in this country In his *History of the Panjab* on page 284 he writes —" Moreover nothing could have proved so gratifying and satisfactory to them as the carrying out of the work of iconoclasm, since their Unitarian faith cannot tolerate idolatory There can be no doubt that the Abdali acted in strict conformity with the law of his religion, and was actuated by a sense of duty, when he undertook the destruction of the sanctuaries of the Sikhs."

Cunningham calls him " an ideal Afghan genius, fitted for conquest but incapable of empire " He did create an empire, but he failed in consolidating it. Its causes are not far to seek The urgent necessity for money compelled him to undertake long and tedious Indian campaigns which absorbed most of his attention and time At home he had no peace. " Herat, Nishapur, the remoter parts of Khorasan, Meshad and other regions, constantly demanded his attention. In 1752, there was a rebellion of the nephew of Ahmad Shah as also of the Khiljis In 1756, there were

[1] *Calcutta Review* Vol. li, 1870, pp 21 and 40

disturbances in the direction of Persia and Turkestan. In 1758, there was a rebellion in Baluchistan. In 1763, there was an insurrection in Kandahar, another in Herat. In 1768, there was a great rebellion in Khorasan, occasioned by Nasirullah Mirza. Most of the Persian chiefs took part in it and a great battle had to be fought at Meshad."[1] Besides, the ever-recurring troubles created by the Sikhs in the Panjab deprived him of whatever peace of mind he could enjoy. In the face of such stupendous obstacles and difficulties he naturally fell short of his own expectations for consolidating his gigantic kingdom consisting of a jumble of tribes and discordant elements. Nobody can deny the fact that he was not only a bold and brilliant soldier but also a far-sighted and forceful statesman.

In personal character he was simple, modest, affable, generous and cheerful. The author of *Tarikh-i-Sultani* while describing an incident says —" Ahmad Shah had no second or equal to him in character; in spite of his perfect dignity he assumed the manners of a *faqir*, and his extreme meekness, which was known everywhere gained universal approbation. It is said to have extended so far that when during the siege of Nishapur the troops were kept without pay and conjointly plundered the Shah's treasury, the keeper of it complained of the robbery and receiving no answer, began to use disrespectful language towards Ahmad Shah, who then said :—"Ignorant fool ! I am also one of them, and have attained this dignity by their consent, and with the help of their swords ; I have called them partners in my monarchy, so that whenever they require some of my property—which is their own—and I refuse to grant it, I shall incur the blame of the creator as well as of men[2]."

On state occasions, however, he maintained his dignity by displaying considerable courtly pomp and

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[1] *Sinha*, 90.

[2] *The Indian Antiquary*, xvi, 1887, p. 302.

show He was easy of access, and administered justice on principles of equity and law of the land "A very Afghan to the Afghans, he was yet almost the antithesis of the national character of his people They are cold and cruel, he was courtly in spite of his soldier plainness, and clement, they are impetuous and reckless, he was far-seeing and singularly patient in carrying out his plans, they are rude, uncultivated and careless of learning he was polished, a poet, a divine, and a man who took a profound delight in the society of the learned, they are intriguing, impatient of control, and bear their engagements lightly, he was the best politician of his time, a man with an instinct for order and discipline, and loyal in word and deed Add to this that he was above the influence of the harem, a foe to drunkenness, and renowned for his generosity and charity, and the portrait is as unlike what is understood to be the Afghan national character as it can well be And still Ahmad Shah is, in all the countries he left to his successor, remembered as a great, a wise and a good prince, and in his own land and amongst his own people he is regarded as the most glorious type of the nation and as the most finished model for its rulers [1]

[1] *Calcutta Review* Vol. LI, 1870 p. 40 *cf Jamal ud-din*, 58-9

CHAPTER VII

TIMUR SHAH DURRANI'S CAMPAIGNS IN THE PANJAB, 1774–1793

1. *Early Career*

IN 1772 Ahmad Shah was succeeded by his son Timur Shah who was born in December, 1746, at Meshad in Iran where his father was in the service of Nadir Shah. Timur was educated at home, and received practical training in the art of warfare by accompanying Ahmad Shah on many of his expeditions. He was present in Delhi in January, 1757, when his father had invaded India for the fourth time. In February, 1757, Timur Shah was married to the daughter of Emperor Alamgir II. In March of the same year, while heading a detachment carrying booty from Delhi to Lahore, he was robbed by the Sikhs. A Marathi letter of this time stated :—

"At the end of March, 1757, when the front division of Abdali's army under Prince Timur was transporting the plundered wealth of Delhi to Lahore, Alha Singh (the founder of Patiala family), in concert with other Sikh robbers, barred his path at Sanaur (4 miles south-east of Patiala) and robbed him of half his treasures, and again attacked and plundered him at Malerkot (36 miles north-west of Patiala). So great had been the success of these brigands that rumour had magnified it into the Prince's captivity and even death at their hands."[1]

In May, 1757, Timur Shah was appointed Viceroy of the Panjab, Derajat and Sind by his father, with Jahan Khan,

[1] *Rajwade*, i, 85; *Sarkār*, ii, 71-2.

the Commander-in-Chief, as his guardian and deputy At that time the Prince was only eleven years old, and therefore, the entire administration was centred in the hands of Jahan Khan. The Afghan noble did not possess the qualities of a good administrator His relations with the Sikhs were bitter, and the latter continually harassed the former They crossed swords a number of times, all of which are vividly described by Miskin who took an active part in all the engagements Miskin has no hesitation in asserting that "from that moment the peace and orderly rule which had been recently established in the country disappeared and the Sikhs rose in rebellion on all sides.'[1]

The Sikhs then joined Adina Beg Khan, the famous Governor of the Jullundur Doāb, and with the assistance of the Marathas defeated and drove out Jahan Khan and Timur Shah from the Panjab in April, 1758 Afterwards Timur Shah served as Governor of Multan and Herat.

Ahmad shah was taken ill early in 1772. He went from Kandahar to Toba[2] Maharuf, a hill station; but his condition grew worse At that time Timur Shah was the Governor of Herat and Khorasan as far as Neshapur. On hearing that his father was dying, he left for Kandahar to see him; but before he reached his destination Ahmad Shah ordered him to return immediately to his seat of government, probably under the influence of his Chief Minister Shah Vali Khan, who was interested in the succession of another Prince Early in April Ahmad Shah realized that his end was drawing very near Consequently,

[1] *Miskin*, 165.

[2] Toba is an irregular range of rocky mountains, estimated to have an elevation of nearly 9,000 ft. There are many pleasant spots in these mountains. Conolly states that "between the long and severe winters which the inhabitants of these hills experience, they enjoy a very delicious climate. The tops of the hills are table lands, which are greatly cultivated by means of springs everywhere in abundance." "The water was like running diamonds, the plentiful fresh verdure as a carpet of emeralds, and the air like the odour of musk." *Thornton* ii, 271.

he summoned a council of his chiefs, nominated Timur Shah his successor, and made all the nobles present there swear fealty to the Prince. Shortly afterward he died.

Timur Shah was at Herat when he learnt the news of his father's death and his own nomination to the throne. Timur was the second of the eight sons[1] of Ahmad Shah. His father had selected him in view of his being the worthiest of all of them. Shah Vali Khan, the prime minister, was, however, interested in the eldest prince, Suleman, to whom he had married his daughter. On Ahmad Shah's death, he called a council of the Durrani chiefs to choose their king, and Suleman was raised to the throne. But Abdullah Khan Popalzai, who held the high office of Diwan Begi, and who was at the head of another rival party, declared in favour of Timur.

Timur Shah at once hurried from Herat to Kandahar, and won over some Durrani chiefs. Shah Vali Khan's attempt to collect an army to oppose Timur Shah failed, and he immediately made offers of submission. He was not allowed to see Timur Shah as the courtiers were afraid of his magic tongue, which they expected would certainly influence the king. He was tried and condemned to death for treason. Timur Shah thus became the undisputed master of his father's vast dominions. Kandahar, being the stronghold of the Durrani tribe, many of whom were the partisans of the late Wazir, was not liked by Timur as the seat of his government. Consequently, he transferred his capital to Kabul "inhabited by Tajiks, the most quiet and submissive of all the subjects of the Afghan monarchy."[2]

Having ascended the throne Timur Shah struck coins in

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[1] The names of six of his sons are known:—

Suleman, Timur, Dārāb, Shahāb, Sikandar and Parvez. *The Indian Antiquary*, xvi, 303.

[2] *Tarikh-i-Sultani*, 148-50; *Elphinstone's Caubul*, 558-9; *Malleson*, 29-34.

his name which bore the following inscription :—

"چرخ مے آرد طلا و نقرہ از خورشید و ماہ
تا کند بر چہرہ نقش سکۂ تیمور شاہ"

[Heaven brings gold and silver from the sun and moon,
In order that the stamp of Timur Shah be fixed on the face (of the metals).][1]

His seal had this inscription —

"علم شد از عنایات الہی بعالم دولت تیمور شاہی"

(Through the grace of God, the kingdom of Timur Shah became conspicuous in the world.[2])

2 1st Invasion of the Panjab, 1774-75

Timur Shah was a man of peaceful temperament, and preferred devoting his attention chiefly to consolidating his disjointed kingdom. He did not interfere much in the Indian affairs. But the political atmosphere in this country was never free from fear On account of his father's repeated exploits, we find some Indian potentates keeping themselves in touch with the political situation in Afghanistan. There was also an exchange of ambassadors, letters and presents between these two countries On several occasions weak powers sought assistance from the Afghan monarch ; while strong ones kept themselves alert to cope with the situation in case of an actual invasion from the north-west.

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[1] Timur Shah s earliest coins struck in India bear the date of 1774 and the name of Attock mint. The inscriptions on them are as follows —

Obverse	*Reverse*
سکۂ تیمور شاہ	مانوس
نقــــــــش ۱۱۸۸	میمنت
و ماہ تا کند بر چہرہ	جلوس
شــــــــــــید	ضرب
چرخ می آرد طلاونقرہ از خور	اٹک سنہ ۲

Whitehead, iii, 59.

[2] *Whitehead*, iii, 59 ; *Latif's History of the Panjab*, 289, f. n.

About two years after his accession Timur Shah sent two ambassadors, Muhammad Raza Khan and Alahdad Khan to Delhi. They reached the capital in June, 1774, and were granted robes of honour by Shah Alam II. Abdul Ahad Khan, the deputy-wazir, informed the king that Timur Shah was contemplating an invasion of India;[1] but a message that arrived at Delhi on the 28th June dispelled all fears of the expected campaign. It stated that Timur Shah was at Kabul. Abdul Khaliq Khan, a Durrani Chief, invited Nasir Khan Baluch to plunder Kandahar, and he in consequence created disturbances in that quarter. Khaiqubad Khan, the chief of Badakhshan, was plundering Timur Shah's country on the other side of Herat. Princes Suleman Shukoh and Sikandar Shah were making warlike preparations against the king. The Durrani chiefs were disaffected and were entering into an alliance with the above Princes. These disorders wholly occupied Timur's attention.[2]

Shortly afterwards a conspiracy was hatched to assassinate Timur Shah and to place on the throne his nephew Sikandar Khan, a son of Suleman. Faizullah Khan Khalil, a chief of Mohmand tribe, was at the head of the plot. He invited Timur Shah to the Panjab to crush the power of the Sikhs promising to help the Shah with a large number of troops, and with his permission raised a force of 25,000 men.

Timur Shah embraced this opportunity to recover his lost territories in India, and marched to the Panjab in November, 1774. At Peshawar Faizullah Khan placed his men at the disposal of the Shah. Timur led them onward, and they crossed the Indus at Attock on the 15th January, 1775. Milkha Singh of Rawalpindi and some other Sikhs boldly advanced to check his progress. In a skirmish that followed the Sikhs were defeated. They immediately fell back and halted on the banks of the Chenab.[3]

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[1] *C.P.C.*, iv, 1116.
[2] *Ibid.*, 1121.
[3] *Delhi Chronicle*, 285.

The audacity of the Sikhs, however, succeeded in achieving its object. Timur Shah realized the weakness of his army in view of its being small in number. He, therefore, gave up the idea of proceeding farther into the heart of the Sikh country and retired to Peshawar. Timur Shah stayed there for a couple of months to avoid the rigour of winter of Kabul, and took up his abode in the Bala Hissar. It offered a good opportunity to Faizullah Khan to execute his cunning design of murdering the Shah. He won over Yaqut Khan, head of the eunuchs, the guard of the royal harem. The scheme was that when the king was at his siesta in the afternoon, and his personal guards were also asleep, Faizullah Khan and his men would be permitted by Yaqut Khan to enter the palace. Consequently, 2,500 hill riflemen and about the same number of men of Peshawar quietly surrounded the citadel, where several thousand Qizalbash horsemen, the guards of the king, were stationed. They were told that the King had sent for them inside the fort, and in view of the high position of Faizullah Khan they let them in. Some of Faizullah's men entered the royal kitchen to partake of the delicious victuals. Muhammad Tayyab of Lahore, the Nazir, and Iltifat Khan eunuch who were in the kitchen were severely wounded. The women attendants of the harem immediately awakened Timur Shah and informed him of the serious conspiracy. On hearing the sound of footsteps he perceived the impending danger and quickly hid himself at the top of the tower of the citadel. The conspirators searched for him, but nobody suspected him in the tower. When they were returning in disappointment, the king shouted to his guards from the place of hiding and by waving his turban in air gave an alarm. The assassins tried to break through the door of the tower, but it being of iron resisted all their attempts. Meanwhile the guards were up. Faizullah Khan and some of his hill men made good their escape, taking shelter in the impenetrable hills of Hashtnagar, while many were cut to pieces. Timur's wrath, however, fell upon the people of

Peshawar, and in a moment of fury he ordered a massacre, in which nearly one-third of the male population (6,000 men) perished. Yaqut Khan was killed by pouring boiling-oil over his head.

Timur Shah was determined to secure the head of Faizullah Khan. Realising the futility of getting him by force he resorted to cunning. He made it a point to declare almost everyday in the public as well as in private that Faizullah Khan was not to blame, that he had been occasionally harsh to him, which led him to take that step, and that he had forgiven him. When he was sure that this news had reached him, he sent him a letter of pardon written and sealed on a leaf of the Holy Koran. It was conveyed to him by a great noble of the court. Faizullah Khan believing in the sanctity of the holy book came to Kabul to express sorrow at his misdeed. He was beheaded the same day he entered the city.[1]

3. *Second Invasion and the Conquest of Multan, 1779-80*

The political horizon in India was again surcharged with the news of a fresh Durrani invasion. As early as October, 1775, it was known that Mughal Emperor Shah Alam II at the suggestion of Abdul Ahad Khan had invited Timur Shah to invade India, proposing to effect " a double marriage between their children." News, perhaps unreliable, was received to the effect that a part of Timur Shah's army had crossed the Indus at Attock. As Nasir Khan Baluch was rising in open rebellion, and the Sikhs were ready to oppose Timur's advance, the latter did not undertake the expedition.[2]

The fears of the impending invasion were again allayed by a report received here in February, 1776, stating that

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[1] *Husain Shahi*, 97-101 ; *Tarikh-i-Sultani*, 152-3 ; *Ferrier*, 102-4.

[2] *Forrest's Selections*, 1772-85, vol. ii, p. 442, dated the 8th November, 1775.

Timur Shah's position had been considerably weakened Timur was "represented as indolent and addicted to pleasure and liquor" The Sikhs who were in possession of the provinces of Lahore and Multan formed a "tolerable barrier" against any attempt of Timur Shah to disturb the powers of Hindustan. Sind, though a dependency of Afghanistan, reduced the amount of tribute to seven lakhs, which also was not regularly paid. Nasir Khan Baluch did not acknowledge the overlordship of the Afghan monarch. "Many of the chiefs or nobility, who hold land on the feudal tenure of furnishing troops are highly discontented and pay little respect to the authority of their sovereign" The chief of Bahawalpur, though tributary to Timur Shah treated "his authority with little respect."[1]

In 1778 Timur Shah sent Baharu Khan to seize Multan; but he having taken a long time over it was recalled and was succeeded by Madad Khan. He was also made to retire after some time.[2]

Timur Shah thereupon decided to conquer Multan himself, and sent a contingent of 15,000 horse as his advance-guard. This force was opposed by the Sikhs on the banks of the Indus; but in the conflict they were defeated. Finding the Sikhs scattered about everywhere, this contingent considered it advisable to retire to Peshawar and to wait there for the arrival of the main body. The news of Timur Shah's invasion alarmed even the British Government, who heaved a sigh of relief on learning that his activities were to be exclusively confined to the country of

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[1] *Imperial Records, Secret Proceedings*, the 26th February 1776, pp 651-6.

[2] *Shahamat Ali*, 63-4; *Shah Yusaf*, 65, states that Baharu Khan had entered the town by breaking into a wall, and sacked the city so thoroughly that "none was left anything with him."

On this occasion Timur Shah's ambassador, Abdul Jabbar Khan, reached Delhi on the 12th March, 1778, and waited on Emperor Shah Alam II on the 26th March, 1778. *Munna Lal*, 206.

the Sikhs. " But allowing this rumour to be true," says a Government report, " it is not supposed; nor is it indeed likely that his progress will extend beyond the remote bounds of the Seik territory as the season is so far advanced and the separate bodies of Seiks from the different districts are waiting to oppose him."[1]

In view of the serious opposition of the Sikhs, the Durrani agents at Delhi tried to secure assistance from the notable Maratha chief Mahadji Sindhia, so that the Sikhs might be attacked from two fronts. Mahadji, however, cleverly put them off.[2]

Timur Shah left Kabul for India in October, 1779, and halted at Peshawar. He at first tried to recover Multan by diplomacy. He sent Haji Ali Khan[3] as his agent to the Sikhs at the head of a few horsemen to frighten the Sikhs of the coming conflict with the " lions of Islam " and of the terrible consequences of "the royal wrath," and to persuade them to retire from Multan voluntarily. The Sikhs held a council and declared that " here is an ambassador of the Shah ; but our king is *Sat Guru.* This man threatens us with the Shah's displeasure ; we should therefore put him to death." Consequently, they tied him to a tree, and shot him dead.

On learning this sad news Timur Shah detached a force of 18,000 men under Zangi Khan Durrani. He advanced by forced marches towards Rohtas where a great Sikh force was lying encamped. Zangi Khan wanted to take them unawares, and issued strict orders to maintain perfect

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[1] *Imperial Records, Foreign Department, Select Proceedings*, the 19th April, 1779, pp. 599-600, dated the 5th March, 1779.

[2] *C.P.C.*, v, 1639, dated 12th October, 1779. A news-letter dated 12th September, 1779 near Karnal states that Ram Dyal gave the information about Timur Shah's having arrived at Peshawar and of his advance-guard having crossed the Jhelum. *British Museum Persian Akhbarat.* Or, 25,021, folio 247a.

[3] *Gyan Singh*, p. 908 wrongly calls him Hasan Ali Khan.

secrecy of his own movements.[1] He halted at a distance of eight *kos* from the Sikh camp and posted guards on all sides to imprison anyone going towards the direction of the Sikhs. After midnight Zangi Khan organized his troops. The Mughals and Qizalbashes were on his right and the Durranis on his left. He himself remained in the centre at the head of a Yusafzai contingent. The Sikhs were absolutely ignorant of their presence, considering them to be at Peshawar about 200 miles distant. Early in the morning a little before daybreak he fell upon the Sikhs "These people, cowards as jackals and cunning like fox, on seeing brave warriors close at hand, jumped in the twinkling of an eye on their horses and got ready to fight. So tough was the resistance offered by the Sikhs that Zangi Khan was filled with despair He took off his turban and prayed to *God for victory The prayer* was *granted* and *the enemy* took to flight. The Afghans gaves them a hot pursuit. About 30,000 Sikhs (should be 3 000[2]) were slain, and 500 drowned in the river in the attempt at crossing the river, while 2,000 of them safely reached the opposite bank."[3]

Early in January, 1780, Timur Shah laid siege to the town of Multan The Sikh force being smaller in number took shelter within the city walls. Timur Shah, however, expected reinforcements for the Sikh garrison, and in that event he considered his own resources insufficient. He therefore at the head of a select contingent marched to Bahawalpur leaving the major portion of his army at Multan

[1] The author of *Husain Shahi* states that nobody talked on the way and even if one wanted to drink water he indicated his desire by gestures alone.

[2] *Cf* also *Haqiqat Bina*, 40; *Sinha s Rise of the Sikh Power* 113-4.

[3] *Husain Shahi*, 101-8 *Tarikh-i Ahmad Shah*, 21; *Tarikh-i-Sultani*, 154-5; *Shamshir Khalsa*, 113-4 *Sinha s Rise of the Sikh Power* 112-3. Elphinstone speaks of this battle thus:—

"He (Timur Shah) sent a light force in advance against a Sikh army near Multan which moved on by very rapid marches, surprised the Sikhs and totally defeated them." *Caubul*, 561.

to secure reinforcements for himself. The Nawab of Bahawalpur gave the Shah 12,000 troops and Ghulam Ali Khan Letti paid him tribute. Just then came the news that Jassa Singh, Gujar Singh, Haqiqat Singh, Lahna Singh and Bhanga Singh and other Sikh chiefs were coming from Lahore at the head of 15,000 horsemen for the relief of Multan. Timur Shah at once hurried from Bahawalpur towards Multan, and met the relieving Sikh force at Shujabad, where a severe battle was fought on the 8th February, 1780, from morning till afternoon. The Sikhs lost the day with 2,000[1] men in killed and wounded, and then they fled towards Lahore. Timur Shah despatched a detachment of 20,000 strong in pursuit of them. This force overtook the Sikhs at Hujra Muqim Khan[2], 40 miles west of Lahore. The Shah's troops were successful, but they returned to Multan, plundering the country on their way as they went.

From Shujabad Timur hurried to Multan and delivered an assault on the town which fell after a short resistance. Timur ordered a general massacre in the city and the people suffered terribly. The Sikh army consisting of 7,000 horse retired to the fort which was besieged in turn. Negotiations for capitulation were commenced soon after, and the Sikh garrison in view of shortage of provisions expressed willingness to surrender provided they were allowed to depart for their homes in peace.[3] This condition was accepted and the fort fell into Timur Shah's hands on the 18th February, 1780. Muzaffar Khan was appointed Governor of Multan at the head of 20,000 horse; whilst Shuja'at

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[1] *Haqiqat Bina wa Aruj-i-Sikhan*, p. 40, puts the number at 700 only.

[2] Gyan Singh says that this fight took place at Sheikhupura. *Shamshir Khalsa*, 114.

[3] At this Forster on p. 324 remarks :—" Which the Sicques, contrary to the spirit of their national character, evacuated, after a weak resistance. This surrender might on the first view be termed pusillanimous, especially when the inactive disposition of Timur is considered; but it seems to have been a natural consequence of their eternal divisions, and the fears entertained by the body at large, of the increase of individual power."

Khan, Azim Khan and several other Afghan chiefs were given to him as assistants. Timur stayed in Multan for a fortnight, and then retired to Afghanistan.[1]

4. Third Invasion, 1780–81

By the close of the rainy season of 1780, the Indian atmosphere was again filled with rumours of a fresh invasion by Timur Shah. A news-letter issued from the Emperor's court dated the 19th September, 1780, stated that two letters of Timur Shah, one addressed to Nawab Amir-ul-Umara Najaf Khan, and the other to Zabita Khan, were received in Delhi.[2] Another entry of the 25th September reported that Timur Shah had sent letters to the Raja of Jammu, Muzaffar Khan, the Governor of Multan, and Zabita Khan, asking them to collect gram for his troops[3] On the 27th September it was recorded that Timur Shah had decided to leave for India on the 4th October, 1780, and that Mughal Ali Khan had been appointed leader of the advance-guard, and that letters had been written to the Sikhs.[4] A note of the Emperor's court of the 3rd October, 1780, stated that Timur Shah was in Kabul up to the 26th August, and would march to India on the 1st October[5] On the 12th October it was recorded that Timur Shah was

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[1] *British Museum Persian MS., Muntakhab-i-Akhbar* 25,020, vol. i, 3b, 4b 10b, 11b, 18b, 19b, 20b, 21a, 22a, 24b, 30a, 31a, 36a, 38a, 40b, 42b, 47b, 48a, 60a, *C.P.C.*, v 1843, *Ali-ud-din*, 135a-137a; *Bute Shah*, 212a-b; *Shahamat Ali*, 64; *Griffin's Punjab Chiefs*, 482, *Elphinstone* 561, *Shah Yusuf*, 66b-68a *Browne*, ii, 28 *Latif's Panjab*, 229

There took place at that time an exchange of presents between Timur Shah and the Emperor of Delhi. An entry dated the 3rd March, 1780, states that Timur Shah's presents were received by the Emperor. (*Br Mus.*, i, 40b.

Gyan Singh on pp. 908–9, states that on the boundary line bordering on the Sikh country Timur Shah built twenty forts such as Sultanpur, Kusakpadhri, Thil, Bagga Pind, and Makhyale.

The Central Museum at Lahore has coins of Timur Shah struck at Multan for the years 1780-6, and 1788-92. *Cf Whitehead*, iii, 64, 88, 89, 90, 100, 101.

[2] *British Museum*, Or, 25,021, ii, 11a.

[3] *Ibid.*, 21a. [4] *Ibid.*, 24b. [5] *Ibid.*, 275b.

coming to India to punish Ghulam Ali Letti for his failure to pay the promised tribute of 15 lakhs.[1] The report of the 16th October, 1780 declared that Timur Shah was in Kabul till the 22nd September, 1780 ; that his agents had dispersed all over the country to recruit troops; and that letters had been written to Ghulam Ali Letti for the immediate remittance of the tribute.[2]

Timur Shah marched to India in the cold weather of 1780, and this time directed his attention chiefly against Bahawalpur. Rukan-ud-daulah Muhammad Bahawal Khan who was tributary to Ahmad Shah had stopped paying tribute to Timur Shah. The Durrani army under the charge of serveral notable chiefs reached Multan, while Timur Shah followed in the rear. Bahawal Khan on hearing the news of the Shah's approach loaded his family, treasures and provisions on camels and took refuge in a fort situated in the heart of the waterless desert. The Shah's troops invaded Bahawalpur, plundered the city and burnt houses. Shortlv afterwards Timur Shah also reached this place. Timur Shah despatched Sardar Madad Khan with a strong contingent well supplied with food and water against the Nawab, and he made satisfactory arrangements to provide the general with a fresh supply of water from Bahawalpur. Madad Khan besieged the fort where Bahawal Khan had taken shelter and dug three wells which yielded sufficient quantity of water. The defenders put forth strong resistance, and successfully combated all the efforts of the besiegers to take it by assault. In the course of an action the magazine in the fort caught fire, and a large number of the garrison were killed. This disheartened Bahawal Khan who sued for peace by sending his son to wait upon the Shah at Bahawalpur. He paid the arrears of tribute, acknowledged Timur Shah his master, promised to remain faithful in future, and agreed to supply troops to his over-

[1] *Ibid.*, 295a. [2] *Ibid.*, 301b.

lord in case of a fight between him and the Sikhs. The Shah accepted this submission and taking Bahawal Khan's son with him by way of surety for good behaviour retired to Peshawar on his way to Kabul.[1]

The Sikhs were afraid lest Timur Shah might invade their territories after the Bahawalpur campaign. In order to ward off this danger they attacked Multan. A news-letter of the 5th November, 1780 states "The Sikhs of Lahore, about 20,000 horse, attacked Timur Shah's military post near Multan The Afghans asked for peace The Sikhs realized *rākhi* and returned to their places. They are realizing *rākhi* in all directions."[2]

5 Fourth Invasion, December, 1785

Timur Shah was very anxious to reach Delhi to meet his kinsman, Shah Alam II. But the country of the Sikhs lay between. All alone he was incapable of defeating them. He therefore resolved to win over the most influential Indian Princes in order to overcome the opposition of the Sikhs. Early in 1783 letters from the Shah and his Wazir were received for the Peshwa[3] Later, on the 22nd November, 1783, it was recorded at the Emperor's Court that Sikandar Shah, brother of Timur Shah, had come to India and was waiting at Ghaziabad with Rustam Khan, brother of Shah Vali Khan, to interview the Emperor[4] Timur Shah's letter was received on the 19th February, 1784, by Warren Hastings, the Governor-General of India, in which the Shah asked him to "depute a confidant to the royal court to represent his wishes and sentiments," assuring him that "*when his confidant arrives he will receive due* attention."[5]

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[1] *Husain Shahi*, 110-13 ; *Tarikh i-Sultani*, 155-6 J A.S.B., XVII, ii, 568-70.

[2] *British Museum Persian MS* Or 25,021, folio 354b.

[3] *Dilliyetihil*, i, 95.

[4] *British Museum Persian MS.*, Or 25,021, f. 85a.

[5] C.P C., vii, 343.

Timur Shah's plans, however, did not succeed as he could not secure any assistance from these chiefs. The only friend on whom he could count was Shah Alam II; but Timur Shah could not expect anything from the Emperor as he had no independent resources of his own.

Timur Shah invaded India in December, 1785, and encamped at Peshawar, on the 18th December. Prince Humayun, the son of Timur Shah, crossed the Indus at Attock at the head of 20,000 men and was joined by Faiz Talab Khan and Karim Beg the principal chiefs near Attock with 10,000 men.[1] His first object, however, was to recover Kashmir. On the death of Haji Karimdad Khan, the Governor of Kashmir in 1783, his youngest son Azad Khan, had expelled his two elder brothers, Murtaza Khan and Zaman Khan,[2] from the government of Kashmir. These two brothers had gone to Kabul and complained against Azad Khan.

Azad Khan was a capable young ruler. He displayed remarkable energy in establishing his authority in Kashmir. He won over his troops by making gifts of cash and cloth. He also took in his service three thousand Sikhs. His generosity attracted many daring young men who took service with him. Timur Shah was not prepared to undertake two expeditions at the same time. As the Sikhs were ready to oppose his advance into the Panjab, the Shah asked Prince

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[1] Timur Shah's march as far as the river Indus alarmed even the British Government, and frightened the merchants and bankers of Delhi so much that they made preparations to leave the city. James Anderson, the Resident at Sindhia's court, however, thought that the Shah's advance upon Delhi was "extremely impossible". His opinion was based upon the fact that Timur Shah first must fight or make peace with the Sikhs who had established their power in the Panjab between the Jumna and the Indus. As the Shah was not prepared to fight the Sikhs, and the Sikhs would not make peace with him, such an event could not take place.

[2] Narayan Kaul on folio 196b calls them Pahalwan Khan and Maluk Khan. *Cf.* also Kirpa Ram's *Gulzar-i-Kashmir*, 239.

Humayun[1] to halt at Hasan Abdal for a while and not to move farther[2] As the winter season had sufficiently advanced, and the passes leading into Kashmir were blocked by snow, thus preventing large scale operations, the Shah despatched Kifayat Khan to advise the young governor to submit. Finding Azad Khan resolute and firm in his determination, he accepted presents in cash and kind to the value of three lakhs and retired from Kashmir Timur Shah thereupon sent a force of 30,000 under Murtaza Khan and Zaman Khan, the elder brothers of Azad Khan. They were accompanied by several notable chiefs such as Faiz Talab Khan Muhammadzai, Nawaz Jang Bangash Kohati, and Zardar Khan and Burhan Khan Durrani The generals halted near the fort of Pakhli, built by Sa'adat Khan Swati, father-in-law of Azad Khan. Azad Khan lay encamped at this time at Muzaffarabad, four *kos* distant from Pakhli. The battle was fought on the banks of the river Kishanganga Azad Khan's general Mulla Azam Khan lost his life, and 2,000 of his soldiers were either killed or drowned Azad Khan was about to flee in a boat leaving the field to his brothers, when his cousin Pahalwan Khan checked him, and advised him to deliver the assault again Pahalwan Khan reorganized the troops and renewed the fight. This time the imperial troops were defeated, and Burhan Khan Popalzai was taken prisoner Azad Khan then victoriously marched to Srinagar The Durrani troops rearranged themselves at Pakhli, and marched in pursuit of Azad Khan Azad Khan on hearing this sallied from his capital and engaged the imperialists in

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[1] *A Marathi despatch of the 18th January 1786, states that Mahan* Singh, father of Ranjit Singh, waited on the Prince and asked him to place Kashmir under his control promising in return co-operation of the Sikhs for his advance upon Delhi. *Dilliyethil*, i, 158.

[2] A Persian news-letter of the Emperor's Court, dated the 11th May 1786 at Kishanpur states :—

"Timur Shah is encamped at Peshawar He intended to send Humayun Shah to Delhi, but has given up the idea on account of the opposition of the Sikhs who occupy the intervening road." *British Museum Persian Akhbarat*, Or, 25,021, folio 129b.

a deadly battle near Baramulla. The imperial army was again defeated, and Nawaz Jang Bangash with his younger son including several other chiefs of note fell into the hands of the victors as captives.

When the news of the defeat of Murtaza Khan and Zaman Khan at the hands of Azad Khan, and their return to Peshawar with Faiz Talab Khan, came to the notice of the Shah, he sent a larger force in the charge of Madad Khan Durrani and Payenda Khan. The new commanders entered Kashmir, fought a fierce battle with Azad Khan, at Khushipura, and after several engagements defeated him. Azad Khan took shelter in Punch ; but he was imprisoned by the chief of the place, who communicated this news to Madad Khan. The Governor, however, shot himself dead. Azad Khan's mother and wife were sent to Timur Shah. The Shah spared the life of the mother on the payment of a ransom of two lakhs of rupees ; while the Governor's wife was admitted to the royal harem. Azad Khan at the time of his death was only twenty-seven years old.[1]

It appears that Warren Hastings before his leaving India had written a letter to Timur Shah Durrani who replied to it through his special messenger Shah Abdullah. The latter

[1] *C.P.C.*, vii, 483(2), 508; *Imperial Records, Secret Proceedings*, 17th January, 1786, pp. 66-9, 73-6; *Secret Letters to Court*, 1786, vol. v, pp. 64-7; *General Letters from the Secret Committee to Fort William*, vol. i, 21st July, 1786, pp. 521-2; *General Letters to Secret Committee*, 1786, vol. v, pp. 47-8; *Husain Shahi*, 133-44; *Narayan Kaul*, 196b-199a; *Ala-ud-din*, 28-9; Kirpa Ram's *Gulzar-i-Kashmir*, 237-40; *Tarikh-i-Sultani*, 157-9; *H.P.* i, 117; *Dilliyethil*, i, 166, 207, 243, 254, 265.

A Marathi despatch of this time states that Raja Bijai Singh sent his agents to Timur Shah to direct his forces after the conquest of Kashmir to Delhi to defeat the Marathas. The Raja suggested that if the Sikhs would not allow him an easy passage through the Panjab, he should march across Multan, Bahawalpur and Bikaner, and that the Rajput Rajas would accompany him to Delhi. Timur Shah declined this offer on the ground that his presence was required in his own country. *Dilliyethil*, i, 266.

having died on the way Timur Shah's Wazir Abdul Latif addressed a letter to the Governor-General early in 1796, in which he stated that the Shah's letter would be delivered to him by Sayyid Ghulam Naqshband Khan. The Governor-General conveyed his compliments in a letter, dated 11th December, 1786[1]

Timur Shah returned to Kabul in May, 1786, on hearing the alarming news of the preparations of Murad Shah of Balkh to invade Afghanistan[2]

6 *Fifth Campaign, December, 1788*

The Rajput princes had been constantly applying to Timur Shah for assistance against Mahadji Sindhia On a persistent request from Maharaja Bakht Singh, Timur Shah sent his Bakhshi Madhu [Madad ?] Khan in September, 1787 at the head of 15,000 horse, 5,000 foot and 1,700 camel riders Their path was blocked at Attock by the Sikhs. The Bakhshi followed the course along the western bank of the Indus for some time, and finding the Sikhs ready to oppose him, he eventually gave up his advance and returned to Kabul.[3] During the winter of 1788, rumours of a proposed invasion of Timur Shah were

[1] This letter ran as follows "Acknowledges the receipt of his letter addressed to Mr Hastings. Regrets that the reply has been delayed owing to the absence of Mr. Richard Johnson through whom the correspondence with the Shah was carried on. As Mr. Johnson has since returned the Governor-General takes the earliest opportunity of writing to him. *Intimates that Mr. Hastings has left for Europe and that he* (Mr Macpherson) himself now holds office of the Governor-General, professes sincere friendship for the Shah. Says that the intervention of various independent governments between their countries prevent him from sending letters more frequently Sends this letter through Ghulam Naqshband Khan and Ghulam Muhammad Khan sons of the late Shah Abdullah Naqshbandi." C.P.C. vii, 483(1) 677

[2] *Dilliyethal*, i. 156. 208.

[3] *Salar Jang Persian MS.*, No. 4329 pp. 190-1

again rife in India.[1] Raja Bijai Singh of Jodhpur was making frantic appeals to the Shah for his help against Sindhia. The Nawab of Bahawalpur had not paid tribute to the Durrani, and he appeared quite disaffected from the Shah. The annual subsidy from Sind had remained unpaid for several years past. Besides Timur Shah had learnt the sad news that his brother-in-law, Shah Alam II, had been deposed by Ghulam Qadir Rohilla on the 30th July, blinded on the 10th August, and numerous atrocities committed on the royal family during two months and a half's Rohilla rule over Delhi.

In consequence Timur Shah started on his Indian campaign in the beginning of winter of 1788. He marched from Peshawar on the 10th November, crossed the Indus at Attock on the 14th November and advanced towards Multan. His army at this time consisted of 120,000 cavalry. He wrote letters to Nawab Muzaffar Khan of Multan to collect grain, cloth and other necessary material for his forces. On the way he was joined by Ghazi-ud-din Imad-ul-Mulk, an ex-Wazir of Delhi, and the *Vakil* of the Raja of Jodhpur, both of whom requested the Shah to settle the affairs of Hindustan.[2]

Timur Shah made straight for Bahawalpur, avoiding any conflict with the Sikhs as far as possible. On the 13th December, 1788, he was 25 *kos* to the north-west of Multan. The Sikhs began to gather in that direction to arrest his progress; but on Timur's sending a strong detachment against them, they dispersed without coming to an action.

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[1] William Palmer, the British Resident at Sindhia's Court, doubted the authenticity of these rumours: "Rumours of Timur Shah's intention to invade Indostan this season still prevail, but I cannot discover any good foundation for them, and by the concurring accounts which I heard from travellers the state of his government and finances do not admit his undertaking so distant and expensive an enterprise." *P.R.C.*, i, 236, dated Agra, 13th October, 1788.

[2] *Ibid.*, 238.

Timur's troops entered Bahawalpur by the end of December, and early in January, 1789, a fight took place between the Shah's army and the Doudpotra Chief of Bahawalpur, in which the latter was defeated and he took to flight towards Bikaner. Three detachments of the Shah marched on the city of Bahawalpur, and massacred the inhabitants. The Bahawalpur chief found safety in seeking for peace. He paid a tribute of ten lakhs and received a pardon.[1]

The agents of the Raja of Jodhpur waited upon the Shah again, and offered twenty lakhs of rupees for liberating the Raja from the Maratha subjection. The Shah demanded forty lakhs of rupees, and also pointed out that his troops would suffer in the desert for want of water. The Raja promised to supply 3,000 camel loads of water bags.

On hearing this news Mahadji Sindhia wrote a threatening letter to the Raja of Jodhpur, saying that he might declare his independence of the Marathas with the help of the Shah, but on his retirement he would experience the serious consequences of his defiance.[2] Rai Dhanje, the Chief of Kach Bhuj [?] wrote to Sindhia that Timur's army would have to pass through his country to reach Jodhpur, and if Sindhia would help him, he could starve the Afghan soldiers by destroying all possible supplies of water on their way. This disquieting news exasperated Timur Shah, who at the persuasion of Sindhia's *Vakil* unceremoniously dismissed the *Vakil* of Jodhpur with the following reply: "You saw the fall of Shah Alam II, and you being a loyal subject *remained a spectator only. It was Mahadji Sindhia alone*

[1] *Husain Shahi*, 110-15.

[2] "How can you make a lasting peace by paying the Shah 40 lakhs of rupees and inviting his army into your country? Would that settlement last longer than the duration of the Shah's stay here? You have daily dealings with us; you will have to pay the tribute sooner or later and we will realize it." *H. P.*, i, 181.

who punished Ghulam Qadir and restored the prestige of the royal house. Now you want me to attack the same person. This I can never do."[1]

Thereafter Timur Shah directed his attention against Sind for the collection of arrears of tribute, and he succeeded in exacting about sixty lakhs of rupees.[2]

While in India Timur Shah wrote letters to all the noted chiefs of Northern India including the Governor-General.[3]

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[1] *Ibid.*, 191.

[2] *P. R. C.*, i, 246. Timur Shah after he became king never penetrated into the Panjab as far as Lahore. But *Gyan Singh* on pp. 914-25, says that he did so, and describes several skirmishes between him and the Sikhs, in one of which he states that his general Ataullah Khan was killed fighting against Natha Singh near Sialkot.

[3] Lord Cornwallis, the Governor-General, addressed the following letter to Timur Shah in reply :—

" Written 13th February, 1789.

" Your Majesty's *Shukka*, replete with expressions of favor and kindness to me, and desiring that as Your Majesty's illustrious House from the first period that the victorious banners were carried into the wide plains of Hindostan, and the city of Delhi submitted to the royal mandate and the deceased King Alumgeer experienced the royal clemency and was replaced on the throne of Hindostan, and after his death the same favour was shown to Shaw Allum, to whom Your Majesty also continued the same conduct had pursued the rules laid down among kings renowned for following the laws of justice and countenancing princes of high power and that Your Majesty had heard that Ghulam Qadir Yosufzai, the Rohillah, on the presumption of his power and regardless of the laws of gratitude had forgot the favor received by him and his ancestors from the royal family of Delhi and leaguing himself with thoughtless people had raised another to the throne of Hindostan and thrown disorder into the Sultanut and army—that as protection and aid to the king Shaw Allum is incumbent on Your Majesty's illustrious House, and I am one of the connections of it and the friend of His Majesty Shaw Allum, you are pleased to desire me to join other European Powers, and should His Majesty Shaw Allum be still alive, replace him in the plenitude of his power, and if he should have departed this life, to establish his son on the throne of Hindostan, that as Your Majesty is bent on this object, I be not dilatory, but evince my zeal and gratitude by my exertions to obey

When Timur Shah was busy in negotiating with the Mirs of Sind he heard the distressing news that disturbances were created on the frontier of his country by Shah Murad of Turan, and the Shah therefore decided upon a retreat. The tidings of his return gave a sigh of relief to all the Indian princes.[1]

Your Majesty's commands without delay arrived and has conferred high honor on me. May it please Your Majesty the proofs of friendship which Your Majesty's illustrious ancestors evinced towards the King of Delhi are well-known to the world, and have reached the ears of the Princes and Powers in Europe.

"Now that Your Majesty is graciously pleased to show your royal pleasure for the happiness of Shaw Allum and to express such indignation at the rebellious conduct of the Rohillah and his ungrateful associates, the benevolence which is the characteristic of your illustrious family will be more published to the world, and call forth the prayers of mankind for the duration and prosperity of such virtues. May Providence for ever keep Your Majesty under the protection! How can I sufficiently express the pleasure I receive from the royal commands, and what greater happiness can I experience than while I represent the joy felt by everyone at the object Your Majesty is bent upon, having been accomplished by the zeal and exertions of the real well-wishers of Shaw Allum. God be praised that the wicked Rohillah has experienced the infamy and punishment due to his ungrateful conduct, that Shaw Allum is again replaced on the throne of his ancestors and the splendour of the Sultanut will shine in the plains of Hindostan as heretofore! Doubtless are this Your Majesty will have heard these particulars, and under this idea, I refrain from recapitulating them, but expressing my respect of Your Majesty's royal commands and my attachment to the illustrious House of which Your Majesty now displays the inherited disposition for clemency and benevolence. I hope to be frequently honoured with the royal commands." *Imperial Records, Persian Correspondence, Letters Written, No. 42 Secret Proceedings* 20th February 1789, pp. 545-9.

[1] "The approach of Timur Shah Abdali kept the different powers of Hindostan in alarm for a long time with respect to his intentions, but it has *now subsided on Timur's return with his army to his own capital.*" *Imperial Records, Secret Letters to Court*, vol. vii, dated the 10th August, 1789 p. 692.

Certain merchants of Delhi informed the British Resident at Lucknow that they had received intelligence from their correspondents at Multan that Timur Shah wanted to place his son Humayun on the throne of Delhi, and in this scheme he was *supported by the Rajas of Jaipur* and

7. *Intelligence of Timur Shah's Activities, 1789-92*

Timur Shah did not invade India again; but the political atmosphere in this country was never free from fear of a fresh campaign by him. The result was that the Indian chiefs kept themselves informed of his activities; while Timur Shah with a view to find a suitable opportunity for invading it employed agents to supply him the information of the political situation in India. This gave rise to many false alarms, and the Indian powers felt greatly perturbed; but ultimately their fears proved groundless. The suspicion in the Indian mind may be attributed to the Durrani tradition of incessant plundering raids, established by his father, the impetuous Ahmad Shah. No Indian of those days was prepared to believe that Timur Shah would break this time-honoured custom, particularly when they learnt of his activities in other parts of India. Below are given the extracts from intelligence of Timur Shah's activities:

19th March, 1789.—Timur Shah was about to invade India.[1]

January, 1790.—A friendly letter from Timur Shah was received by Shah Alam II.[2]

April, 1790.—One of Timur Shah's officers named Qazi wrote secret letters against Timur Shah to Shah Murad of

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Jodhpur. *Imperial Records, Secret Proceedings*, 28th January, 1789, p. 326, Edward Otto Ives's letter to the Governor-General, dated Lucknow, the 18th January, 1789.

For the account of this campaign *vide* Sardesai, No. 545 (Marathi); *H. P.* i, 180, 181, 188, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195 (Marathi); *Dilliyethil*, i, 341, 351, 390; ii, 23 (Marathi); *Imperial Records, Secret Proceedings*, 19th January, 1789, pp. 229-31; 284-5; of the 28th January, 1789, p. 326; of the 20th February, 1789, pp. 545-9.

[1] *Maheshwar Darbarachen Batamipatren* [Marathi], ii, 176.

[2] *Dilliyethil*, ii, Additional, 5.

Turan These letters were intercepted and brought to the notice of the king who killed Qazi, imprisoned his relations, and confiscated his property [1]

May 1790 —Nawab Ghazi-ud-din Khan, his son Jilani Khan and Prince Ahsan Bakht were on their way to Kabul *via* Kangra to seek the protection of Timur Shah [2]

11th May, 1790 —Timur Shah's agent had not yet arrived at Delhi.[3]

July, 1790 —Mirza Ahsan Bakht had left Kangra for Afghanistan [4]

6th August, 1790 —Timur Shah and Shah Murad of Turan were fighting.[5]

3rd September, 1790 —Timur Shah s *Vakil* had reached Lahore.[6]

26th September 1790 —Ghazi-ud-din Khan was received with great honour by Shah Zaman.[7]

December, 1790 —Mahan Singh (father of Maharaja Ranjit Singh), a big Sikh Chief of the neighbourhood of Attock, had died, and Timur Shah therefore was contemplating an invasion of India.[8]

19th December, 1790 —Sadullah Khan, an ambassador of Timur Shah, visited Delhi and paid homage to the Emperor on the 19th December, 1790, offering five gold coins, and

[1] *H P* i, 226.

[2] *Parasnis's Itihasa Sangraha*, "Maratha Affairs at Delhi," ii, 15 *Indian Historical Records Commission Proceedings*, vol. xiii, 1930 p. 92.

[3] *Dilliyethil*, ii, 22.

[4] *Ibid.*, ii, Additional, 29.

[5] *Ibid.* i, 393.

[6] *Ibid.*, ii, Additional, 34.

[7] *Parasnis's Itihasa Sangraha*, "Maratha Affairs at Delhi," ii, 34.

[8] *Dilliyethil*, ii, 15.

delivered Timur Shah's letter to him. The Emperor conferred upon him a robe of honour consisting of three pieces, and granted shawls to his companions. Through the same agent Timur Shah sent a *kil'at* to Mahadji Sindhia for punishing Ghulam Qadir. Sindhia was at Sambhal. The Emperor sent the ambassador in the company of Tahmas Beg Miskin[1] to wait on Sindhia there. He reached Sindhia's camp on the 9th February, 1791. Sindhia honoured Sadullah Khan by bestowing upon him Rs. 12,000, some jewels, and a robe of honour of five pieces, and gave as presents for Timur Shah two elephants, horses, some jewels and five *khil'ats*, and his agent Wajih-ud-din Khan accompanied the ambassador. Sadullah Khan took leave of Sindhia on the 19th June, 1791. The Nawab Wazir of Oudh also sent two elephants and several other valuable gifts for Timur Shah. These agents took the route through Bahawalpur, Multan and Derajat.[2]

21st December, 1790.—Timur Shah defeated Shah Murad, and then peace was patched up between them. According to the terms of agreement Timu [?] river was fixed as the boundary line between their territories. Shah Murad left a *five hazari* chief with Timur Shah as a hostage. A rumour stated that Timur Shah would come to Peshawar.[3]

April, 1791.—Timur Shah was in Kabul. He had written letters to his chiefs to collect their forces as he intended to invade India.[4]

23rd April, 1791.—Timur Shah sent a letter to Cornwallis, the Governor-General, and gave an account of his activities on the northern frontier.[5]

[1] Sadullah Khan was given Rs. 600 and Tahmas Beg Miskin Rs. 100 for food, etc., while on journey to Sindhia's camp, *Dilliyethil*, ii, Additional, 21; *Delhi Chronicle*, 414.

[2] *H. P.*, i, 226; *Dilliyethil*, ii, 47, 59, 60; Additional, 2, 3, 5, 17 (Marathi).

[3] *Dilliyethil*, ii, Additional, 3.

[4] *Dilliyethil*, ii, 7.

[5] *Imperial Records, Persian Letters Received*, No. 165.

May, 1791.—Mirza Ahsan Bakht had reached Kabul and would be received in audience by Timur Shah in a day or two [1]

11th May, 1791.—Timur Shah was marching from Kabul to Peshawar[2]

July, 1791. -Timur Shah's agent was in Delhi, and was about to leave for Afghanistan in a month's time.[3]

25th July, 1791.—Timur Shah was making great preparations to invade India.[4]

31st August, 1791 —Edward Otto Ives, the British Resident at Lucknow, wrote to Cornwallis that several persons charged with despatches from Timur Shah arrived there One of them was Mir Nasir-ud-din, a relation of Ghulam Muhammad Khan "It is very difficult to distinguish who, among these pretended *Vakeels*, are really sent. But I am fully of opinion that if the letters be authentic they are all obtained by private influence and for private purposes.' [5]

September, 1791.—Raja Bijai Singh invited Timur Shah to India; but the Shah was busy in his own affairs as Murad Shah of Balkh was about to invade Afghanistan.[6]

11th September, 1791 —The Durrani chiefs were revolting against Timur Shah, and he therefore was trying to win over other tribes such as the Qizalbashes. He proposed to invade India in cold weather His letters were received by the Nawab Wazir and Sindhia.[7]

28th September, 1791.—A strong rumour prevailed about Timur Shah's invasion of India.[8]

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[1] *Ibid.*, Additional, 24.
[2] *Dilliyethil*, ii, 5.
[3] *Imperial Records, Political Proceedings*, 8th February, 1792, No. 20.
[4] *Dilliyethil*, ii, 52.
[5] *Dilliyethil*, ii, 21.
[6] *H P.*, i, 302.
[7] *Dilliyethil*, ii, 33, 70.
[8] *Ibid.*, 9.

October, 1791.—Shah Murad's brother Adil Shah sought shelter with Timur Shah against his brother. Shah Murad desired his immediate return to Bokhara; but Timur Shah paid no heed to this request. Timur Shah sent orders to Shahdad Khan to build a bridge on the Indus, and he encamped opposite Attock with 8,000 troops. There was, however, no probability of his invading India as the Shah was facing disturbances in his own country. Mirza Ahsan Bakht was staying at Peshawar in Shah Vali Khan's mansion.[1]

15th October, 1791.—Timur Shah was ready to invade India.[2]

24th October, 1791.—Subuktullah Khan arrived at Lucknow with letters from Timur Shah and his Wazir Faizullah Khan for the Nawab Wazir of Oudh and the British Resident at his court. He reported that Mirza Ahsan Bakht was granted an interview by Timur Shah at Charbagh, and the Shah promised to accompany him with an army in the following year. The Prince had fallen ill, and in order to avoid the inclemency of winter at Kabul returned to Peshawar.[3]

4th November, 1791.—Timur Shah was expected at Peshawar after 'Id.[4]

29th November, 1791.—Timur Shah was at Kabul and had summoned Ahsan Bakht there.[5]

27th January, 1792.—Jamil, an agent of Mirza Ahsan Bakht, arrived at Delhi. He was presented to the Emperor

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[1] *Ibid.*, 65. [2] *Ibid.*, 35.

[3] *Imperial Records, Political Proceedings*, 8th February, 1792, Resident at Lucknow to the Governor-General, dated Lucknow, 27th January, 1792, No. 20.

[4] *Dilliyethil*, ii, 40. [5] *Ibid.*, 42.

by Shah Nizam-ud-din He told His Majesty that Prince Ahsan Bakht was well received by Timur Shah, and Yusuf Ali eunuch was negotiating for him.[1]

11th February 1792 —It was reported that Timur Shah's troops on the Indus had beaten the Sikhs, and that at Mirza Ahsan Bakht's intercession Timur Shah had granted pardon to Ghazi-ud-din Khan for having murdered Alamgir II.[2]

19th February 1792 —From the perusal of letters received from Amritsar it was generally believed that Timur Shah had stationed 10 000 cavalry with Ahsan Bakht, and assigned to him Rohtas and certain other places, and issued orders to his chiefs on this side of the Indus to join the prince [3]

22nd February, 1792 —Ghazi-ud-din s letter from Bahawalpur was received at Delhi by Shah Nizam-ud-din stating that he was summoned by Timur Shah.[4]

23rd February, 1792 —Mirza Ahsan Bakht's letter from Peshawar announced that Timur Shah was about to proceed to India.[5]

25th February, 1792 —Prince Ahsan Bakht and Nawab Ghazi-ud-din proposed leading an expedition into the Sikh country, but Ranjit Singh was prepared to oppose their advance [6]

1st March, 1792 —Sadullah Khan and Wajih-ud-din Khan waited at Peshawar on Mirza Ahsan Bakht who granted each of them a *khil'at* of three pieces [7]

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[1] *Imperial Records, Political Proceedings*, 23rd March, 1792 Letter from the Resident at the Wazir s Court to Cornwallis, dated Lucknow 12th March, 1792, No. 4.

[2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.* [5] *Ibid.*

[6] *Dilliyethul*, ii, Additional, 70 *Itihas Sangraha Supplement*, 70.

[7] *Dilliyethil*, ii, 71.

March, 1792.—Sadullah Khan and Wajih-ud-din Khan left Peshawar for Kabul. Shah Murad was creating disorder in Timur's country, and the latter had asked the ruler of Badakhshan to help him.[1]

21st March, 1792.—Mahadji Sindhia was sending Rs. 50,000 to his agent Wajih-ud-din Khan in Kabul by a *hundi* to buy horses. Nawab Nizam Ali Khan was considering to despatch Tahmas Beg Khan to Kabul to procure for him a robe of honour from Timur.[2]

12th May, 1792.—Some letters of Mirza Ahsan Bakht were intercepted by Timur's men, and Timur Shah on learning their subject-matter of intrigue was angry with the Prince. He therefore sent secret instructions to the Governor of Multan to keep Ahsan Bakht under surveillance.[3]

September, 1792.—Timur Shah was soon expected at Attock.[4]

11th September, 1792.—Timur Shah's letters arrived for the Emperor, Nawab Wazir of Oudh, British Resident at Lucknow, Begam Samru, Zafaryab Khan and Muhammad Sadiq Khan.[5]

12th September, 1792.—Shah Nizam-ud-din declared that all rumours about Timur's Indian invasion were false.[6]

14th November, 1792.—The Governor-General sent presents to Timur Shah in return for those received from

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[1] *Ibid.*, 73.

[2] *Dilliyethil*, ii, Additional, 67.

[3] *Dilliyethil*, ii, 93; Additional, 79.

[4] *H. P.*, i, 382.

[5] *Imperial Records, Political Proceedings*, 3rd October, 1792, No. 21.

[6] *Ibid.*

Kabul. The Governor-General instructed his agent, in charge of the presents, to procure "general information relative to Timur Shaw's Government and politics."[1]

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[1] *Imperial Records, Foreign Miscellaneous* No. 46. G. F. Cherry wrote to Edward Otto Ives, Resident at Lucknow on the 14th November, 1792 from Calcutta —

"The Governor General having been pleased to send presents to Timur Shaw under charge of Golaum Mahomed Khan, the *Vakil* from Timur Shaw at this *Durbar* in return for presents received some time ago, I am directed to inform you that Golaum Mahomed Khan will leave this (place) in a day or two with the several articles on board a boat and will go to Kaunpoor.

"As his lordship wishes that every assistance should be furnished to Golaum Mahomed Khan in order that the presents may be conveyed with as much despatch and safety as possible, he has desired me to consign the presents to your care, and to request that you will endeavour to procure a trustworthy man of respect and abilities to accompany Golaum Mahomed Khan to Kabul. His Lordship's wish in this respect is to avail himself of the opportunity now offered to procure general information relative to Timur Shaw's Government and politics, as far as may be practicable, without injury to the delicacy of his Court, and without the appearance of a specific deputation for this purpose. It may also be practicable to ascertain further particulars of the countries that lay on the road to whom they are subject, and, as far as can be, the disposition of their rulers. These general points will, his Lordship trusts, be sufficient to notify to you his object in sending a person in company with Golaum Mahomed Khan, and he leaves the choice of the person and any further instructions to you, wishing at the same time that the letters and presents may be left entirely to Golaum Mahomed Khan, in order that the company of any other person with him may not be construed into a deputation from this Government, which during the present rumours relative to Timur Shaw's motions might occasion reports and surmises wholly improper.

"A list of the presents is enclosed. They are packed up as suitable hand carriage as the nature of them will allow and his Lordship desires that you will, under the pretence of the person who will go from you to assist in their safe conveyance, give every aid in your power."

8. *Death of Timur Shah, 18th May, 1793*

About the end of 1792 Timur Shah made up his mind to invade India once again. He made suitable arrangements for his various provinces in Afghanistan to avoid any disturbance to distract his attention from the settlement of Indian affairs. Prince Mahmud was left in charge of Herat. Humayun in Kandahar and Zaman in Kabul. He advanced as far as Peshawar, and punished several rebellious chiefs in the Khyber Pass and the hills. He summoned Fatah Khan Yusafzai, the Governor of Muzaffarabad, to him and put him to death for his refractory behaviour. Soon afterwards he was taken ill with inflammation of intestines accompanied by violent fits of vomiting. The physicians treated him well; but they could not cure him of the disease. Consequently, they suggested change of climate, and recommended him to repair to Kabul immediately. Timur Shah realized that his end had come, and wished to die in his favourite capital, a place which he liked best in his empire, and, in spite of the discomfort and inconvenience the journey involved, he returned to Kabul, where, after a couple of days of his arrival he passed away on the 18th May, 1793.[1]

Timur Shah was buried at Kabul, and a beautiful mausoleum was built over his grave. Sir Vincent Eyre found in 1842 only two places worth seeing at Kabul, one of them being Timur Shah's mausoleum: "The city is very irregularly laid out, and, with exception of the celebrated covered bazar and the tomb of Timur Shah, contained no public buildings at all striking."[2]

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[1] *Husain Shahi*, 151; *Tarikh-i-Sultani*, 159-61. The news of his death reached Delhi on the 15th June, 1793. *Delhi Chronicle*, 423. Ferrier believes that "he was poisoned by one of the women of his harem, the sister of a Popalzye Chief, who was hostile to him." *History of the Afghans*, 104.

[2] *Eyre*, 28. The bazaar was destroyed by General Pollock in October, 1842.

9 *Character*

Timur Shah is declared by all writers indolent and pleasure-loving Elphinstone says "Timoor Shauh having now obtained undisturbed possession of his father's kingdom, gave way to his natural indolence His whole policy was directed to secure his tranquillity he never appears to have thought of aggrandizing himself, and all the operations in which he was afterwards engaged, were intended merely for the defence of his dominions"[1] Masson has nothing but a harsh verdict for him "To Ahmed Shah succeeded his son, Taimur Shah, who, as is too often the case in these countries, lived on the reputation of his father and passed his reign in pleasure, or the gratification of his sensual appetites."[2]

Aggrandizement is no virtue, and if Timur Shah, led by his peaceful temperament, did not indulge in this unfair pursuit, he should not be condemned simply for not possessing a passion for war Timur did not follow in the footsteps of his father to carry on ruthless campaigns over a vast territory for various reasons. He did not possess equal enthusiasm for warlike activities, and whatever ambition he had for foreign hostilities it was damped by the unfavourable circumstances in which he was placed A French officer who toured in Afghanistan some time after Timur's death says "The serdars who had placed his father on the throne, and divided with him the direction of affairs, considered themselves much more like the tutors of his son than his councillors. The king endeavoured for a long period to release himself from this thraldom, but, seeing that his efforts were vain, he gave himself up to that life of ease and effiminacy with which European authors have so sharply reproached him, without reflecting whether it

[1] *Caubul*, 559

[2] *Journeys*, ii, 99

was possible for him to follow a different line of conduct... I had occasion, during my journey in Afghanistan, to converse with some respectable serdars, who, having held high positions at the court of this sovereign, were able to appreciate his character. These individuals assured me that the intelligence and activity of this prince were equal to his courage and firmness; and it was these qualities which had led his father to give him the preference over his other sons: but it would have been absolute folly for him to have entered into an open struggle with the old serdars, who were venerated by the Afghans, with a view of concentrating all the power within his own hands, for this contest could terminate only to his disadvantage, and would have ended in his complete ruin."[1]

Thus Timur Shah followed the only wise course of not interfering with the nobles, and this admirable policy allowed him a peaceful reign of twenty-one years. He devoted his energy and power to internal administration, and succeeded in maintaining the integrity of his vast dominions in spite of numerous difficulties. "Timur Shah governed his rude country internally as few men have governed it."[2] Timur Shah was loved by his people as he gave them peace and treated them liberally and kindly. G. T. Vigne marked the regard and esteem the Afghans cherished for him even after the expiry of nearly fifty years:—

"The reign of Timur Shah was still remembered by the older inhabitants of Kabul, as that in which the city enjoyed its greatest modern prosperity. He was a liberally-minded ruler, and was known to lend a man money, and tell him to go and trade with it."[3]

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[1] *Ferrier*, 104-5.

[2] *Malleson's History of Afghanistan*, 295.

[3] *A Personal narrative of a visit to Ghuzni, Kabul and Afghanistan*, p. 376.

With regard to India, it may be pointed out that Timur Shah directed his attention towards Peshawar, Kashmir, Multan, Sind and Bahawalpur It may, however, be mentioned that these regions were overwhelmingly Muslim in population, and consequently, Timur Shah was sure of not meeting with the Sikh aggression there. The Sikhs, whom he had known from his childhood, were avoided by him as far as possible, and he never summoned up courage to attack them in the heart of their country The recovery of Multan from the Sikhs is undoubtedly a remarkable achievement made by him In three of his Indian provinces —Kashmir, Bahawalpur and Sind—his power was prejudicially affected by his peaceful tendency, as the Governors of these outlying territories no longer feeling the heel of the invader threw off allegiance to Timur Shah. They submitted whenever Timur invaded their country and assumed an independent attitude after his retirement to Afghanistan

CHAPTER VIII

THE DURRANÍ EMPIRE AT SHAH ZAMAN'S ACCESSION, 1793

1. *Source*

In the early nineties of the 18th century there were wide rumours of a foreign invasion from the north-west. The British Government in India had their territories almost beyond the reach of the invader; but they were anxious to defend the country of their ally the Nawab Wazir of Oudh, which in those days served as a buffer state. This could be effectively done by possessing the exact knowledge of the actual resources and strength of the king of Afghanistan. Consequently Edward Otto Ives, the British Resident at Lucknow, under orders of Marquis Cornwallis, sent a man called Ghulam Sarwar to Afghanistan to procure as authentic an information as he possibly could.

Ghulam Sarwar left Lucknow on the 10th March, 1793, and after the lapse of nearly two years came back on the 12th February, 1795. He spent Rs. 3,305 in securing intelligence, and the British Government paid him Rs. 14,500 in all.

Sir John Shore, the Governor-General, while presenting his minute dated the 5th July, 1797, to his Council, spoke of Ghulam Sarwar's account in these words :—" It contains the best procurable account of the dominions, forces, revenues and character of Shah Zaman who, since his

expedition to Lahore, has become a more interesting object of political attention."

The original papers of Ghulam Sarwar which were compiled in Persian could not be traced in Imperial Record Department, with the exception of an application from him claiming money from the Government; but an English translation full of mis-spelt names of persons and places is available there. This lengthy document covers about 100 closely-written pages I have condensed and arranged this matter in a logical order, and made an attempt to correct various wrongly-spelt names This account pertains to the Hijri year 1207 to 1208, commencing from August 19, 1792 to August 8, 1793

2. *Shah Zaman Succeeds, May, 1793*

Timur Shah, at the time of his death, on the 18th of May, 1793, nominated Prince Zaman[1] "who was beloved by the people and the nobility" his successor[2] He left behind him twenty-nine sons and nineteen daughters[3] Several princes held the charge of various provinces. The eldest son, Humayun,[4] "cruel but generous", was at Kandahar. The second son, Mahmud, a wise prince, was the lord of Herat, while his brother Firoz-ud-din, noted for bravery, was with him. Abbas, the chief of Peshawar, brave and generous, "renowned for Herculean strength was the popular

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[1] *Cf Imperial Records, Secret Department*, 7th July 1797, Nos. 1-8.

[2] *Dilliyatki*, ii, 94.

[3] Malleson in his *History of Afghanistan*, p. 300, *and Ferrier in his History of the Afghans*, p. 106, state that Timur Shah left twenty-three sons and thirteen daughters. *Jamal-ud-din*, pp. 60-61, puts the number of his sons at 32, and of his wives at 300. *Cf also Abdul Majid*, 130.

[4] His mother belonged to the Sadozai tribe.

[5] The mother of Mahmud and Firoz-ud-din was of the Isakzai tribe.

favourite".[1] Zaman, who was intelligent, foresighted, cautious, economical and patient of labour; but pleasure-loving, avaricious and haughty, was at Kabul. His real brother, Shuja-ul-Mulk, was at Ghazni.[2] Kohandil was the Governor of Kashmir.

Humayun and Mahmud were on the best of terms with each other, and Mahmud promised to support Humayun. They remained at their respective governments, while all other princes hurried to Kabul. Zaman, however, with the powerful influence of the imperial harem, and the strong support of the great Barakzai chief, Payendah Khan, was raised to the sovereign power. Shah Zaman by imprisoning all his brothers present in Kabul, secured their submission. He then marched to Kandahar and defeated Humayun at Kalat-i-Ghilzai, and the Prince sought refuge in flight to Baluchistan. Shah Zaman appointed Shuja-ul-Mulk to the governorship of Kandahar, came to terms with Mahmud, and returned to Kabul. He thus succeeded for a time in effectually establishing his authority as ruler. Shah Zaman is well-known in Indian History for being the last invader from the north-west. He was about twenty-three years old at this time.[3]

At the time of his accession the kingdom of Afghanistan extended in the east from Bahawalpur on the Sutlej to Khorasan, Iran and Kerman in the west; and in the north from Akcha on the Oxus to the sea of Oman in the south. It comprised of a space about 1,600 miles in length between Kashmir and Herat, and 1,000 miles in breadth between Bahawalpur and Akcha. This vast territory comprehended the principalities of Bahawalpur, Sind, Multan, the Derajat,

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[1] *Malleson*, 300.

[2] The mother of Zaman and Shuja-ul-Mulk was of the Yusafzai tribe.

[3] *Tarikh-i-Sultani*, 162; Sinha's *Rise of the Sikh Power*, 119.

Kashmir, Peshawar, Kabul, Ghazni, Kandahar, Baluchistan, Herat, Persian Khorasan and Balkh.

3 *Revenues*

The total sum of revenue in 1793 amounted to Rs. 2,71,78,400, according to the following specification —

	Rs.
Remitted to the royal treasury ..	67,25,000
Jagirs ..	47,64,400
Expenses of establishment	38,21,000
Charity	5,06,000
Appropriations in lands paying quit rents [?]	1,13,62,000
	2,71,78,400

Of Rs. 67,25,000 remitted to the royal treasury Rs. 46,15,000 were appropriated to the fixed expenses of Shah Zaman in accordance with the following schedule —

	Rs.
Privy purse	12,00,000
Artillery expenses ..	2,70,000
Troops of slaves *khas* ...	11,90,000
Stable expenditure	1,50,000
Elephants	50,000
Mules	80,000
Camels expenditure	1,10,000
Tosha Khana	3,20,000
Harem Khana	5,60,000
Farash Khana ..	70,000
Royal Kitchen ..	2,20,000
Grant for Akcha ..	70,000
Grant for Balkh	1,15,000
Royal buildings	2,10,000
	46,15,000
Balance ..	21,10,000
	67,25,000

4. *Army*

As regards Shah Zaman's forces the particulars are as follows:—

Standing army :

Risala Iltifat Khan *Khwajah Sara* ...		...	4,900
Risala Haji Amir Khan ...	...	...	2,400
Risala Amin-ul-Mulk Nur Muhammad Khan...			5,900
Risala Arsalan Jawan Sher	...	...	3,700
Risala Jafar Khan ...	...	...	1,800
Risala of nephew of Sadiq Khan ...		...	1,600
Risala Yusaf Ali Khan *Khwajah Sara*		...	3,000
			23,300
Slaves *Khas* ...	...	...	9,780
Troops detached throughout the country		...	35,750
			68,830
Large pieces of cannon ...	...	...	644
Camel artillery fit for service	...	...	2,600
Camel artillery unfit for service	...	...	3,270

There were 195 forts, besides innumerable petty fortified places.

5. *Courtiers*

Of the numerous big courtiers Imam-ul-Mulk Ghazi Faizullah Khan was Sadar-i-Sadur of the Kingdom. Rahmatullah Khan held the title of Wafadar Khan and the office of Sadar-i-Sadur. Amin-ul-Mulk Nur Muhammad Khan Babri was the Superintendent of the Treasury, *Tosha Khana, Jawahar Khana,* and also had the charge of inspecting the papers of the *subahdars*, farmers of revenue and *'amils.* Mukhtar-ud-daulah Sher Muhammad Khan, son of Shah Vali Khan, was Wazir. Sardar-i-Sardaran Payendah Khan who had the title of Sarfraz Khan was Amir-ul-Umara. Sheikh Yusaf was *Vakil* of

the ryot and Mustafi-ul-Mumalik. Mirza Ali Khan held the title of Khanazad Khan Bahadur Shakur Khan was Vakil-i-Mumalik. Kallu Khan had the title of Vakil-ud-daulah. Karim Khan, son of Sardar Jahan Khan, held the rank of Sardar, and was *Darogha* of the Stable. Ahmad Khan was Shahanchi Bashi, Mulla Yaqub Khan Topchi Bashi, Daud Khan Amlah Bashi, Yar Muhammad Khan Nasaqchi Bashi and Azim Khan Farrash Bashi. Yusaf Ali Khan Khwajah Sara was commander of the contingent of the Slaves Khas. Rahimdad Khan was *Darogha* of the Daftar

6. *Foreign Relations*

The political situation of Shah Zaman should be determined relatively to the King of Turan, King of Iran, Prince Mahmud of Herat and the Sikhs in the Panjab.

Abdul Ghani Khan was the nominal king of Turan with his capital at Bokhara. He was blinded by his Wazir, Shah Murad, in whose hands lay the real authority. Hostilities had broken out between Shah Murad and Timur Shah, a little before the latter's death chiefly regarding the claims of the two kings to Balkh and Akcha (50 miles north of Balkh) Ultimately peace was patched up, and these places were retained by Timur Shah. Shah Zaman was, however, under constant alarm respecting the attempt of Shah Murad

Agha Muhammad Khan Kajjer was the virtual ruler of Iran, and his ambition and power were a permanent cause of apprehension to Shah Zaman.

Prince Mahmud, the Regent of Herat, was in secret correspondence with Shah Murad and Agha Muhammad Khan Kajjer with a view to secure the throne of Afghanistan. He possessed no resources to contest with his brother, but nevertheless he was a source of anxiety to the Shah.

The Panjab, the richest part of the Durrani Kingdom, was in possession of the Sikhs, a warlike and numerous people. Though divided by internecine dissensions, they were not prepared either to relinquish their hold on the province or to allow the Shah to pass through their country to Delhi unmolested. The Sikhs were therefore an ever-pinching thorn in the side of Shah Zaman.

7. *Provinces*

Shah Zaman's kingdom consisted of the following provinces:—

1. *Bahawalpur.*—Bahawal Khan, son of Fatah Khan, was the ruler. In his relations with Shah Zaman he was "apparently well-affected, but in his heart most rebellious." He had an army of 3,000 horse and 5,000 foot, but could further collect 17,000 horse and foot in an emergency. There were 19 forts in the province. The fort of Derawal commonly called Dilawar Kot stood in a sandy desert, where no water was available within a radius of about 50 miles. The fort contained two wells of good water, and close to its walls there was a large tank which had water throughout the year. The fort of Khanpur was also situated in a waterless tract. The well-water in this fort was so saltish that it was unfit for human consumption, and could be used only by sheep, goats and camels. Rukanpur had a masonry fort. The forts of Ahmadpur,[1] Dingarh, Khairpur, Garhi Ikhtiar Khan, Maujgarh, and Kot Lashkar Khan had no artillery. The total income of the province in 1793 was Rs. 11,07,000,[2] and expenditure as

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[1] This place was the principal residence of the Khan. *Cf.* Masson's *Narrative of Various Journeys*, i, 22.

[2] Shahamat Ali estimates the gross income of the Khan about 1830 at 14 lakhs, and net saving at 5 lakhs. *Cf. Bahawalpur*, xi.

given below :—

			Rs.
Paid to the King's treasury	..		1,00,000
Talukdars	...		1,40,000
Charity ..	...	..	60,000
Bahawal Khan's expenses		..	8,07,000
			11,07,000

2. *Sind.*—At this time Sind was divided into several parts. Bukkur and Sukkur were under Shah Zaman's officers stationed there at the head of 1,700 horse with 143 pieces of cannon This district transmitted to the royal treasury Rs 65,000

Hyderabad was under Mir Fatah Ali and Mir Sohrab etc, the Talpuria Chiefs, who had thrown off allegiance to the Shah. Their income was Rs. 51,13 000 and the expenditure —

		Rs
Expected to pay to the royal treasury		10,00,000
Officers and relations		11,00,000
Privy purse of the rulers	..	28,13,000
Charity	..	2,00,000
		51,13,000

The revenues of Shikarpur amounted to Rs. 5,93,000 as detailed here —

			Rs.
Expected to pay to the royal treasury			3,91,000
Talukdars ..	...		1,45,000
Administrative expenses	..		52,000
Charity		..	5,000
			5,93,000

Amarkot was at that time under the Raja of Jodhpur, and the total income of this district was Rs. 23,000.

Karachi was under Nasir Khan Baluch of Kalat and its revenues amounted to Rs. 6,16,000

The Talpuria chiefs entertained a force of 11,000 horse and 19,000 foot. There were 23 forts in all. Hyderabad had a masonry fort built on a hill. Bukkur, a strong fort, stood on an island in the middle of the river Indus. The other important forts were Rohri, Sukkur, Amarkot, Shikarpur, Khudabad, Fatah Yehsan Kot and Karachi. Sind was a "flourishing, well-watered and well inhabited" country. Its fertility depended not on rains but on its rivers and canals, and in consequence it yielded a large revenue.

3. *Multan.*—Muzaffar Khan, son of Shuja Khan, was the chief. He was a "capable man but haughty" and "not well affected" towards the Shah. He commanded 1,500 horse, and could muster 2,000 horse and 4,000 foot more. There were 11 strong forts such as Multan, Shujakot, Sikandarabad, Muzaffarabad and Talamba. They contained many pieces of artillery. There were many *garhis* besides. The total income was Rs. 6,73,400. The expenditure is given below :—

	Rs.
Paid to the King's treasury	2,55,000
Talukdars	3,23,400
Expenses of establishment	45,000
Charity	50,000
	6,73,400

4. *Derah Ghazi Khan.*—A son of Payendah Khan was the sardar of the place. He had 2,300 horse, and could collect 3,000 horse and 8,000 foot more. There were fourteen forts such as Derah Ghazi Khan, Taunsa (4 miles west of the Indus), Mangrotha (4 miles west of Taunsa), and Tarund (on the western bank of the Indus), besides innumerable small forts (*kotlahs*). The total income of the district was Rs. 10,97,000, and the expenditure :—

	Rs.
Paid to the King's treasury	6,70,000
Talukdars	3,20,000
Expenses of establishment	62,000
Charity	45,000
	10,97,000

5 *Leiah.*—Muin-ul-Mulk Ghulam Nabi Leti, nephew of Khudadad Khan Leti, was formerly ruler of Sind; but he was expelled by the Talpuria chiefs, Mir Fatah Ali and Mir Sohrab etc He was sixty years of age and "imbecile" He was not truly loyal to the Shah. He commanded a contingent of 600 horse, but could collect 1,000 cavalry and 2,000 infantry His total income was Rs. 3,47,000, and expenditure —

	Rs.
Paid to the King's treasury	1,50,000
Talukdars	89,000
Expenses of establishment	1,02,000
Charity ...	6,000
	3,47 000

6 *Derah Ismail Khan*—Nusrat Khan was stationed here with a body of 700 horse "He is most oppressive, but has not the ability to rebel" He could collect about 3,000 horse and foot. There were six forts in all, and many *kotlahs* The fort of Derah Ismail Khan had masonry fortifications but it was breached and out of repair Tirgarh (4 miles west of the Indus) and Naushahra (in the middle of the Indus) were other important forts. The total income mounted to Rs. 2,99,000, and expenditure —

	Rs.
Paid to the King's treasury	1,20,000
Talukdars ..	1,54,000
Expenses of establishment ..	15,000
Charity	10,000
	2,99,000

7 *Bangash Ghat.*—Nawab Khan Bangash was the chief 'He has no thought of disobedience" He commanded 500 horse, but could collect 1,000 cavalry and 2,000 infantry There were three middling forts and several *kotlahs* The annual income was Rs 1 00 000

8. *Attock.*—Shahbaz Khan Khatak at the head of 3,000 horse and nine pieces of cannon ruled over the place. There were six forts and several fortalices. The fortress of Attock was the strongest. The yearly income amounted to Rs. 1,10,000.

9. *Kashmir.*—Ahmad Khan Shahanchi Bashi was the Governor. He had a force of 5,000 horse and seven pieces of cannon. Lately, an extra detachment of 11,000 horse and 416 pieces of camel artillery on the part of the King had been stationed there. There were twenty-one strong forts and numerous *kotlahs* in the hills. The total income was Rs. 40,18,000 and expenditure :—

			Rs.
Paid to the King's treasury	...	...	22,50,000
Talukdars ...	...	...	6,28,000
Expenses of establishment	...	...	11,40,000
			40,18,000

10. *Chach Hazara.*—This district was administered by the *'amils* of Ahmad Khan Shahanchi Bashi. They had a body of 4,000 horse, but could collect 1,000 horse and 2,000 foot in addition. There were four middling forts and several fortalices. The total income was Rs. 2,30,000.

11. *Peshawar.*—Haji Rahmatullah was the head of the district. He commanded a contingent of 3,000 horse with nine pieces of cannon. He could collect 4,000 horse and 11,000 foot. In addition to the masonry fort of Peshawar, there were many small forts. The total annual revenues amounted to Rs. 11,91,000, and expenditure :—

			Rs.
Paid to the King's treasury	...	...	2,95,000
Expenses of establishment and charity		...	8,96,000
			11,91,000

12 *Jalalabad* – Ghani Khan was stationed here with 1,000 horse as an administrator He could gather 2,000 horse and 4 000 foot more There were three middling forts and many fortalices The annual income amounted to Rs 2,00,000

13 *Kabul* —It was under the direct administration of the King In addition to 7,000 horse there were many contingents of slaves with 107 pieces of cannon. There was the strong fortress of the Bala Hissar, and many other forts and fortalices. The total income was Rs. 9,95,000, and expenditure :—

	Rs.
Paid to the royal treasury ..	2,65,000
Talukdars ..	2,55,000
Expenses of establishment and charity	4,75 000
	9,95,000

14 *Ghazni* —It was ruled over by the officers of Payendah Khan who commanded 300 horse The fortress of Ghazni was breached and out of repair There were many forts besides. The annual income was Rs. 1,10 000 out of which Rs. 50 000 were paid into the King s treasury

15 *Ghorband* —It was administered by the *'amils* of Payendah Khan at the head of 300 horse. This place had a masonry fort besides many other forts The total revenues amounted to Rs. 90 000 out of which Rs 40 000 were paid into the treasury

16 *Ghori* —It was also under the administration of Payendah Khan's men, stationed with 300 horse There were several forts and fortalices. Ghori paid no money in cash to the treasury, but presented to the King 250 horses and 9,000 sheep each year

17 *Kalat-i-Ghilzai* —It was in the direct possession of the King There was a very strong hill fortress It submitted to the treasury a sum of Rs. 1,02,000

18. *Kandahar.*—Prince Shuja-ul-Mulk was the Governor. He had a force of 4,000 horse with 342 pieces of cannon. There was a strong masonry fort, besides 13 others. The total income was Rs. 9,61,000, and expenditure :—

	Rs.
Paid to the King's treasury	2,10,000
Talukdars	4,20,000
Expenses of establishment	2,81,000
Charity	50,000
	9,61,000

19. *Kalat.*—Nasir Khan Baluch was the head. He commanded a force of 33,000 cavalry. He was expected to attend the Shah in time of war, but paid no tribute. He was not obedient to Shah Zaman. The hill fortress of Kalat with seven towers was exceedingly strong. There were seventeen other forts and many fortalices. The yearly income amounted to Rs. 34,00,000.

20. *Farah.*—Rahmatullah Khan was the chief of the place. He commanded 250 horse. He paid into the treasury Rs. 65,000.

21. *Herat.*—Princes Mahmud and Firoz-ud-din, sons of Timur Shah, were the rulers. They commanded a force of 15,000 horse with twelve pieces of cannon. They were disaffected to Shah Zaman. Herat had a strong masonry fort, nine other forts and many fortalices. The total income was Rs. 11,81,000, and expenditure :—

	Rs.
Paid to the King's treasury	4,21,000
Talukdars	4,50,000
Expenses of establishment	2,40,000
Charity	70,000
	11,81,000

22. *Nahbalook*.—Mir Ali Khan was the chief. He commanded a force of 35,000 cavalry. He possessed twenty-four forts including Toon and Tibs. The country of Nahbalook was adjacent to Herat. Mir Ali Khan resided at Tibs. He was disaffected to the Shah, but paid tribute in the form of products of his country such as tobacco, saffron, Persian carpets and horses to the yearly value of one lakh of rupees. The coin was struck and prayers were read in Shah Zaman's name. His revenues amounted to Rs. 39,00,000.

23. *Charikar and Panjshir*.—The annual income was Rs. 2,10,000, and expenditure :—

		Rs.
Paid to the royal treasury	...	1,00,000
Talukdars		65,000
Expenses of establishment	...	35,000
Charity	...	10,000
		2,10,000

24. *Maimana*.—Jahan Khan was the chief. His annual income amounted to Rs. 1,00,000. He sent to the Shah 200 horses and 11,000 sheep each year as a tribute.

25. *Balkh*.—Hakumat Khan Durrani was the chief who commanded a body of 3,900 horse with eleven pieces of cannon. There were four forts and many *kotlahs*. The revenues were Rs. 4,00,000, which were supplemented by a special grant from Kabul amounting to Rs. 1,15,000. The expenditure was as follows :—

		Rs.
Talukdars ...	...	1,50,000
Troops	...	3,20,000
Charity	...	45,000
		5,15,000

26. *Akcha*.—Hakumat Khan Durrani was the head of the district. The annual collections were Rs. 1,80,000, and

Rs. 70,000 were sent from Kabul. The total expenses amounted to Rs. 2,50,000. A tribute of 1,700 horses and 22,000 sheep was submitted to the Shah by Hakumat Khan for Balkh and Akcha. There were four pieces of cannon in the fort of Akcha.

27. *Khulam and Andkhui.*—These places were under Alivardi Khan. The annual expenditure amounted to Rs. 1,30,000. No money was paid into the treasury, but 1,000 horses and 15,000 sheep were sent each year by way of tribute.

28. *Qanduz.*—Khaliq Ali Khan was the administrator of the district. His annual expenses were Rs. 2,10,000. He sent to the King 1,000 horses and 10,000 sheep every year as a tribute.

8. *Coin and Seal of Shah Zaman*

Shah Zaman struck a coin which bore the following inscription :—

" قرار یافت بحکم خدائے هر دو جهان

رواج سکهٔ دولت بنام شاه زمان "

[By command of God of both the worlds the circulation of coin in the name of Shah Zaman became permanent in the realm.]

On the signet of his ring the following couplet was engraved :—

" قرار داد ز الطاف خویشتن یزدان

نگین حکم جهان را بنام شاه زمان "

[God by his personal favour settled the seal-ring in the name of Shah Zaman for exercising authority over the world[1].]

[1] *Tarikh-i-Sultani*, 162 ; *Whitehead*, iii, 103.

For an account of Shah Zaman's Indian invasions see the author's *History of the Trans-Sutlej Sikhs*, 1769—1799.

CHAPTER IX

THE AFGHAN ADMINISTRATION

1. *Weak hold over the Panjab*

THE Durrani Rulers cannot be said to have ever held the sovereignty of the Panjab They ruled through their lieutenants over Kashmir, Multan, Lahore and Sirhind, but the Panjab proper was never for any continued period under their control It was only by repeated incursions and by the terror of their personal prowess that they continued to keep a footing south-east of the Indus

Ahmad Shah Durrani displayed brilliant feats of military skill, but he failed in applying the same vigour of character in measures adopted to retain the country as done in securing it. The total gain of his grand successes therefore was not much. He retired from the field leaving the Sikhs undisputed masters of the Panjab His son and successor Timur Shah remained content with having recovered Multan. His grandson Shah Zaman came here with the *determination to repeat the exploits of his grandfather* and twice he seized Lahore. He, however, realized what a difficult task it was to retain possession of the capital, so he quitted this country never to disturb it again Thus this struggle ended by the close of the century, and foreign invasions from the north-west completely ceased.

2. *The Form of Government*

The Afghan Government in the Panjab, as elsewhere, was in form monarchical, dictatorial, military, Islamic and absolute No idea of any system of rule, different from the

will of a single person, was applied to this country. The Durrani emperors delegated their power and authority over as many provinces into which they deemed convenient to divide the empire. To the charge of each province a viceroy was appointed, and he enjoyed the full authority and jurisdiction of his master. Whatever powers the sovereign exercised over the whole kingdom, the viceroy exercised in his own province. If the province committed to his care was too extensive for his personal control it was further split up into divisions, over each of which a governor was appointed. The governor too was also entrusted with the same absolute powers as were enjoyed by his master. The governor often divided his authority among his deputies in charge of districts. Every one of these chiefs, whether the sphere of his command was narrow or extensive, was absolute within it, subject only to his superior. He possessed full powers of the sovereign to make or unmake any law, to levy taxes, to raise and command troops and to dispose of the lives and property of the subjects in any manner he pleased. The only check on his power was the fear of revolt, for the suppression of which he had an army under him.

The expenses of each district were defrayed out of the taxes raised therein, and the surplus was transmitted to the superior lord, to whom he was immediately responsible. From him it was conveyed to the viceroy who in turn sent it to the imperial treasury.

Peshawar, Kashmir, Sind, Multan, Lahore and Sirhind were the Durrani provinces in India each with a viceroy independent of one another, owing direct allegiance to the king. The governor was not interfered with as long as he remitted to the royal treasury regularly and punctually the sum of the annual tribute, and assisted the king with troops whenever so required.

3 *Revenue Administration*

The Durranis were always on the look-out for opportunities to extort as much money from the people as they could. A sum of money arbitrarily fixed at the time of each harvest was assigned to each village by the Afghan Nazim of the district, and the headman had to find money by any means in his power The cultivator in return enjoyed no peace The province remained a prey with little respite to the advancing and retiring of the Durrani, Sikh and Maratha armies "Ahmad Shah's armies arrived here starving, and consumed the entire crops, raw as well as ripe Tribute was demanded in addition. Under these circumstances the whole country was ruined."[1]

The people were impoverished by a system of continuous freebooting which the Afghans regarded as the most important means of subsistence Speaking about Nur-ud-din Bamizai, an Afghan general, the compiler of a district gazetteer writes "The proceedings of this man may be taken as a type of the excesses committed by the invading armies, and some idea will be formed of the amount of misery caused by these inroads. Nur-ud-din, finding that the inhabitants would not pay the large ransom demanded of them, successively plundered and laid waste with fire and sword three of the largest towns of the district. Two of these, Bhera and Miani, rose again on their ruins, without however completely recovering the shock they had sustained; but of the third, Chak Sānu, the foundations alone are to be seen"[2]

The poor inhabitants tried to get out of the easy reach of the Afghan armies to save their life, honour and property "Deserted sites all along the main road still tell how even the strongest villagers had to abandon the spot

[1] *Ali ud-din*, 148 b.

[2] *Shahpur District Gazetteer* 1883-4, pp 15-7

where their fathers had lived for centuries and make to themselves new homes on sites less pleasant to the eyes of marauding bands."[1]

The sad plight of the cultivator may be summed up thus:—"Revenue administration there was none; the cultivator followed the plough with a sword in his hand; the collector came at the head of a regiment; and if he fared well another soon followed him to pick up the crumbs."[2]

4. *Judicial Administration*

The leader in war and the ruler in peace was also the dispenser of justice, and the regal, military and judicial functions were united in the same person. Various circumstances tended to produce this arrangement. Firstly, there were hardly any laws and thus the legislator who made a law for every occasion was entitled to judge. Secondly, it was feared that the unruly subjects would hardly respect inferior authority. Thirdly, the heads of government were so busy in administrative affairs and pleasure-seeking that they had no time to spare for an accurate investigation, and hence exercised arbitrary will and power. Fourthly, the people were so much accustomed to terminate their own disputes by their own force or fraud that the number of applications asking for justice was small.

In the eyes of the Afghans the subject people had no right to make appeals against the decisions of the viceroy or the governor and their orders were final except when the sovereign himself was present in this country. When a person happened to have access and appeal to the Emperor, justice was done in non-political matters. A writer makes

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[1] *Karnal District Gazetteer*, 1892, p. 43.
[2] *Ibid.*

the following observation about Ahmad Shah Abdali "He himself was Chief Justice as well as Commander-in-Chief, and no man disputed his decisions which were arrived at with patient care, and delivered with dignity and impartiality"[1]

For the murder of an Afghan the people of the locality including the influential landlords were severely punished. Miskin, the eye-witness, narrates an incident "In those days two Afghan horsemen were coming from Sirhind. By chance they lost their lives near the boundary of the fort of Boda Ram Das. As soon as Wazir Jahan Khan heard this news, he set a few bailiffs on the headman of the place in accordance with the practice as it prevailed in Afghanistan This headman was a well-known chief and a famous leader of the Sikhs (Sodhi Barbhag Singh of Kartarpur), and commanded revenues of lakhs of rupees The said bailiffs punished and persecuted him so severely in the Afghan manner that he was nearly brought to death's door"[2]

On another occasion the Mughlani Begam, herself an ex-Governor of Lahore, widow of the Viceroy of the Panjab, daughter-in-law of a grand Wazir of Delhi and grand daughter-in-law of another Prime Minister of the Mughal Empire was severely caned by Jahan Khan with his own hands for her having advised Adina Beg's agent in Lahore to go to Jullundur and bring the sum of tribute quietly She was not set free from confinement, where unspeakable oppression was done to her, until she had paid the amount due from the Governor of the Jullundur Doab.[3]

The Durrani rulers were evidently not so much concerned with the settling of disputes as with the awarding of punishments. In this task they were assisted by Qazis,

[1] *Calcutta Review* vol. li, 1870, p. 17
[2] *Miskin*, 165.
[3] *Ibid.*, 170.

Muftis and Maulvis. This made the clergy very influential and powerful, and not infrequently they interfered with the ordinary routine of the lives of the people.

Sometimes in fits of fury ferocious punishments were inflicted upon the offenders of the royal will. By way of illustration a Government report relating to Shah Zaman is quoted here : "The Shah being much offended with Kifayat Khan *Munshi* ordered him to be turned over to the man-eaters, of which there are three or four in the Shah's service, who ate some of the flesh off his shoulders and one of his toes. But being afterwards informed that he was a Sayyid he spared his life and confined him. He has consented to pay four lakhs."[1]

5. *Recruitment to the Army*

In Afghanistan every man was a soldier. He attached himself to a chief as soon as he was able to hold a musket. When an expedition was announced, the chiefs with their contingents whose number varied in proportion to the nature and importance of the expedition, offered their services to the sovereign. In addition to these contingents, there was another class of fighters. These men were those residents of towns who were not attached to any chief. They joined the troops on their own responsibility and also at their own expense, and this chiefly for the sake of plunder. They organised themselves into small or large units,. as circumstances demanded, under leader of their own choice. All these units taken together constituted the Afghan army. Further recruiting was done in India also, where generally foreigners from Central Asia wandering in this country in search of employment were enlisted for the occasion. In an emer-

[1] *Imperial Records, Foreign Department, Political Proceedings,* 29th October, 1798, No. 25.

gency every able-bodied man possessing a horse of his own was obliged by a general proclamation to fight in the Afghan army, which chiefly consisted of cavalry[1]

6 *The Army on March*

Every Afghan soldier carried his food in a leather bag slung behind the saddle At home a lover of fine fare he was extremely temperate and frugal on his journey, and could live on whatever came handy Though a disorderly and undisciplined mob the army moved with great rapidity over long distances The people of the villages on their way deserted their homes for fear of the Afghan atrocities

While on march the army was divided into three parts, advance-guard, main body and the rear-guard. At the time of battle they were converted into the right, the centre and the left respectively The advance-guard scouted for intelligence of the enemy's whereabouts, seized stores of food and fodder, mercilessly cut off all men of the enemy to suppress the news of their approach, and tried to take the enemy unawares On their way they "abandoned themselves to all kinds of excesses, devastate the country, and leave behind the most fearful traces of their passage."[2]

7 *The Encampment*

On reaching the neighbourhood of the battle-field they neither paid much heed to the features of the ground, nor worried about protecting their flanks. They pitched their camps in a haphazard way, generally by the side of a village in order to ensure themselves of a regular supply of water The tent of the chief was pitched in the centre, and around it the contingents formed an irregular circle. The Shah's tent had the appearance of a two-storied mosque.

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[1] Muhn. 162.

[2] *Ferrier* 309

In front of it was fixed a cloth wall and in the back the ladies' tent. On the four corners of the royal camp four towers were temporarily erected. In the camp there were about fifty bankers and cloth merchants and nearly the same number of grocers, and about two hundred bakers, butchers, fruit sellers, carpenters and saddlers. The whole establishment had sufficient supplies of flour, butter and rice etc.[1]

A note in the *Siyar-ul-Mutakharin* describes a royal camp thus: "The imperial enclosure of tents was about a mile and a quarter in circuit. It contained 120 tents, some of them large enough for several hundreds of men, and the largest could admit two or three thousands. All this was surrounded by a *kanat*, a wall of cloth, six feet high. Outside this there was a paling that surrounded the *kanats*. Between these two enclosures lived the guards."[2]

Before and during the period of the fight they made every possible effort to weaken the enemy "by ruining the country in his front, so that he cannot maintain himself; they burn the villages, expel the inhabitants, destroy the acqueducts."[3]

8. *On the Battle-field*

At the time of actual fighting they rushed on the enemy without the least apprehension. They seldom tried to maintain their communications. They directed all their energies to the spot on which their existence depended, and this place became the centre of their operations. They never bothered about the advantages of position, and attacked the enemy in line parallel to its ranks on all points. With the exception of a special contingent kept as reserve, the

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[1] *Imperial Records, Persian Letters Received*, No. 104, 5th February, 1797.

[2] *Seir*, i, 24, f. n.

[3] *Ferrier*, 313.

whole army joined in the fighting. When the enemy showed signs of exhaustion the reserve was immediately called on the scene, and the final assault was delivered with such fire and fury that more often than not they were victorious. While fighting they uttered dreadful and loud cries. The most daring of them placed themselves in the front lines. When the front ranks were exhausted, the soldiers in the rear advanced slowly and gradually to take their places, and the front men receded to the rear.

The Afghans were excellent skirmishers and daring foragers. Each contingent was perfectly independent in its manoeuvres having no restraint of any discipline or subordination. They possessed a natural instinct to adopt a proper movement both in the case of victory or defeat which as a rule ensured success.

9. *After Victory*

Their victories were most horrible and disastrous for the vanquished. "But if they gain the day," says Ferrier on p 314, "woe indeed to the conquered! for an Afghan ceases not from slaughter till his arm is wearied with striking, till then there is no quarter from him, and a hundred times better is it to die on the field than survive to be his slave, certain of the hardest possible toil and the most inhuman treatment."

Mustafa, the translator of *Siyar-ul-Mutakharin*, who lived in India during the latter half of the 18th century, describes the Afghan method of carrying away a male slave "Their method of carrying away a male prisoner is this, although not even themselves would use it to carry an ox or an ass. They bore a hole in his shoulder, under the clavicula bone so remarkable in it, and passing a thong or rope through it, make the end of it fast to their saddle, and then mount and trot away If the prisoner cannot follow

at the rate of 30 or 40, 50 or 60 miles a day, he is instantly killed. Anty-physicians of the first rate, no boy, no young man of even twenty, can escape them; and when disputes arise about a prize, the whole is pacified by cutting down the prize. The women abused by them in an abominable manner, fled from them, and always preferred a well to an Afghan. Girls of twelve and fourteen have become unmarriageable in their diabolical hands. And we have seen a lady, who rather than submit to such an embrace, fought the Afghan resolutely, although unarmed. He lifted his sabre, and was going to cut her down, when she presented her arm loaded with one of those enormous bracelets, invented by necessity, of two pounds weight of gold, and received the stroke upon the gold, while she struck the man with the other bracelet, and made him bleed; another stroke, another parade and another heavy blow; a third and the poor woman fatigued, wounded and spent, was going to fall. Nothing but a miracle could save her, and a miracle was, in fact, wrought instantly. At the moment of the third stroke, a Persian, one of the Qazilbash guards, hastening his pace, cried out: 'In the name of God, Most Merciful' and with one blow made the Afghan's head fly off from his shoulders. The poor woman, who had never been out of her house, and had never set a foot upon a street, marched on without knowing whither she went, and in the evening, she was lucky enough to find her husband and family, at full twelve *kosses* from that fatal street. We have spoken to the lady; she is at Lucknow, a Khatrani by clan. *Ex uno disce omnes*."[1]

[1] A Translation of the *Seir Mutaqherin* by Seid-Gholam Hossein Khan, Calcutta, iii, 349-50.

In continuation of this incident Mustafa states: "An Afghan's method of cleansing himself is a very plain one, as the common soldiers wear nothing but felts, and go on with them for five years together. He lights up a fire, straddles over it, and keeps his body and abominable clothes in a semi-circular motion from right to left and from left to right. Nor are their officers much cleaner. Their beards and eyebrows swarm with vermin, as well as their soldiers."

10 Passion and Weapons

The dominating factor in the character of an Afghan was his love of war In the 18th century as probably even now war was to him neither an art nor a science He considered it a trade The success of the Afghans was chiefly due to their unhesitating dash and courage, and not so much to their knowledge of military operations, strategy or tactics, though Ahmad Shah in his long career never lost sight of these factors His successors, however, relapsed into the old practice.

Their favourite arms were long firelock and sword. They were considered as perfect marksmen in musketry, and in hand-to-hand fight they plied the sword most dexterously As a matter of fact an Afghan regarded it the highest tribute to be called a swordsman. Among other arms used by them may be counted the swivel-gun, the carbine, a lance and sometimes a bow The firearms were rough and heavy They also carried a shield, a foot and a half in diameter and covered either with the hide of an elephant or horse or with copper

11 The Condition of the People

The Durrani rulers were not good organisers and therefore failed as builders of civil institutions. They carved out a military state in this country by the sword, tried to maintain it by the sword and it ultimately perished by the sword. They did not rule the Panjab as the guardians of the people for their general good. The main object of the government was to collect revenue, and for this purpose they tried to keep peace and order at the point of the bayonet. To secure the good-will and co-operation of the subjects was never their aim the people on the other hand, were coerced into submission by sheer weight of force The subordinate officers never aimed at ameliorat-

ing the condition of those entrusted to their care. They directed their attention mostly to enrich themselves at their cost. "This system of spoliation and embezzlement," says Ferrier, "is practised by functionaries of every class, and has a sad effect upon the minds of the masses, who follow the example of their superiors: seeing that the great, instead of occupying themselves with their welfare, only think of enjoying themselves at their expense, they become egotistical and avaricious in their turn, and prefer idleness to an industry, which serves only to benefit their oppressors, and draws upon themselves additional persecution. To seize without ceremony upon the property of other people is an example which the Afghans receive daily from their chiefs, and it appears to them a practice both convenient and just; the effect of this is a permanent state of disquietude and trouble."[1]

12. *Effect on the Indian Dress, Dancing and Drama*

The Durrani rule and the Afghan contact with Indians had a distinct effect on the Indian dress and drama. This could not escape the notice of Mustafa, the translator of *Siyar-ul-Mutakharin*: "The dress at court, even in winter, is the white and it is also the general colour used by all the inhabitants of India, high and low. Since the Abdalis have come to cut so great a figure in Hindustan, their dress, which is the Persian, is become of fashion, especially in winter, and of course coloured and rich stuffs are admired especially at the Court of Lucknow. However, it must be remembered that fine cotton stuffs, embroidered or not, are more costly in India, than either silks or brocades."[2]

As regards the change that took place in Indian dancing and drama, Mustafa's observation would not be out of

[1] *History of the Afghans*, 303.

[2] *Seir*, iv, 139, f. n.

interest "The Indians have no other comedies than such farces as were known in Europe three hundred years ago, but with this difference, that they never mix anything religious in their performances, and that these exhibitions, on the other hand, were always decent, and often chaste. But since the Abdali or Persian dress and even the Peshtoo language and modes and customs, have come to give the tone to the Courts of Delhi and Lucknow, many shocking indecencies, mostly of the dissenting kind, are admitted and much laughed at, in those comedies; moreover, the very dances, which were both graceful and modest in India have been tainted with that style So that even women now dance the Caharvara for Chairmen's dance, a dance which would be akin to the Spanish fandango danced by sailors, were it danced by men mixed with women; for it is these only that dance it, dressed in Chairmen's garbs "[1]

[For the effect of the Durranis on the character of the people and the villages in the Panjab see the author's *History of the Sikhs, 1739 to 1768*, pp 297-306]

13 *Conclusion*

The constitution of the Afghan government and army was calculated more to destroy than to create an empire, and the spirit which directed their internal administration prevented all chances of improvement of the country over which they claimed sovereign rights. There can be no doubt that the final destruction of the Durrani political power and the substitution of orderly government by the Sikhs were necessary, and productive of great benefit to the province. The following extract from a district gazetteer is equally applicable to the whole country under Durrani occupation :—

"The Sikhs were not pattern rulers, but they intro-

[1] *Seir*, iv 140, f. n.

duced a rude and imperfect order. Previous to their advent, if we may trust uncontradicted tradition, the whole district was the scene of one perpetual but petty warfare. Tribe fought with tribe, chief with chief and village with village. Society lived in a sort of trustless truce broken from time to time by treacherous murders and thievish forays. In some villages the high places are still shown, where watchers were always stationed to beat the alarm drum on the approach of an enemy. The Sikhs did not, and probably could not, put a complete end to these disorders; but they cut short their boundaries and lessened their violence. They were themselves careless of everything that touched not their authority or their revenue, but they kept society together and prevented anarchy." [1]

[1] *Jhelum District Gazetteer,* 1883-4, p. 45.

CHAPTER X

THE INVADER'S ROAD FROM DELHI TO KABUL

Introduction

THIS chapter is based on several contemporary sources. Rai Chatarman's *Chahar Gulshan*, written in 1759, arranged and edited by the author's grandson in 1789, gives a good account of the various stages of the road between Delhi and Kabul. The Rai was in the service of Ghazi-ud-din Imad-ul-Mulk, the grand Wazir of Delhi. Muhammad Jafar Shamlu, the author of *Tarikh-i-Manazil-ul-Fatuh*, accompanied Ahmad Shah Durrani during his fifth invasion and was present at the battle of Panipat in 1761 He wrote a valuable description of all these stages Ghulam Sarwar travelled from Lucknow to Kabul and back again in 1793-5 and submitted a paper containing a report on these stages to the British Resident. In 1796 Sayyid Imam-ud-din Husaini of Lucknow joined Shah Zaman at Lahore, and followed him in his train to Afghanistan, returning in 1798 His work *Tarikh-i-Husain Shahi* contains interesting details of the invader's road. In 1797, J Lumsden, the British Resident at Lucknow, despatched Sheikh Rahim Ali to Kabul and the best part of his narrative is on the above subject

In the Panjab, particularly between Delhi and Lahore pillars were fixed at regular intervals, the distance between the two being named a *kos* The pillars could be seen from a distance, and there was almost no risk for the traveller to lose his way even at night In addition to the *kos*-pillars, the traveller had the advantage of trees, planted along the road on both sides, and *serais* or halting places at

certain distances for his accommodation. As a rule each *serai* was provided with a tank for the supply of water to men and beasts. The remains of some of these *serais* and pillars can still be traced.

From Delhi to Kabul the road was divided into 75 stages:

1. *Badli Serai*, 9 miles from Delhi. The people of this place were generally employed in trade and commerce. They settled there from Central Panjab, especially from Lahore. The inhabitants of the district were *zamindars*, chiefly Jats and Gujars. Along the road from Delhi to this place there were ruins of the Shalamar Garden, palaces, mosques, tombs and water courses. The Jumna flowed at a distance of two miles to the east. The dry bed of Ali Mardan Khan's canal dug in the reign of Shahjahan, and taken off from the Sirmur hills near Mukhlispur could be traced southward of the Grand Trunk Road. Firoz Shah's canal also lay in ruins. The soil was fertile capable of growing all kinds of crops. An army with heavy artillery could easily pass on the road. All facilities were provided to the traveller.

2. *Narela*, 7 miles from Badli. The road was lined by lofty and shady trees. The cultivators were mostly Jats. Soil was fertile. In some places vast tracts of tall grass while in others trees abounded. Numerous wells of sweet water existed everywhere. Heavy artillery could pass without any difficulty.

3. *Sonipat*, 11 miles. The town was inhabited by Hindus and Muslims. Raja Shiv Nath Qanungo built a wall around it. It had a good brick *serai* for the travellers.

4. *Ganaur*, 10 miles. The cultivators were Jats, but the landlords were Muslims. The peasants were of refractory nature. Soil was productive. The road was

wide and wells of fine water were available everywhere. The road was unsafe, being infested with thieves and robbers.

5 *Samalkha*, 7 miles. The river Jumna flowed to the north, about 10 miles distant, while the traces of Firoz Shah's canal existed to the south nearly at the same distance. There were jungles of *plās* and *dhak* trees. The road was shady, but unsafe There were numerous wells of good drinking water

6 *Panipat*, 11 miles The Jumna ran towards the north and Firoz Shah's canal to the south at short distances. The Elwa Ghat on the Jumna was situated at a distance of five *kos* The country was covered with a jungle of *dhāb* trees and thorny bushes, and was infested with thieves and robbers.[1] People were of a rebellious character, and the inhabitants chiefly consisted of Jats and Muslim Rajputs. Land was fertile and the road good.

7 *Gharaunda*, 11 miles. The people were of refractory character, and were generally given to thieving Soil was productive and the road in good condition but travelling was unsafe. Kunjpura, the well known seat of Afghan Chiefs, was situated to the right hand side on the bank of the Jumna.

8. *Karnal*, 10 miles An aqueduct crossed the road

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[1] The insecurity of the road between Ganaur and Panipat was described in an interesting couplet by a contemporary poet, Shah Mubarik Abru —

"پانی پت آج چھوڑ سو گنور آ چلے
تو راہ بیچ جائیو جانان سنبھالکے"

The very name of the place Samalkha, (Be alert), situated between Ganaur and Panipat gave a warning to the traveller. In the couplet quoted above there is a pun on the word *Sambhālke*. *Cf Ab-i Hayat* by Maulana Muhammad Husain Azad, p. 100.

between Gharaunda and Karnal. Karnal formed the boundary line of the territory under the Maratha influence. In 1795, Fazal Ali, a Muslim Chauhan Rajput, was the *zamindar* of the place. The remains of Firoz Shah's canal could be seen, and about the close of the 18th century there still existed a very strong brick-built bridge over it. Soil was fertile, and road well provided with good drinking water, but travelling was dangerous on account of the constant fear of thieves.

9. *Taraori*, also called Azimabad, 8 miles. About, 5 *kos* from this place there were the ruins of a *serai* known as Hajam. Gulsher Khan, the grandson of Najabat Khan, the chief of Kunjpura, was the ruler of the place. The Jumna flowed 7 *kos* northward. Land, road and people resembled those of Karnal.

10. *Thanesar*, 13 miles. It was under Phoca [Bhanga] Singh Dallewalia, and was " in consequence of the industry of the Sikhs very well cultivated." The river Sarasvati flowed 3 miles to the west and crossed the main road. The place was visited by Hindu pilgrims. Sikhs were found in a large number. The peasants were chiefly Muslim Rajputs.

11. *Shahabad*,[1] 14 miles. The Markanda stream crossed the road below this place. It was an old town, and possessed a big brick-built *serai*. Karam Singh Nirmala was the chief who had converted the *serai* into a fort for his own residence. The *zamindars* were mostly Sikhs and Jats. Land was fertile and the road shady abounding in fountains of sweet water at convenient intervals.

12. *Ambala*, 17 miles. The river Ghaggar flowed near it. The crossing of it in the rainy season was extremely dangerous. The road also became muddy and slippery, and

[1] Between Thanesar and Shahabad Shamlu puts Pehowa as one of the stages.

was difficult to pass by an army in rains. The town was possessed by the nephew of Laal Singh, deceased, who retains 200 horsemen in his service"

13 *Raja Serai*[1] (*modern Rajpura*), 13 miles The town contained 2,000 houses, many of which were made of stone and brick. Raja Sahib Singh of Patiala was the ruler of the place The *zamindars* were mostly Sikhs and Jats. The road was level and shady, wells, fountains and mango orchards abounded on either side The soil was productive

14 *Sirhind* 15 miles. Raja Sahib Singh ruled over this place The fort of Sirhind was in ruins A stream flowed near it which was flooded in the rains "Over that there is a brick bridge, near the Shalamar's gardens."

15 *Khanna Serai*, 11 miles There was an old serai in ruins The place also had a deserted appearance The *zamindars* were mostly Jats

16 *Serai Lashkari Khan*, 9 miles. Tara Singh Ghaiba was the chief of the place.

17 *Ludhiana*,[2] 18 miles The town was situated on the eastern bank of the Sutlej, the first of the Panjab rivers. Tara Singh Ghaiba ruled over the place The *zamindars* were mostly Muslim Rajputs

18 *Phillaur*, 8 miles. It was a small enclosed town Originally it was a *serai* called Serai Filori Khan built by Zakariya Khan, the Viceroy of the Panjab, (1726-1745), after the name of his son known to history as Shahnawaz Khan, Viceroy of the Panjab, (1747-1748)

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[1] Shamlu omits this stage.

[2] Pail is the only stage mentioned by Shamlu between Sirhind and Ludhiana.

19. *Serai Nur Mahal*, 12 miles. The place was under Tara Singh Ghaiba.

20. *Nakodar Serai*, 8 miles. It was ruled over by Tara Singh Ghaiba. The district of Bajwara in which this place was situated was famous for Chandeli(?) cloth which attracted merchants from distant places such as Multan, Kashmir, Peshawar and Kabul.

21. *Dakhni Serai*, 5 miles. It belonged to Tara Singh Ghaiba. In several parts of the road there were remains of magnificent buildings.

22. *Tuti Serai*,[1] 12 miles. It was in ruins. The chief of the place was Sardar Bhag Singh Ahluwalia.

23. *Sultanpur*, 12 miles. Sugar-cane was grown here in abundance. Sardar Bhag Singh Ahluwalia was the chief of the place.

24. *Goindwal*,[2] 13 miles. The river Beas was crossed over at this place. It was under Sardar Bhag Singh Ahluwalia.

25. *Aurangabad Serai*, 8 miles. It belonged to Sardar Bhag Singh of Kapurthala.

26. *Nur-ud-din Serai*, 8 miles. The *zamindars* were chiefly Jats.

27. *Serai Amanat Khan*, 11 miles. The *zamindars* were Jats, and the chief was Mohar Singh, the son of Sobha Singh of Lahore.

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[1] Shamlu refers to no stage between Nur Mahal and Tuti Serai.

[2] According to Shamlu the river was crossed at Fatahabad, 3 miles to the west.

28. *Raja Tal*, 8 miles. It was possessed by Lahna Singh, one of the Lahore chiefs.

29. *Khankhanan Serai*, 12 miles It was under Lahna Singh of Lahore.

30 *Lahore*, 7 miles. It was situated on the bank of the Ravi which flowed just below the fort. The suburbs lay deserted. The city was ruled over by three chiefs, Lahna Singh, Sahib Singh Bhangi, son of Gujar Singh, and Mohar Singh, son of Sobha Singh.

31. *Shahdara*, 4 miles. It was famous for Jahangir's tomb situated in a garden. The chief of this place was Lahna Singh, "who is much beloved for his justice and benevolence.'

32. *Serai Fazalabad*, 8 miles. Lahna Singh was the chief of the place.

33. *Pul Shah Daula*, 10 miles There was a bridge the Degh river which ran in the rains from the hills. place belonged to Jodh Singh who kept 100 horsemen.

34. *Eminabad*, 11 miles. The chief of this place was Ranjit Singh, the son of Mahan Singh.

35. *Serai Kachchi or Gujar Serai*,[1] (*modern Gujranwala*), 8 miles. There was a mud fort which was pulled down by Shah Zaman. It was the head-quarters of Ranjit Singh who kept 3,000 horsemen in his service, and could collect many more in an emergency.

36. *Cheemah Gakhar or Serai Gakhar*, 10 miles.

37. *Nizamabad*,[2] 6 miles. It belonged to Ranjit Singh.

[1] Jafar Shamlu mentions two different places named Kachcha Serai and Gujran Serai. *Tarikh-i-Manazil ul-Fatuh*, p. 20.

[2] Several authorities make no mention of this stage.

38. *Wazirabad*, 4 miles. It was situated on the eastern bank of the Chenab. The *zamindars* were mostly Muslims, but the chief was Sahib Singh Bhangi, son of Gujar Singh, who maintained a contingent of 1,000 horse.

39. *Gujrat Shah Daula*, 9 miles. It was under Sahib Singh Bhangi.

40. *Khwaspurah*, popularly known as *Khwas Khan's Serai*, 11 miles. After this Bhimbar river was crossed. It was also under Sahib Singh Bhangi. The road was bad, cut by various ravines. The inhabitants were Jats and Muslims.

41. *Kharian*, 12 miles. From this place rocky land began, and it continued increasing. The soil was not so productive as in the last stages. The road was difficult to pass. The people were mostly Muslim Jats.

42. *Aurangabad*,[1] 10 miles. There was a brick-built serai, and many tanks. Road was bad and unfit for the passage of artillery.

43. *Jhelum*, 2 miles. It was situated on the bank of the river Jhelum. Upward it was known by the name of Behet and downward from this place by that of Jhelum. The country was rocky and road bad. It was under Sahib Singh Bhangi.

44. *Rohtas*, 12 miles. It was a strong fort built on a hill. It was in the possession of Nur Khan who owed allegiance to Ranjit Singh, but on Shah Zaman's arrival had also submitted to him, maintaining at the same time friendly relations with the Sikhs.

45. *Kasran Serai*, 6 *kos*. The chief of the place was

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[1] This stage is omitted by Shamlu.

Sahib Singh Bhangi, but it was held on his behalf by Nur Khan of Rohtas. Scarcity of gram prevailed here as the soil was not fit for cultivation. Roads were bad.

46 *Serai Jalal*, 5 *kos* There was the tomb of Pir Jalal. Nur Khan was the *zamindar*, and Sahib Singh was the Chief The land was rocky and covered with jungle Road was difficult to pass.

47 *Dukka Serai*, 6 *kos*. It was situated on a hill. A *nullah* crossed the road at this place. The *zamindars* were of Gakhar tribe

48. *Serai Kale Khan*, 6 *kos* The chief of the place was Sahib Singh who kept here a contingent of 500 horse to maintain his authority

49 *Pakka Serai*,[1] 8 *kos* It was owned by an Afghan tribe who owed no allegiance to the Sikhs They spoke a mixture of Panjabi and Pashto languages. The soil was good in quality, but the road was bad

50 *Rawalpindi*, 4 *kos* This place was under Milkha Singh Thepuria The *Khattak* Afghans were supreme in the district. Whenever they were attacked by the Sikhs they submitted to them and paid tribute, but afterwards assumed an independent attitude.

51 *Kharpura Serai*, 4 *kos* A stream ran by it. There was a bridge of bricks over the stream The *zamindars* were Afghans. Though they were attacked by the Sikhs and deprived of their cattle, but they did not submit to them. At a distance of 5 *kos* the road was crossed by a stream called Kala Pani.[2]

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[1] Between Pakka Serai and Rawalpindi Shamlu puts Serai Lashkari, while he mentions no stage between Rohtas and Pakka Serai.

[2] Shamlu mentions Kala Pani and Kotal Margala as two stages between Kharpura and Hasan Abdal.

52. *Hasan Abdal*, 7 *kos*. The *zamindars* were Afghans who paid tribute to the Kabul Government.

53. *Serai Meeran*,[1] 8 *kos*. The Serai was in ruins. There were several stone buildings. The *zamindars* were Muslims. Land was level and well cultivated and the road good.

54. *Serai Dangran*, 7 *kos*. This was a deserted place, though it was well cultivated and had wells and fountains.

55. *Shamsabad*, 8 *kos*. It was situated on an eminence. The place was well inhabited. *Zamindars* were *Khattak* Afghans.

56. *Attock*, 10 miles. It stood on a hill on the bank of the Indus. The country to the left was swampy. The place contained about 2,000 houses, but the neighbourhood was ill-inhabited. The fort was in possession of the *Khattak* Afghans.

57. *Khairabad*,[2] 3 miles. It was situated on the western bank of the Indus opposite Attock. There were 200 houses, and a small bazar. The *Khattak* Afghans were the lords of the land.

58. *Akorah Khattak*,[3] 8 miles. A *nullah* crossed the road near it. The place was owned by Khattak Afghans.

59. *Shahabad*,[4] 20 miles. There was a brick-built *serai*. Road was good and shady; and the land level and well watered.

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[1] This stage is not mentioned by Shamlu.

[2] This stage is omitted by Shamlu.

[3] Rahim Ali calls it Caramaskin Serai.

[4] Some mention Nowshera first and then Shahabad. Shamlu gives Chamakni as a stage between Nowshera and Peshawar.

60. *Peshawar*, 16 miles There was the famous fort of Bala Hissar, and many stone buildings. The soil was fertile and well watered. It was noted for fruits, sugar-cane and rice The best quality of rice grown in Bara was sold from 8 to 12 rupees per maund. Scent of roses was prepared on a big scale and was priced from 5 to 40 rupees per *tola*. The inhabitants were chiefly Afghans. Zirdo Khan was the chief appointed by Shah Zaman He maintained a force of 5,000 horse "But the people of this city are rebellious, quarrelsome and given to the use of abusive language.'[1]

61 *Jamrud*, 11 miles. It was situated at the mouth of the Khyber Pass on a range of hills It had a strong fort. The country was owned by the Afridi Afghans of *Khalil* tribe.

62. *Ali Masjid*, 10 miles. The land was covered with low hills; water was dirty and grain scarce Afridi Afghans were powerful there

63. *Fort of Lal Beg*, 12 miles. It contained 300 houses and a bazaar. The Afridis served as guards on the road; but sometimes they plundered the merchants and rich travellers themselves.[2]

64 *Dakka*, 12 miles. The Afghans of Mahmand and Shinwari tribes were in power. The river Kabul was crossed nearly four miles away from this place. Road was almost level, and on either side there were bare rocky hills.

65. *Isuali*, 13 miles. The land was hilly, but well cultivated. Mahmand Afghans were powerful.[3] The road

[1] *Husain Shahi*, 245. Imam-ud-din noted that in this city there were about 3,000 Kashmiris and a large number of Kalals.

[2] This stage is not mentioned by Shamlu.

[3] Between Isuali and Jalalabad Shamlu puts Ali Boghan as one of the stages. *Cf* p 13.

ran nearly parallel to the Kabul river between two ranges of mountains. The country was stony and barren.

66. *Jalalabad*,[1] 30 miles. The road was fairly good and land well cultivated. The cultivated portions were generally intersected by water courses. *Zamindars* and husbandmen were mostly Afghans of Tajik tribe.

67. *Charbagh*, 10 miles. Tajik Afghans were supreme. It was well inhabited and cultivated. The road was covered with high and lofty trees, and was for the most part level. There was a garden named Balabagh built by Ali Mardan Khan.

68. *Fatahabad*, 8 miles. Snakes abounded here.

69. *Nimlah Bagh*, 10 miles. The road was level and shady. There was a royal garden built by Ali Mardan Khan and planted with cypress, poplar and fruit trees.

70. *Gandamak*, 8 miles. The land was badly cultivated and the road difficult to pass. There was an abrupt rise in the land. Water and provisions were abundant. Khagwati Afghans were supreme here.

71. *Surkhab or Surkh Rod*, 8 miles. The place was thinly inhabited. Goats were abundant, and people lived on flesh and milk of goats, and wore clothes made of their skin. Khagwati Afghans were in power.

72. *Jagdalak*, 16 miles. The place was under the Nazim of Kabul. The road was bad, and passed through a

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[1] Between Dakka and Jalalabad Ghulam Sarwar gives two stages, Deh-i-Ghulaman and Serai Weeran; while *Husain Shahi* puts three, Hazar Nao, Bhatti Kot, and Ali Boghan. But Rahim Ali gives a reason for this stage being so long saying that "there is no halting place of safety in the way, as Afghans plunder all caravans that are not well escorted."

barren country, and narrow defiles [1]

73 *Barikab*, 17 miles. It was inhabited chiefly by Tajik Afghans. The road passed through low hills, and up and down steep ascents. Water and provisions could be had at several places

74 *Butkhak*, 16 miles. The road passed through the pass of Khurd Kabul, narrow defiles and lofty hills.

75. *Kabul*,[2] 12 miles. Nearly in the middle of the two places the Logar river was crossed The cultivators on the way were chiefly Tajik Afghans. The city was situated at a height of 6,000 feet.

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[1] Shamlu does not mention this stage.

[2] Between Barikab and Kabul Shamlu gives four stages: Chaman Khubi, Khurd Kabul, Tezin, and Kitah Sang. *Tarikh-i-Manazil-ul Fatah*, 10-11.

APPENDIX

THE FIRST SIKH COIN OF LAHORE

November, 1761

AFTER the Third Battle of Panipat Ahmad Shah Durrani retired from the Panjab in May, 1761, leaving behind him Sarbuland Khan and Khwajah Abed as Governors of Multan and Lahore respectively. Ghamand Chand, the Katoch ruler of Kangra, was entrusted with the government of Jullundur Doāb with Saadat Khan and Sadiq Khan Afridi as his deputies. Zain Khan was given independent charge of Sirhind. They all had instructions from their master to spare no pain to crush the power of the Sikhs.

But the Sikhs proved more than a match for the lieutenants of the Durrani. About 4,000 of them collected on this side of the Chenab and started plundering the country all round. Nawab Khwajah Mirza Khan who was in charge of the *Chahar Mahal* came out to oppose them, but he was defeated and killed in the action.

The Sikhs marching across the upper districts in the Rechna, Bari and Jullundur Doābs appeared in the Cis-Sutlej territory, and attacked Bhikhan Khan of Malerkotla who had recently incurred their wrath for helping Zain Khan of Sirhind against them. The town of Malerkotla was given over to plunder.

On getting these alarming reports and also still smarting under the insults which the Sikhs had heaped upon him during his return march through the Rechna Doāb, Ahmad Shah Abdali despatched to the Panjab a well-trained force

under his trusted general Nur-ud-din. But as ill-luck would have it, even Nur-ud-din suffered a humiliating defeat at the hands of Sardar Charat Singh at Sialkot. He had to flee from the citadel under cover of darkness leaving the Afghan garrison to its fate which soon after surrendered to the Sikh Chief Charat Singh flushed with victory returned to his head-quarters at Gujranwala and apprehensive of danger from the Governor of Lahore started further strengthening his defences His apprehensions proved too true Khwajah Abed invaded Gujranwala in September, 1761. Charat Singh, on his part was ready to meet the invader The siege of Gujranwala was thus prolonged, and in the meantime other notable Sikh leaders like Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, Hari Singh and Jhanda Singh Bhangi, Jai Singh Kanhiya, Lahna Singh and Sobha Singh with their contingents from all over the Panjab rushed to his aid. Khwajah Abed was thus besieged in turn and he almost lost his wits. He sought safety in flight and left the field without striking a decisive blow The Sikhs who were ever on the watch of the movements of the enemy lost no time and fell upon the retreating Afghan troops and relieved them of a large number of swivels, pieces of cannon, stores and provisions, horses and camels and other camp baggage

This continuous round of rapid victories achieved by the Sikhs within a short space of about four months after the departure of Ahmad Shah laid practically the whole of the Panjab at their feet.[1] The Sikhs, therefore, performed a thanksgiving service at Amritsar on the occasion of the Diwali festival which fell on October 22, 1761.[2] There they held a general assembly and passed a Gurumata[3] that they must capture Lahore, without the possession of which

[1] *Miskin*, 237

"در تمام ملک سکهاں سائر و دائر بودند"

"غرضیکه از دریائے اٹک تا بدریائے سرهند سکهاں محیط و متصرف گشتند"

[2] *Khushwaqt Rai*, 94. [3] *Ali-ud-din*, 123b.

they could not look upon themselves as a supreme power in the land of the five rivers.

Consequently, the Dal Khalsa under their chief leader Jassa Singh Ahluwalia marched upon Lahore in a body, laid siege to the city and cut off all means of communication, allowing nobody to come in or go out of the town.[1] Khwajah Abed, the Lahore governor, shut himself up in the fort and did not stir out to oppose them. The noted citizens, knowing the weakness of the Governor, opened negotiations with Jassa Singh and threw open the gates of the city, thus saving the town from the horrors of a sack. Now there were two rulers in one place, the Sikhs in the city and Khwajah Abed in the fort.[2] But the Governor seems to have met his death shortly afterwards as we are given to understand by the contemporary author of *Khazana-i-Amira.*[3] In a fit of enthusiasm and delight the Sikhs fulfilled the wishes of their revered leader late Nawab Kapur Singh by declaring Jassa Singh Ahluwalia as Padshah. Then seizing the royal mint, they struck the first Sikh rupee which bore the following inscription :—

" سکه زد در جهان بفضل اکال—ملک احمد گرفت جسا کلال "

[Jassa Kalal, having seized the country of Ahmad, struck coin in the world by the grace of God].[4]

The capture of the provincial capital and coining of money marked the highest point, though temporarily, in the

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[1] *Ahmad Shah*, 889.

" کار بجاے کشید که هیچ کس نمے توانست که از حصار شهر لاهور بیرون بر آید "

[2] *Gyan Singh*, 809-10.

[3] *Khazana-i-Amira* is also supported by *Ratan Singh*, pp. 495-6, who, while describing Abed's attack on Gujranwala, says that he came to Lahore where he was shortly afterwards put to death by Charat Singh.

[4] *Khazana-i-Amira*, 113-4; *Siyar*, iii, 74; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 121b-122*a*; *Sohan Lal*, i, 146-7; *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghanan*, 173; *Gyan Singh*, 1036; *Raj Khalsa*, 374; *British Museum Persian Akhbarat*, Or. 25,021, Vol. II, folio 57a, dated the 4th November, 1783.

evolution of the Sikh power It translated their ideal into actuality and fulfilled the prophecy of the last Guru to the realization of which they had to wade through streams of blood and tread over heaps of corpses of their own brethren This raised them to a first grade authority and made them a *sovereign power The people of the Panjab now realized* that even in case the Khalsa were expelled from Lahore, they were destined to become its masters sooner or later But, as the irony of fate would have it, this great glory of the Sikhs was to be followed, only within three months, by the hardest blow they had ever sustained.

At this place it seems necessary to offer a word of explanation regarding the date of this coin. Most of the writers on Sikh History have stated that the Sikhs alone expelled Timur Shah and Jahan Khan from Lahore, occupied *the provincial capital, declared their sovereignty and their* leader Jassa Singh struck coin in his own name [1]

Browne is the earliest writer to make this statement in his *India Tracts* He says 'The Sicks collected together under their chiefs from all quarters, and blockading the city of Lahore, collected the revenues of the country all around for their own use Jehan Khan with the Prince, marched out to give them battle, but after several actions, finding the Sicks too numerous for him to contend with, he retreated to Kandahar Upon this occasion, Jessa Sing Kelal, who was at the time commander-in-chief of the Dul, struck rupees in his own name, at the royal mint at Lahore, with the following inscription,

'Jessa Kelal conquered the country of Ahmed and struck this coin by the Grace of God'"

Browne based his account on the authority of two Panjabis whose dates are admitted even by Browne himself

[1] *Cf Browne*, ii, 19 *Malcolm*, 94-5 *Bakhtmal*, 82 *Khushwaqt Rai*, 104; *Elphinstone's Caubul*, ii 289 *Cunningham*, 105 *Latif's Panjab*, 231; *Gordon*, 61; *Narang* 148.

as "extremely defective". In the introduction on pp. iii-iv he states: "Having met with two Hindoos of considerable knowledge, who were natives of Lahore, where they had resided the greater part of their lives, and who had in their possession, accounts of the rise and progress of the Sicks, written in the Nuggary (or common Hindoo) character, I persuaded them to let me have a translation of one of them in the Persian language, abridging it as much as they could do, without injuring essential purpose of information. After all, I found it extremely defective in a regular continuation of dates, and therefore not deserving the name of a history."

Browne compiled his *India Tracts* about twenty years after this date and we cannot say whether Browne's Panjabi friends were eye-witnesses of this event as described by them. Hence we can safely reject their authority in view of the more tangible evidence of the eye-witness Miskin, and the Marathas. Miskin held an important position in the Court of Timur Shah, and was therefore able to study the events first hand. He was in the blooming youth at this time being only 19 years old and we therefore cannot suspect that his memory would have failed him when he compiled his autobiography in 1782. Moreover, his account of the expulsion of the Afghans from Lahore is so vivid and profuse in details that such a striking event as the capture and occupation of Lahore by Jassa Singh and the issue of coins by him could not have escaped his notice. Besides, almost all his details are also supported by Marathi records.[1]

The rest of the authorities are much later and do not claim having based this statement on contemporary evidence. Hence this assertion of the Panjab historians does not appear to be founded on facts.

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[1] Ratan Singh in his *Panth Parkash* also states that Lahore was taken by the joint forces of the Sikhs and the Marathas. *Cf.* p. 424.

We have, however, assigned November, 1761 as the probable date of the minting of this coin. Miskin had left Lahore three years earlier and hence his authority fails us on this occasion But the contemporary author of *Khazana-i-Amira*, compiling his work somewhere between July 1762 and July 1763 says that the Sikhs killed the Durrani Governor of Lahore captured the capital and issued this coin, and that it was due to these doings of the Sikhs that Ahmad Shah invaded India in February 1762 and inflicted a severe defeat on the Sikhs, massacring about 12,000 Sikhs.[1]

The statement of the author of the *Khazana-i-Amira*

[1] *Khazana-i-Amira*, 114—

' قوم سکھ ساکن صوبۂ پنجاب که از قدیم الایام خمیر مایه
فتنه و فساد اند وبا اسلامیان عداوت و تعصب شدید دارند تا
آنکه معاینه کرده بودند که شاه چندین مرتبه هندوستان را بی
سپر ساخت از راه ناعاقبت اندیشی علم بغی و شورش افراشته
نائب شاه را در لاهور کشتند و جسا سنگه نامی را از قوم خود
بپادشاهی برداشته دیووار برمسند جم نشاندند وروی سکه را بنام
او سیاه کردند و بلاد لاهور و اطراف آنرا به تصرف آورده خلق الله
را سیما فرقه مسلمین را اذیتها رسانیدند شاه درانی باستماع
این اخبار در عادت معمولۂ خود باز نهضت هند و چون کل زمین
لاهور را محل نزول اجلال ساخت "

["The Sikh people of the Panjab who from early times have been a source of mischief and sedition and are bigoted enemies of the Musalmans, in spite of the observance of the fact that the Shah had so many times overrun India, owing to the want of foresight raised the standard of rebellion and disturbance and killed his viceroy at Lahore. They raised a person named Jassa Singh from among themselves to the status of a king, and like the demon, they made him sit on the throne of Jamshid, and blackened the face of the coin with his name. Having taken possession of the city of Lahore and its suburbs, they molested God's creatures in general and the Muslims in particular Hearing this news, Shah Durrani, according to his established practice, again moved towards India."]

does not seem improbable. Ahmad Shah was already making preparations to invade India[1], and when he received this news, he at once set out and defeated the Sikhs in the battle of Kup on the 5th February, 1762. On the other hand, the capture of Lahore by the Sikhs at this time does not appear to be out of the range of possibility. They had put to death Khwajah Mirza Khan, an ex-Governor of Lahore, then in charge of Chahar Mahal (June); expelled the Durrani *faujdars* of the Jullundur Doāb (July); plundered Sirhind and Malerkotla (July); defeated Abdali's general Nur-ud-din (August), and routed Khwajah Abed, Lahore Governor (September). It is therefore not strange that after having achieved such splendid victories, they took Lahore in November, 1761.[2]

The Sikh scholars[3] cherish a doubt as to the striking of this coin on the following grounds :—

1. It is insulting for a Sikh to be addressed without the surname of *Singh*.

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[1] A Marathi letter, dated the 27th October, 1761, states that the Durrani vanguard has advanced as far as Attock. *Selections from Peshwa's Daftar*, XXIX, 16.

[2] A Marathi letter, dated 17-11-1761 says that the Sikhs are causing tumult in Lahore. ["सिखांही लाहोर प्रांती हँगामा केला आहे"] S.P.D. XXIX, 24. The famous Sikh Historian Sir Lepel Griffin was nearer correction when he wrote :—

"Nor were these coins struck before 1762; not in 1757-8, as stated by Cunningham; and it is very doubtful whether they were struck in large numbers at all. The Raja of Kapurthala has none in his possession, nor do I know anyone who has seen one." *Rajas of the Punjab*, footnote, p. 461.

It is remarkable to note that Gyan Singh gives the correct year of this coin. *Cf. Raj Khalsa*, 374.

[3] Even Dr. Sinha, without consulting any of the works quoted above in this connection, jumps to the conclusion that these coins were not struck at all, and refers to no authorities on whom he bases this statement. *Cf. Rise of the Sikh Power*, 94.

2. A Sikh would never claim any credit to himself but to the Guru Even Ranjit Singh on having established monarchy did not issue a coin in his own name

3 The coin is not available anywhere and no historian claims having seen it.

4 Jassa Singh could not issue a coin in his own name because it would have meant the loss of confidence of his comrades

5 He could not have used the title *Kalal* (distiller of wine)

6 Ganesh Das clearly states that such coins bearing this inscription were minted by the bigoted *Mullahs* of Lahore and were sent to Kabul to excite the passion of revenge of Ahmad Shah Abdali against the Sikhs.

Before we produce necessary evidence against these views, it may be pointed out that the capture of the provincial capital was the greatest achievement of the Sikhs during the century, and it naturally excited their zeal and sentiments of delight to a degree that they seem to have forgotten all such feelings as they would have had on a calmer occasion. In the heat of passion of having attained this glory, after the hardest struggle of more than half a century, bubbling over with their success and flushed with the pride of victory they let them pass beyond the bounds of such susceptibilities and glorified the victor who had led them from one conquest to another for about a dozen years past. That the mistake made in the highest excitement of the hour, was realized in saner, cooler and calmer moments is evident beyond all doubts

With regard to the first objection Khushwaqt Rai on folio 104 of his *Kitab-i-Tarikh-i-Panjab* says —

"لاکن سکه چند روز عاند باز بسلب حقارت نصف اسم که
در آں سکه عاند موقوف کرد" .

(" But the coin enjoyed a few days of life, because its circulation was stopped on account of the contempt of the

half name which was imprinted on this coin)."

Remarking about the second objection the Muslim historian Ahmad Yadgar gives us to understand that the Sikhs felt sorry for giving the credit of their victory to a Sikh and not to the Guru. Consequently, they stopped the circulation of this coin and struck another in the name of the Guru :

"جسه نام سکه خودرا بادشاه مقرر کرده سکه بر سیم و زر
بدنیگونه ساخت ۔

سکه زد در جهاں بحکم اکال—تخت احمد گرفت جسا کلال
دیگر سکهاں برو شوریده او را ازیں امر مانع شدند و سکه بنام
گرو مقرر کردند"[1] ۔

James Browne, writing about twenty years later than this event, says :—

"Soon after the last expulsion of the Aumils of the Durranny Shah, the Sicks held a general Diet at Amrutsur, in which they determined to call in the rupees which were struck in the name of Jessa Kelal, and to strike them for the future in the name of their Gooroos, with an inscription to this effect, 'Gooroo Gobind Sing, received from Nanuck, the Daig, the sword and rapid victory', which coin is current throughout their dominions to this day."[2]

The third objection upheld by many others[3] has already been answered in the above quotations.

As regards objection No. 4, it seems probable that Jassa Singh never tried to impose his authority on his co-

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[1] *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghanan*, 173.

[2] *India Tracts*, ii, 27. "I have several of these rupees in my possession." *Ibid.*, footnote.

[3] *Cf.* Lepel Griffin in *Rajas of the Punjab*, footnote on p. 461; C. T. Rodgers in the *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LIV, 1885, part i, pp. 67-76; R. C. Temple in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVIII, 1889, p. 321.

religionists. But on the contrary the latter appear to have insisted on Jassa Singh's name to be inscribed on the coin in confirmation with the current custom[1] of issuing coin in the name of the ruling person, more so because they had already established the practice of calling him *padshah*.[2]

Regarding the fifth point it may be declared without the least fear of contradiction that the Sikhs of those days were men of great sacrifice, deep faith, humble pretensions and simple nature. They never tried to hide from what stock they had come Even the biggest chief seldom displayed any superiority over his followers even in dress, food or manners. Another example of this frankness and simplicity is afforded to us by the Bhangi Misl, the strongest unit of the Dal Khalsa The term *Bhangi* is not a whit better than *Kalal*, but even the mightiest *Sardar* of this *Misl* felt proud to add the surname *Bhangi* to his name Jassa Singh therefore would have felt no scruples in calling himself *Kalal*, particularly at a time when there was the question of rhyme of the verse to be inscribed on the coin.[3]

As to the statement of Ganesh Das it may be said that he does not give any source for this statement and is wholly unsupported by any other historian earlier or later He compiled his account after the British annexation of the Panjab, nearly one hundred years after the event, apparently for the purpose of a district gazetteer, and therefore his

[1] "The striking of coins in India is a prerogative of royalty and one which has always been exercised the moment a man sat on the throne" C. T Rodgers in *J A S.B.*, Vol. LIV 1885, p. 67

[2] *Cf Khushwaqt Rai*, 103 *Ratan Singh*, 265-6 *Gyan Singh*, 571 *Prinsep*, 30 *M Gregor* i, 147 *Panjab Chiefs*, 172 *Raj Khalsa*, 378 *Sohan Lal* i, Appendix, 27

"جسا سنگه اهلو والیه خود را بادشاه میگفت"

[3] *Bhangi* means a person who is addicted to taking *bhang* an intoxicating liquor of dark green colour, prepared by pounding the leaves of hemp, a wild plant, often found along the river banks.

isolated authority cannot be accepted for historical facts. Moreover, he places this event in 1765, and refers to the Durrani invasion of 1766-7.[1]

[1] *Risala-i-Sahib Numa*, 210.

" بصلاح صوابدید سردار جسا سنگھ و گنڈا سنگھ و جھنڈا سنگھ وغیرہ سرداران بھنگی در سمبت ۱۸۲۱ یک هزار و هشت صد و بیست و یکم جلوس میمنت مانوس بکرماجیت سکه بنام گورو گوبند سنگھ نقرہ روپیه در دارالضرب زدند و این بیت ظفرنامه را بر روپیه ها ثبت نمودند۔ دیگ تیغ و فتح نصرت بیدرنگ۔ یافت از نانک گورو گوبند سنگھ۔ چنانچه در سرائی نکودر و سری امرتسر و بلده لاهور و سیالکوٹ و گجرات وغیرہ ممالک پنجاب این سکه رواج یافت و چلن سکه محمد شاهی که سابق مروج بود موقوف گردید از ینمعر علمایان تعصب پیشه پنجاب بر چند روپیه بیت دیگر اختراع خود مسکوک کرده پیش احمد شاه در کابل بردند۔

سکه زد در جهاں بفضل اکال تخت احمد گرفت جسا کلال

چنانچه از غایت جمعیت احمد شاه بادشاه غیرت برده باز بتاریخ ۱۱۷۹ھ یک هزار یک صد و هفتاد و نه و سال سمبت ۱۸۲۲ یک هزار و هشت صد و بست و دو بکرمی یورش بر پنجاب آورد "۔

Griffin wrongly translates بیت (couplet) into (twenty) misreading it as " bist ". *Rajas of the Punjab*, 461, footnote.

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The following works have been chiefly consulted and referred to in the body as well as in the foot-notes of this book The names are chronologically arranged according to their date of composition. The under mentioned abbreviations are generally used —

1	Br M L.	British Museum Library, London
2.	Rieu.	Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum Library
3	Ethe	Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the India Office Library
4	I. O L	India Office Library London
5	E D	History of India as told by her own Historians, edited by Elliot and Dowson
6	A. S B	Asiatic Society of Bengal.
7	J N S	Sir Jadunath Sarkar's Library, Calcutta.
8	M R S	Maharajkumar Raghubir Sinh's Library at Sitamau, Central India.
9	P P L	Panjab Public Library, Lahore
10	P U L	Panjab University Library, Lahore.
11	O P L B	Oriental Public Library, Bankipore.

The description of each work is given in the following order —

1. Name as referred to in the Monograph.
2. Title.
3. Author
4. Date of composition
5. The copy consulted.
6. References in Rieu, Ethe or E. D
7. Remarks

ORIGINAL SOURCES

PERSIAN

1. *Dabistan.*—Dabistan-i-Mazahib, Mohsin Fani, about 1650, printed in Calcutta in 1809, Rieu, i, 141. It gives a brief account of all the religions prevailing in India at that time. The author was a contemporary and friend of Guru Hargobind, and spent many years in Lahore and Kashmir (1630 to 1642).

2. *Khulasat.*—Khulasat-ut-Twarikh, Sujan Rai Bhandari of Batala, 1695, edited and published by M. Zafar Hasan in 1918, Rieu, i, 230. Extremely useful for historical and topographical details, partial translation in J. N. Sarkar's *India of Aurangzeb.*

3. *Iradat Khan.*—Tarikh-i-Iradat Khan, Mubarikullah alias Iradat Khan who held high commands under the successors of Aurangzeb, 1716, P.P.L. MS., Rieu, iii, 938, Ethe, i, 389. It is a contemporary account of events from 1707 to 1716. Useful for Sikh activities under Banda. English translation in Jonathan Scott's *History of the Deccan*, 2 Vols., 1794.

4. *Muhammad Qasim.*—Ibrat Namah, Sayyid Muhammad Qasim of Lahore, about 1720, P. P. L. MS., Rieu, i, 273; iii, 1008. It is a history of the Delhi Empire from the death of Aurangzeb to the fall of the Sayyid Brothers. Useful for Sikh activities under Banda.

5. *Khafi Khan.*—Muntakhab Al-Lubab, 2 Vols., Khafi Khan, 1729, published by the A. S. B., Rieu, i, 232; Ethe, i, 396. It supplies a detailed account of the Sikh activities under Banda, the revolts of Isa Khan Munj and the Afghans of Kasur, and other Panjab affairs.

6. *Delhi Chronicle.*—Waqā-i-Shah Alam Sani, anonymous, 1738 to 1798, J. N. S. MS. It is written in the form of a skeleton diary containing a detailed chronology of events of the Imperial capital and reports received from different

parts of the Empire from 1738 to 1798 Extremely useful for many dates and events

7 *Khushhal Chand.*—Tarikh-i-Muhammad Shahi or Nadir-uz-Zamani, Khushhal Chand, Munshi in the Diwani Office at Delhi, 1741 P P. L MS., Rieu, i, 128, iii, 894, E.D, viii, 70—1. It gives useful details about Muhammad Shah's administration

8 *Anand Ram* —Tazkira-i-Anand Ram Mukhlis, Anand Ram of Lahore, Secretary to the Delhi Wazir, Qamr-ud-din Khan, 1748, J N S MS, E. D, vii, 76 to 98 The work is divided into three parts (i) Nadir Shah's invasion, (ii) Expedition to Bangarh (iii) First campaign of Ahmad Shah Durrani

9 *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi* —Anonymous, probably by a Delhi Court Chronicler, 1748 to 1754, Br M MS., J N S rotograph, Rieu, iii 941, E D., viii, 104 to 123 The best account of the reign of Emperor Ahmad Shah of Delhi.

10 *Zafar Namah* —Ghulam Muhayu-ud-din, 1750, P U L. MS Supplies information about the first two invasions of Ahmad Shah Abdali.

11. *Miscellaneous Papers in S P D.*, reports from Maratha agents in Delhi and other important places in Northern India, available from 1752 onward, absolutely original in dates and events

12. *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani.*—Anonymous, probably by a Delhi Court Chronicler, 1754 to 1759, Br M MS., J N S rotograph, Rieu, iii, 942, E. D., viii, 140 to 143 The best contemporary work on the reign of Alamgir II.

13 *Samin.*—The fourth invasion of Ahmad Shah Abdali, Sheikh Ghulam Hasan (pen-name Samin), 1756-7 translation by W Irvine in *Indian Antiquary*, 1907 It is an account of the eye-witness.

14. *Jahan Kusha.*—Jahan Kusha-i-Nadiri, Muhammad Mahdi Ali Khan, Private Secretary to Nadir Shah, 1758, printed in Bombay, Rieu, i, 192; Ethe, i, 558. It contains a circumstantial narrative of Nadir Shah's invasion.

15. *Maasir-ul-Umara*, 3 Vols.—Shahnawaz Khan Samsam-ud-daulah, 1758, published by A. S. B., Rieu, i, 339; Ethe, i, 622; E. D., viii, 187 to 191. It is a biographical dictionary of the Mughal peerage from Akbar's time till the middle of the 18th century.

16. *Chahar Gulshan.*—Also known as Akhbar-un-Nawadir, Rai Chatarman, in the service of Delhi Wazir Imad-ul-Mulk, 1759, P. U. L. MS., Rieu, iii, 909; E. D., viii, 255-6. The work is divided into four parts; the third deals with roads branching off from Delhi to chief cities in different parts of India, giving distances and stages; while the fourth part treats of biographies of Hindu saints, Sikh Gurus and Muslim *Faqirs*. The third chapter is translated in J. N. Sarkar's *India of Aurangzeb.*

17. *C. P. C.*—Calendar of Persian Correspondence, 7 Vols., 1759—1787, being letters which passed between some of the Company's servants and Indian rulers and notables, published by the Imperial Record Department.

18. *Shamlu.*—Tarikh-i-Manazil-ul-Fatuh, Muhammad Ja'far Shamlu, about 1761, Br. M. MS., J. N. S. rotograph, Rieu, iii, 942; E.D., viii, 144 to 157. The author accompanied Ahmad Shah in several of his Indian campaigns, and was present at the battle of Panipat. His description of the various stages between Kandahar and Delhi, where Ahmad Shah as a rule halted, is very useful.

19. *Khazana-i-Amira.*—Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami, 1762, printed at the Nawal Kishore Press, Cawnpore in 1872, Rieu, i, 373. The author travelled in the Panjab about the middle of the 18th century and supplies valuable information.

20 *Jang Namah.*—Qazi Nur Muhammad, 1765, K. C L MS It is an extremely valuable work, giving an eye-witness account of the seventh invasion of Ahmad Shah Durrani (1764 5) It is written in poetry covering 226 pages This has now been printed by the Khalsa College

21 *Nur-ud-din* —Tarikh-i-Najib-ud-daulah, Sayyid Nur-ud-din Husain Khan a personal servant of the Delhi Wazir Imad-ul-Mulk, 1773, Br M MS, J N S rotograph and its translation by Sir Jadunath Sarkar in Indian Historical Quarterly and Islamic Culture, 1933. Rieu, i, 306. upplies the most accurate, original and contemporary account of some of the invasions of Ahmad Shah Durrani.

22 *Shiv Prashad* —Tarikh-i-Farahbakhsh, Shiv Prashad, 1776, P P L MS, Rieu i, 306, iii, 959, Ethe, i, 584 E. D, viii, 175 to 179 Rieu and Elliot call the work Tarikh-i-Faizbakhsh. It is a history of the Rohillas, but throws side-lights on the Panjab affairs

23 *Kashiraj* —The account of the last battle of Panipat and the events leading to it, Kashiraj, 1780, Sir Jadunath Sarkar's translation in I. H. Q, 1934, of a MS, dated 1785, made by him in order to correct "Browne's unreliable translation, reprinted (from Asiatic Researches 1799) by Oxford University Press in 1926" Kashiraj, a trusted servant of Shuja-ud-daulah of Oudh, was present in this battle

24 *Miskin.*—Tazkira-i-Tahmas Miskin, Tahmas Khan Miskin, 1780, Br M MS., J N S rotograph Rieu, iii, 980, E. D., viii, 100 The author lived in Lahore as a personal attendant of Muin-ul-Mulk (1748-53), and of his widow, the Mughlani Begam, (1753-8) He gives an absolutely original account of many of the Panjab events which took place during this period.

25 *Shakir.*—Tazkira-i-Shakir Khan, Shakir Khan the 4th son of Amir Shams-ud-daulah Lutfullah Khan, a *mansabdar*

of 7,000 and Governor of Delhi at the time of Nadir's invasion, about 1780, J. N. S. MS., Rieu, i, 279. It is a history of the author's observations from the accession of Muhammad Shah to that of Shah Alam II. It gives only brief references of the Panjab affairs,

26. *Haqiqat.* — Haqiqat Bina-wa-Uruj-i-Firqa-i-Sikhan, Timur Shah Durrani, 1782, Calcutta University Library MS., R. A. S. Morley Catalogue, No. 83. It contains not a single date, and is extremely sketchy. Timur Shah's authorship of this booklet seems doubtful.

27. *Bayan.*—Bayan-i-Waqi, Khwajah Abdul Karim Kashmiri, 1784, P. U. L. MS., Rieu, i, 381; Ethe, i, 566; E. D., viii, 124 to 139. The author gives an account of Nadir's invasion and the first campaign of the Abdali.

28. *Ashub.*—Tarikh-i-Kharoj-i-Nadir Shah-ba-Hindustan *alias* Tarikh-i-Muhammad Shahi, Vol. ii, Muhammad Bakhsh Ashub, foster brother of Emperor Muhammad Shah, 1785, I. O. L. MS., J. N. S. copy, Ethe, i, 422; E. D., viii, 232 to 234. It is an elaborate work on the invasion of Nadir Shah and the first incursion of Ahmad Shah Abdali. From the details and method of expression it appears that the author derived most of the information from Anand Ram.

29. *Bihari Lal.*—Ahwal-i-Najib-ud-daulah Amir-ul-Umara Sabit Jang, Bihari Lal, 1787, Hyderabad MS., J. N. S. copy. The author was a nephew of Mansukh Rai, the Munshi to Najib-ud-daulah. This work is inferior to that of Nur-ud-din on the same subject. Translation by Sarkar in I. H. Q.

30. *Ghulam Ali.*—Shah Alam Namah, Vol. i, Ghulam Ali of Lahore, the son of Bhikari Khan, 1788, printed by A. S. B., Rieu, i, 278 and iii, 945; E. D., viii, 393. The author gives circumstantial evidence about Lahore affairs.

(ii & iii) Ain-i-Alam Shahi, *alias* Badshahnamah, I. O. L. MS., No 398, Ethe, No 425, J N S. copy used

31 *Khair-ud-din*—Ibrat Namah, *Faqir* Khair-ud-din Muhammad of Allahabad, Private Secretary to the son of Shah Alam II, 3 Vols., 1806, Rieu, iii, 946, E. D., viii, 237—54, O P L B MS., J N S copy used The work begins with the reign of Shah Alam I, and ends with that of Shah Alam II It supplies some information with regard to the Panjab affairs and the invasions of Ahmad Shah Abdali.

32. *Munna Lal*—Tarikh-i-Shah Alam, Munna Lal, 1811, O P L B MS., J N S copy used, Rieu, iii, 943; E.D., viii, 393 It is an account of Shah Alam II's reign year by year, from 1760 to 1806, and serves as a valuable supplement to Khair-ud-din's *Ibrat Namah.* This work formed the basis of Francklin's *Shah Aulum.*

33 *Salar Jang MS*—*Intikhab-i-Akhbarat-i-Darbar-i-*Mu'alla-wa-Mahadji Sindhia Bahadur, Salar Jang MS, 4329, M R. S It is a collection of daily *news-letters* beginning from the 6th July, 1787 to the 8th October, 1787, pp 244

34 *Br Mus Pers Akhbarat*—

(i) Muntakhab-i-Akhbar, A. H. 1195, Per Vol I, Mus. Brit, Jure Empt., 25,020, Plut CCXXI, B, Claud Martin, M. R. S.

(ii) Muntakhab-i-Akhbar, A. H. 1193—1198, Pers., Vol. ii, Mus. Brit., Jure Empt., 25,021, M.R.S. These news-letters give the abstract of daily intelligence from Delhi. Under each day of the month are found, separately recorded, the doings of the Emperor Shah Alam II, and his chief minister, Najaf Khan.

MARATHI

The Marathi records relating to this period consist only of news-letters and reports. As such they supply original information with almost exact dates. A good deal of this material has been printed; while the rest is seeing the light gradually.

1. *S. P. D.*—Selections from the Peshwa's Daftar, 45 Vols., edited by Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai, Vols. 2, 21, 27 and 29 in Marathi and "Miscellaneous Papers" in Persian have been chiefly drawn upon.

2. *Rajwade.*—Maṛathyanc̣hya Itihasachin Sadhanen, 21 Vols., edited by V. K. Rajwade and others. Volume XII chiefly consulted.

3. *Sardesai.*—Historical Papers relating to Mahadji Sindhia by Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai, the Alijah Darbar Press, Gwalior, 1937.

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6. *Dilliyethil.*—Dilliyethil Raj Karnen, 2 Vols., by Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis.

7. *Maheshwar.*—Maheshwar Darbaranchi Batmipatren, 2 Vols.

ENGLISH

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3. Political Proceedings :—
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4. Foreign Department, Select Proceedings, 19th April, 1779.

5. Secret Letters to Court, 1786, Vol. V.

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10. Foreign Miscellaneous, No. 46, Secret Department, 7th July, 1797, Nos. 1—8.

(b) Printed Matter.—

1. *Dow.*—The History of Hindostan, Alexander Dow, 3 Vols., London, printed for T. Becket and P. A. De Hondt, in the Strand, 1768.

2. *Forster.*—A Journey from Bengal to England (1782-3), 2 Vols, by George Forster, an employee in the civil service of the East India Company in Bengal. Forster travelled in the guise of an Indian Muslim merchant

through the Panjab along the northerly route, skirting the lower spurs of the Himalayas. He gives an excellent account of the Sikhs and other Panjab affairs.

3. *Browne.*—History of the Origin and Progress of the Sicks in India Tracts, by Major James Browne, written in September, 1787 and printed in 1788 The author was the English Minister at the Court of Shah Alam at Delhi and during his stay he collected material about the history of the Sikhs and compiled his India Tracts.

4. *Malcolm.*—Sketch of the Sikhs, by Lieutenant-Colonel Malcolm, printed in 1812. The author was in the train of Lord Lake when the latter pursued Holkar to the Panjab. Malcolm collected information and material, wrote this account, and published it in Asiatic Researches, Vol. xi, pp. 197 to 293.

5. *Elliot and Dowson.*—The History of India as told by her own Historians, Vol. viii, London, 1877.

6. *Forrest.*—Selections from the letters, despatches and other State Papers preserved in the Foreign Department of the Government of India, 1772 - 1785, edited by George W. Forrest, 3 Vols., printed by the Superintendent Government Printing India, 1890.

7. *The Asiatic Annual Register*, for the year 1802. " A Character of the Seiks. From the observation of Col. Polier and Mr. Forster."

8. *Whitehead.*—Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore, by R. B. Whitehead, Vol. ii, " Coins of the Mughal Emperors, published for the Panjab Government, Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1914 ; Vol. iii, 1934.

SECONDARY SOURCES

PERSIAN

1 *Farhat*—Farhat-un-Nazirin, Muhammad Aslam, 1770, Kapurthala State Library MS., P U L rotograph, Rieu, i, 131 E.D., viii, 163 to 174 The author, an employee of Shuja-ud-daulah, compiled this work at the advice of Colonel Jean Baptiste Joseph Gentil. As compared with E. D this manuscript appears an incomplete copy

2. *Siyar*—Siyar-ul-Mutakhirin, Sayyid Ghulam Husain, 1782, Calcutta edition of 1827 cited, P P L, Rieu, i, 280, Ethe, i, 416, E. D viii, 194 to 198 The author, a Lucknow court noble, was employed by Warren Hastings to compile this work. It is a comprehensive history of India from 1707 to 1782. The work supplies a detailed account of the Panjab affairs most of which seems to have been taken from Khazana-i-Amira Its translations by Mustafa, a French renegade and by Hoey, are not reliable, being replete with numerous mistakes

3 *Mujmil*—Mujmil-ut-Twarikh B'ad Nadiriya, Ibn Muhammad Amin Abul Hasan Gulistani edited by O Mann, (Leyden, 1896), written 1782, J N S The author's uncle, Muhammad Ishaq, was in the service of Nadir Shah. He came in India and settled at Murshidabad (Bengal), while the author lived at Lucknow The work is based primarily on the author's personal knowledge, deals with the History of Iran, and gives a detailed account of Ahmad Shah Abdali and some of his Indian invasions.

4 *Chahar Gulzar*—Chahar Gulzar Shujai, Harcharandas, 1784, P U L. MS Rieu, iii, 912, E. D, viii, 204 to 231.

The author was in the service of Shuja-ud-daulah of Oudh and dedicated this work to his master. It contains only brief references to the Panjab affairs.

5. *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*.—Muhammad Ali Khan Ansari (nephew of Shakir, *cf. Tazkira-i-Shakir Khan*) belonged to a famous literary family of Panipat, 1787, P. U. L. MS., Rieu, i, 282; Ethe, i, 423; E. D., viii, 316 to 330. The author deals at length with the gradual decline of the Mughal Empire, giving a detailed account of the rise of the English, Marathas, Sikhs, Afghans and Rohillas. He, however, seems to have made free use of either Khazana-i-Amira or Siyar-ul-Mutakhirin.

6. *Gulistan-i-Rahmat*.—Mustajab Khan, son of Hafiz Rahmat Khan, translated by Sir Charles Elliot, written 1792, Rieu, i, 307; Ethe, i, 587; E. D., viii, 301. It is a biography of Hafiz Rahmat Khan and gives very useful details about the history of Rohilkhand, the part played by some of the famous Rohilla Chiefs in Indian History, and invasions of Ahmad Shah Abdali. Its dates are often incorrect.

7. *Gul-i-Rahmat*.—Saadat Yar Khan, grandson of Hafiz Rahmat Khan and nephew of Mustajab Khan, Rieu, i, 308; iii, 905; Ethe, i, 588; E. D., viii, 302—12. This work is more copious than *Gulistan-i-Rahmat*. It was lithographed at Agra in 1836.

8. *Husain Shahi*.—Tarikh-i-Husain Shahi, Sayyid Imam-ud-din Husaini, 1798, O. P. L, B. MS., J. N. S. copy cited, Rieu, iii, 905; Ethe, i, 588. The work is a biography of Ahmad Shah Abdali, but it is not absolutely trustworthy.

9. *Ahwal-i-Adina Beg Khan*.—Anonymous, probably by a Panjabi Hindu, 1806, Br. M. MS., P. U. L. rotograph cited, also published as an appendix to the Oriental College Magazine, Lahore, for February, 1938, Rieu, iii, 1044. It is a biography of Adina Beg Khan, consisting of

12 folios of small size Its language is poor, many words are misspelt, many dates and some details are wrong It is the only work available on the subject.

10 *Imad-us-Saadat.*—Sayyid Ghulam Ali Rizwi, 1807, P U L MS lithographed at Lucknow, Rieu, i, 308, E D., viii, 394 to 395 The author was in the service of Nawab Saadat Ali Khan. The work is a regular history of the Nawabs of Oudh, but it gives a good account of the Panjab events.

11 *Bakhtmal*—Khalsa Namah, Diwan Bakhtmal, 1807, P U L MS., Rieu, i, 294 It is a detailed history of the Sikhs. Sir John Malcolm used it as one of his authorities in the compilation of his "Sketch of the Sikhs."

12. *Khushwaqt Rai*—Kitab-i-Tarikh-i-Panjab, Khushwaqt Rai, 1812, P P L MS, Rieu, i, 294 The author was the agent and intelligencer of the British Government at Amritsar and compiled this valuable work at the desire of Sir Charles Metcalfe The narrative comes down to 1811. *It is an extremely valuable work on the Sikh history during* the 18th century It was freely consulted by Prinsep for his "Origin of the Sikh Power in the Panjab," by Murray for 'Memorial of Captain Murray" and by the anonymous writer of "History of the Punjab and Rise, Progress, and present condition of the Sect and Nation of the Sikhs, 2 Vols., London, Wm H. Allen & Co., 1846"

13 *Sohan Lal.*—Umdat-ut-Twarikh, Sohan Lal Suri, 1812, printed at the Arya Press, Lahore, in 1885 The author was the Court Chronicler of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, but his early account is based on the records kept by his father Ganpat Rai who had served Ranjit Singh's father and grandfather It also seems probable that Sohan Lal made free use of Bakhtmal's *Khalsa Namah.* It is strange that Appendix to Sohan Lal's Vol. i, is an exact

copy of Ahmad Shah's *Tarikh-i-Panjab*, pp. 901 to 1014. *Cf.* No. 16, infra.

14. *Ibrat Maqal.*—Abdul Karim Kashmiri, 1816, P. P. L. MS. The work is a general history of Shah Alam and gives some useful information about the Panjab.

15. *Irshad-ul-Mustaqim.* - Aman-ul-Haq, 1818, P. P. L. MS. The work is a general history of Islam, India and Nizam of Hyderabad, but many useful details are also available about the Panjab.

16. *Ahmad Shah.*—Tarikh-i-Panjab, Ahmad Shah of Batala, 1820, Dyal Singh Library, Lahore, MS. It is a detailed history of the Panjab, particularly that of the 18th century. About its pages 901 to 1014 see No. 13, supra.

17. *Chahar Chaman.*—Daulat Rai, 1820, P. P. L. MS., Rieu, iii, 1058. It consists of four parts; the third which treats of various provinces, their divisions, area and income etc., is important.

18. *Tarikh-i-Imad-ul-Mulk.*—Abdul Qadir Khan alias Ghulam Qadir Khan of Jāyas in Oudh, 1834, M. R. S. MS., sketchy and not of much value.

19. *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghanan.* — Ahmad Yadgar, 1835, P. P. L. MS., E. D., v. No. xxxiv, gives a different description of the work. This voluminous work deals with the Afghan families in India and gives a good account of the invasions of Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah.

20. *Ratan Chand.*—Khalsa Namah, Ratan Chand, Munshi to the Chiefs of Atari, 1843, P. U. L. MS.

21. *Narayan Kaul.*—Tarikh-i-Kashmir, Narayan Kaul, 1846, P. U. L. MS.

22. *Tarikh-i-Ahmad* alias Muharbat-i-Salatin-i-Durrani,

Abdul Karim, 'Ulwi, 1847, printed at the Mustfai Press, Cawnpore in 1847 The author was in the service of the British Government at Ludhiana and was sent on diplomatic mission to Khorasan. The work gives a good account of Abdali's wars with the Sikhs.

23 *Bute Shah* —Tarikh-i-Panjab, Ghulam Muhayu-ud-din alias Bute Shah, 1848, P U L MS, Rieu, iii, 953, Ethe, i, 503 The author, an employee of the British Government, compiled this huge work at the request of Col. Ochterlony who provided him with the material collected from various Sikh chiefs.

24 *Ganesh Das* —Risala-i-Sahib Numa or Char Bagh-i-Panjab Ganesh Das, 1849, K. C L MS, Rieu, iii, 952. The author belonged to a distinguished family of Qanungos of Gujrat district. His topographical description and account of the Sikhs is useful, but his story about the first Sikh Coin of Lahore is erroneous and entirely misleading

25 *Miftah-ul-Twarikh* —Danishwar Ali Khan, written for Thomas William Beale, a clerk in the office of the Board of Revenue at Agra, published by Nawal Kishore of Lucknow in 1867, E. D., viii, 441—4 It is a general history of India from early times to 1848 A D, and is full of chronogrammatic dates relating to important events of Indian History The author's account of the Panjab affairs is copied almost verbatim from *Siyar-ul-Mutakhirin*.

26 *Ali-ud-din* —Ibrat Namah, Mufti Ali-ud-din of Lahore, 1854, I O L MS., No 3241 (E. 504), P U L rotograph The author was in the service of the British Government. The work is a geographical, statistical and historical description of the Panjab, with a detailed account of the 18th century

27 *Shah Yusaf* —Halat-i-Multan, Shah Yusaf, 1861, P P L. MS The author, a resident of Multan, compiled

this work, at the desire of Colonel George William Hamilton, Commissioner of Multan Division. It is a history of the Multan province from early times to the date of its composition.

28. *Tarikh-i-Sultani.*—Sultan Muhammad Khan Durrani, written in 1864 and published in Bombay in 1880. The work is a history of Afghanistan, and gives a valuable account of Ahmad Shah Durrani and his wars with the Sikhs.

29. *Ala-ud-din.*—Mukhtsar Tarikh-i-Kashmir, Ala-ud-din Muhammad Mufti, Gulshan Rashidi Press, 1883.

URDU

1. *Afghanistan.*—Anonymous, printed at the Matb-ul-'Alum Madrisa, Delhi, 1851.

2. *Hayat-i-Afghani.*—Muhammad Hayat Khan, written in 1865 and printed at the Koh-i-Noor Press in 1867. The book is divided into three parts. The first deals with topography, commerce and general history of Afghanistan; the second with the history of Afghan people; while the third gives a full account of the Bannu district. The author's services were greatly appreciated by Mr. Mcleod, the Lt. Governor of the Panjab.

3. *Saulat-i-Afghani.*—Haji Muhammad Zardar Khan, published by Nawal Kishore at Cawnpore in 1876. It is a history of the Afghans, also giving a discursive account of the Muslim rulers of India. Besides it has a long chapter on Afghan genealogies. It also deals with the First Afghan War as it was known in Afghanistan.

4. *Abdul Majid.*—Tarikh-i-Afāghana, printed at the Abul Alai Steam Press, Agra, year of publication not given.

GURMUKHI

1. *Ratan Singh.*—Prachin Panth Parkash, Ratan Singh Bhangu, about 1830, printed at the Wazir-i-Hind Press, Amritsar in 1914 The author compiled this work at the request of Captain Murray, the British Resident at Ludhiana It is chiefly a history of the author's family, but all the important events of the Sikh history in the 18th century are woven round his family anecdotes. Ratan Singh s dates are accurate, and his account generally dependable

2. *Gyan Singh* —Panth Parkash, Gyani Gyan Singh, first printed in 1880 at the Murtazwi Press, Delhi. This voluminous work, written in Panjabi poetry, is a complete Sikh history, full of minute details, based upon Bute Shah, Ratan Singh and traditional accounts which the author collected from old men of his time by travelling over the province The 1923 edition cited

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INDEX

FROM—J. ADAM, SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNOR GENERAL.

To—RICHARD JENKINS, RESIDENT AT NAGPUR.

On the Ganges near Mongher, 14th July 1818.

I am directed to transmit to you for your information the enclosed copy of a letter which has this day been addressed to the Hon'ble Mountstuart Elphinstone under the authority of His Excellency the Governor General.

To—THE HON'BLE MOUNTSTUART ELPHINSTONE.

SIR,

The Governor General having lately reviewed the series of your dispatches received since the commencement of hostilities with Baji Rao, containing a narrative of the circumstances immediately preceding that occurrence, and of your measures and the operations connected with them until the close of the war, I have been directed to communicate to you His Lordship's sentiments and instructions on every part of those proceedings on which it is necessary they should be stated, and on the principles and most material details of the system to be established in place of the Government of the Peshwa, which has been subverted by the success of our arms.

2. During the progress of these transactions any communication of the Governor General's opinion and instructions, excepting in such general terms as should apprize you of the principles by which it was desired that your proceedings should be regulated and the objects to which they should be directed, were manifestly unnecessary. In the constantly changing state of affairs the transmission of precise instructions on each particular circumstance would have only tended to embarrass your proceedings and obstruct the exercise of your judgment on the spot, even if the distance of the Governor General's position from the scene of operations, and the great difficulties of communication owing to the disturbed state of the country, had not presented insurmountable obstacles to any such plan. By vesting in you, in the first instance full powers to decide on every question that might arise, and by placing under your orders as large and efficient a force as could be allotted to that branch of the service, of which the conduct was committed to your charge; and by distinctly stating, in the second place, the principles and objects of the Governor General's policy with relation to Baji Rao and his dominions, His Lordship made every provision for the successful prosecution of those measures which circumstance would allow. His Lordship committed to your hands the exercise of those ample and unrestricted powers, and the execution of those measures, with a confidence in your energy, judgment, and decision, and in your thorough knowledge

of the great interests involved in the successful issue of the enterprize, which was justified by your distinguished qualities and by the whole tenor of your public conduct in emergencies inferior only to that in which you were now to act. It is perhaps the highest and most appropriate praise His Lordship can bestow to declare that your execution of this momentous charge, though it has fully equalled, has not surpassed His Lordship's expectations; founded on his previous estimate of your character and of your eminent qualifications for the trust. There is no part of your proceedings or of your plans which does not bear indisputable proof of your thorough conception of His Lordship's policy, of the judgment and vigor with which you have pursued it, and of your just, liberal, and enlightened views of the interests of the British Government, and of the extensive provinces and numerous population over which you preside. Your personal exertions and ardent courage in the Field have been no less conspicuous.

3. It has been a gratifying duty to bring to the notice of the authorities at home, in terms commensurate with his real estimation of them His Lordship's sense of your distinguished merits, and of the essential service you have rendered to the Honourable Company and to the Nation during the late arduous crisis of affairs; and His Lordship feels assured that they will be duly appreciated by the wisdom and justice of those authorities.

4. Your exertions have been ably and successfully seconded by the officers whose duty it has been to co-operate with you in the destruction of the enemy's power and the establishment of our own throughout the country. The unremitting activity, perseverance, and zeal of Brigadier General Smith in his long pursuit of Baji Rao, the bold and skilful operations of Brigadier General Munro, who has exhibited a rare union of civil, political, and military talents, and the general merits and services of the other Officers Commanding separate divisions or detachments, and of the officers and men under their command respectively, will constitute the just theme of His Lordship's applause in the appropriate place and form. His Lordship cannot deny himself the satisfaction, however, of expressing directly to you his sense of services which your personal knowledge of their value, the support you derived from them, and their intimate connection with your own actions, will necessarily render a subject of peculiar interest to you. His Lordship will have occasion to advert again in the sequel, to the singular merits of Brigadier General Munro, in the reduction of the country south of the Kistna, with the very limited force at his disposal.

5. The whole tenor of Baji Rao's conduct from the time of his return from Maholey, the activity he showed in levying troops, his collecting them in the vicinity of Poona instead of sending them to the stations where alone they would have been useful for the service, for which they were ostensibly raised, the attempts made to corrupt the fidelity of our sepoys, and to compel them by menaces or by actual illusage to their families to leave our service,

of which you had now received undoubted evidence and the general impression throughout the country of the hostile designs meditated by Baji Rao, left no room to doubt the true and secret motives of all his proceedings. Impressed, however, as you were with the belief, that Baji Rao would not have the temerity to proceed to extremities, excepting in the event of some reverse to our arms in the approaching operations in Hindustan, the line of conduct you adopted, as described in your dispatches, and your forbearance from any manifestations of distrust, or from any proceeding that could seem to arise out of such a feeling, was manifestly that best suited to our general policy at the moment and to the apparent and probable circumstance of the particular case. The opinion formed by you of the disposition and views of Baji Rao was fully adopted by the Governor General, who entirely approved the whole of your proceedings as they became known to him through your direct communications, and those which you addressed to Sir Thomas Hislop.

6. The unceasing boldness and publicity of the Peshwa's measures, accompanied by the certain information you continued to receive of his secret practices, soon rendered the resort on your *part to certain measures of precaution against sudden treachery* indispensable. Your directions for the rapid advance of the European Regiment, and your resolution on its junction to move the Brigade to the new position selected for it, the old one being obviously untenable, and the presence of the troops there calculated suddenly to bring on a crisis, your prompt and successful execution of this movement, the other precautions of military nature adopted by you, including the summons of the Light Battalion from Seroor and the recall of Brigadier General Smith to Poona, and the moderate but at the same time firm language you held to the court while these transactions were passing, and up to the very moment when the sudden and treacherous attack was made on the Residency demand the Governor General's unqualified approbation.

7. The events that followed the spirited and judicious advance of Lieutenant Colonel Burr against the enemy, and the signal success of our arms on that occasion, the advance of Brigadier General Smith and the subsequent defeat and flight of the enemy and the occupation of Poona by the British troops, have already received the merit of moderation and humanity, and at the same time of wise policy which influenced your exertions in common with those of Brigadier General Smith to preserve the city from the natural and scarcely blameable vengeance of the troops, irritated by an accumulation of insults and injuries, reflect the highest credit on you and on the Brigadier General, and have been attended with their natural and beneficial consequences, in the quiet submission of the inhabitants of the capital to our rule, the useful example of that submission in other quarters, the advantages of the position in a military and political point of view and the diffusion of an impression highly honourable to the national character.

8. The operations just referred to abundantly justified the confidence reposed in our Sepoys, and displayed the incorruptible integrity with which they had resisted all the arts employed to assail their fidelity. The Governor General perceived with great satisfaction the manner in which the exemplary conduct of Jamadar Shaikh Hussain and private Hari Bhai were marked, and rewarded by the Government of Bombay, and the just applause conferred on the whole body.

9. It is not necessary to follow your narrative through the subsequent pursuit of the Peshwa's army, the obstacles which opposed the adoption of the plan of forming one division for pursuit and another for the reduction of Forts and the occupation of the country, the indirect attempts to negotiate made by the Peshwa and repelled by you during this period, and the subsequent junction of the Divisions of Brigadier-General Smith and Pritzler in the vicinity of Satara, where the new distribution of the force was finally effected.

10. The determination to occupy the time necessarily allotted to the formation of this plan, and to the refreshment of the troops after their long pursuit in the reduction of Satara, was most judiciously conceived and successfully executed. The result was of essential importance to the general success of our measures by the consequence attached to the place, and the opportunity its Captain afforded of declaring the resolutions of the Governor-General relative to the future condition of the Rajah and his family.

11. While engaged in the pursuit of the Peshwa's Army, you have received my dispatch of the 15th of December, prescribing the principles and outlines of the system which His Lordship had on mature deliberation resolved to substitute for the ancient Government of the territories forming the Poona State; that plan had been judiciously kept secret by you till some serious impression should be made on the Peshwa's power, and the general feeling of the country and the conduct likely to be pursued by the Chiefs should be ascertained. The period for disclosing our views and for carrying them into effect was now fast approaching, and the capture of Satara afforded favourable opportunity of promulgating our intentions in connection with the declared establishment of a new state for the Rajah, which formed an important feature of the plan.

12. The public declaration made by you at Satara of the intention of forming a state for the Rajah, of which that place was to be the capital, and your discourse to the principal relations and titular officers of the Raja who could be assembled on the spot, was entirely approved. The partial promulgation of the proclamation of the 11th of February, and the more extended circulation which you afterwards gave it, when before Singarh, were considered by His Lordship to be very judicious and well timed. The document itself exhibits a distinct view of the falsehood, ingratitude, and

treachery of Baji Rao; ably displaying the irrefragable grounds of justice and policy which led the Governor-General to determine on deposing him, on abolishing the office and name of the Peshwa, and on annexing his territories, with certain exceptions, to the dominions of the British Government. The assurances held out of security, of property to all holders of Enaums or other lands, of protection to religious establishments and toleration of every sect, of a moderate and equitable assessment of the lands, the abolition of the farming system and of the other abuses in the old practice, are eminently judicious and proper in themselves; nor were they less deserving of praise as calculated to create a just impression of our principles of Government, and to reconcile the inhabitants to the change of rule. The pains you have taken to confirm these impressions, and your wise and successful efforts to conciliate the principal Bramins and other persons of weight and consequence during your visit to Poona and Wai, are highly approved by the Governor-General, who has perceived with great satisfaction the beneficial consequences of this procedure. The promise of pardon and protection held out in the proclamation to all persons who should quit the standard of Bajee Rao within two months from that date, and the denunciation of forfeiture and punishment to all such as shall not come in within the prescribed period, are also highly approved. The subsequent extension of the terms, and the general amnesty afterwards proclaimed by you for all those who left the Peshwa, even at the latest period on the condition of their remaining at home and not disturbing the peace of the country, were equally humane and politic.

13. The effect of the measures now referred to was most materially and opportunely promoted by the success of Brigadier-General Smith's spirited attack on the Peshwa's Army on the 20th of February at Ashta, and the consequent release of the Rajah of Satara, whom you were thus enabled to bring forward personally as the recognized head of the new state. Your kind and soothing attentions to the Raja and his family, and your consideration for their comfort and dignity, as well as the corresponding conduct towards them of Brigadier-General Smith, could not but receive the approbation of the Governor-General. Your reasons for inviting the Rajah to accompany you with General Pritzler's force, instead of shutting himself up in Satara, were perfectly conclusive. I shall in a subsequent part of this dispatch advert to your provisional arrangements regarding the Government of the new state of Satara, and communicate to you His Lordship's sentiments and resolutions on the several questions connected with this important and interesting branch of the new settlement.

14. The successful commencement of the new plan of operations by the defeat of the Peshwa in the field, the liberation of the Raja of Satara, and the death of Gokhla, whose energy and vigor, stimulated by the certainty that his case was desperate, had been a

main source of the confidence and perseverance of the enemy, were now followed by the successive reduction of the forts in the vicinity of Poona, and subsequently by the capture of the important fortress of Wassota, marked by the release of the families of the Raja of Satara and his brothers and Lieutenant Morrison and Hunter, who had been faithlessly attacked and made prisoners at the commencement of hostilities. These events afforded the fairest ground for hope of the early accomplishment of the objects of the war.

15. It was with a high degree of satisfaction that the Governor-General observed the intermediate surrender to detachment, sent by Brigadier-General Pritzler of the several forts in the vicinity of Wai and the subsequent occupation of most of those in the direction of Satara, which speedily placed the whole of that part of the country in our hands, and allowed of the greater part of Brigadier-General Pritzler's from being united with that of Brigadier-General Munro, thus enabling the latter officer to prosecute with augmented means, the remaining operations confided to him.

16. The Governor-General had marked with equal pleasure and admiration the success of Brigadier-General Munro's measures for expelling the Marhatta Government from the country to the south of the Kistna, and the occupation with his very inadequate means of the whole of the possessions of the Peshwa and of Gokhla to the southward of that river. His Lordship highly approved of the manner in which you availed yourself of the authority conveyed to you in my dispatch of the 15th of December to invite the assistance of Brigadier-General Munro in the execution of any part of the general plan in which you might desire to avail yourself of his experience, abilities and reputation. The reasons assigned by Brigadier-General Munro, and assented to by you, for postponing the seige of Nepainy till after the reduction of Sholapore, and the defeat and capture of the Peshwa's infantry and Guns, appeared to be conclusive. The performance, in a manner so honourable to our arms, of the latter service, having enabled Brigadier-General Munro to return to the Southward of the Kistna, His Lordship trusts that notwithstanding the circumstances which compelled him to solicit conditional permission to withdraw, he may be able to complete his plans for the settlement of that country and of the affairs of the Southern Jagirdars. It is at all events, His Lordship's hope that he will be able to put both those arrangements in such a train as shall greatly facilitate their ultimate accomplishment, should the Government unfortunately be deprived of his services before they are completed. The reduction of Nepainy will, of course, under the circumstances of Appa Desai's return and receipt of your permission to repair thither, have been abandoned altogether.

17. You have been apprized of the sentiments entertained and expressed by the Governor-General regarding the refusal of the Government of Fort St. George to reinforce Brigadier-General

Munro, and even actually recalling the troops which the officer commanding in the ceded districts had ordered to join him. No further remarks on the subject are necessary in this place, than that your urgent and repeated applications to the Government of Fort St. George to afford that aid were perfectly justified by the circumstances of the case, and by the nature of the powers you held from the Governor-General, and were entirely approved and sanctioned by His Lordship.

18. The operations of the separate detachments commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Deacon, Lieutenant-Colonel Eldridge, and Captain Baston, in reducing forts to the Northward of Poona and establishing our authority throughout those parts of the country in which they acted, were viewed with much satisfaction and approbation by the Governor-General, as were the judicious communications held by Captain Baston with certain Bhil Chiefs and with the people of the countries in the neighbourhood of the operations of his detachment.

19. The continued pursuit of Baji Rao's Army by Brigadier-General Smith, and the advance of His Excellency Sir Thomas Hislop from the Northward, having compelled him to make a rapid movement to the Eastward beyond the frontier of his former possessions, and the expectation of profiting by the union of his forces with those of the late Rajah of Nagpur, with whom a plan of joint operations had been concerted, having led Baji Rao to a great distance the juncture was peculiarly favourable for the active prosecution of arrangements for re-establishing our authority throughout the country, and was promptly and judiciously employed by you. It very soon became apparent, that Baji Rao had ceased to possess and hold on the country, and that however the complete settlement of it might be deferred or interrupted, while he could yet keep the field there was little probability of his being able to offer any serious resistance to our plans, while the great body of the people was formed to acknowledge our rule, and almost all the principal feudatories of the state had declared in our favour.

20. The subsequent defeat of Baji Rao by Lieutenant-Col. Adams, disasters which followed it, and the dispersion of his army, the defection of his brother and the principal Chiefs who had still adhered to him, with one or two exceptions, speedily realized these expectations, and proved that every prospect of recovering his dominions had been abandoned by Baji Rao, and by those most closely united to him. It may be hoped that his subsequent surrender and removal from the Deccan has finally and completely broken all connection between him and his former subjects and possessions.

21. The instructions issued by you to Brigadier-General Doveton and to Brigadier-General Smith for the guidance of their conduct during this latter period are highly approved by the Governor-General. Your directions to Brigadier-General Doveton

to lose no time in beseiging Asirgarh, should Baji Rao have retired to that fortress with an army or rendered his reception there in any manner the means of prolonging the war, was entirely consonant with the views and wishes of the Governor-General with relation to the supposed case. On the other hand your reserving for the decision of the Governor-General the question of attacking Asir in any circumstances admitting of delay and referring exclusively to His Lordship's policy with regard to Sindhia as distinct from the prosecution of the war against Baji Rao, was extremely well judged.

22. The pursuit by Brigadier-General Smith, and by detachments of his force, of the retiring parties of the Peshwa's Army was perfectly judicious, and the conduct of Captain Davis, who commanded one of those Detachments, on the occasion of his coming up with Chimnajee and Appa Desai, as well as the discipline and forbearance evinced by the troops, is highly creditable to that officer and to the Detachment under his command.

23. The successful progress of our arms in the Konkan, under the immediate orders of the Right Hon'ble the Governor in Council of Bombay, is a feature of the late operations, which cannot be overlooked by His Lordship without injustice both to the energy and vigor of the measures pursued by the Right Hon'ble the Governor in Council, and to the judgment, activity, gallantry and professional skill of Lieutenant-Colonel Prother and the Officers employed in that branch of the service. These will be duly noticed by His Lordship in public orders, and His Lordship will have the satisfaction of expressing, in a direct address to the Right Hon'ble the Governor in Council, the high sense he entertains of the exertions made by the Government of Bombay from the commencement of the war to afford you the most effectual assistance in its power, and of the energy and vigor with which the reduction of the Konkan was effected under its orders. The merit is the more conspicuous from the very inadequate force at the disposal of the Government of Bombay for these objects, especially at the outset of the war.

24. The energy and success of our operations in Gungterree and in Khandesh has been no less distinguished than in other quarters, and the conduct of Captain Briggs and of Lieutenant-Colonel Macdowall, and the whole of the officers and troops of the small detachment employed in that quarter, by which the whole of the country on both sides of the Godavery has been reduced, and the conquest of Khandesh nearly achieved, demands the warmest expressions of the Governor-General's admiration. The successive reduction of the strong and hitherto deemed impregnable fortress of *Unkey Kajdher* and Trimbak by so small a body reflects the highest credit on the skill, energy and intrepidity of the officers and men. The cheerfulness with which the troops endured the labour and privations to which, from the smallness of their num-

ber, they were unavoidably exposed during these operations, deserves the highest praise. The check which our operations before *Malligory received* through the extraordinary pertinacity of the Garrison, and the inadequacy of our means for the success of the renewed operations, which, according to private but apparently authentic advices, have terminated in the reduction of the fort. While the Governor-General laments the severe loss of brave officers and men sustained in the seige of that fortress, His Lordship has the satisfaction of expressing his unqualified admiration of the conduct of the troops, even when their efforts were not crowned with success. I am likewise desired by His Lordship to state that, notwithstanding the want of success which attended our early operations *against Malligory, His Lordship is satisfied that* the considerations which weighed with Captain Briggs and Lieutenant-Colonel Macdowall to undertake the seige of that place, at the time when it was determined on, were such as fully to justify the resolution. The exploits of the separate detachment employed in Khandesh, which have been brought to the Governor-General's notice, have also received His Lordship's approbation.

25 The occupation of that part of Khandesh which was ceded to the British Government by Holkar, having been connected with the conquest of the Peshwa's possessions in that province, I am desired to take this opportunity of signifying His Lordship's approbation of the measures pursued by Captain Briggs for that purpose, after the conduct of Political Affairs in Khandesh devolved on him on the departure of His Excellency Sir Thomas Hislop

26. The Governor-General desires me to convey to you his perfect approbation of the clear and judicious instructions given by you to Captain Briggs for his guidance in the occupation and settlement of Khandesh, the importance of the early removal from that province of the Arab soldiery was justly appreciated by you, both with respect to the obstacles to the easy occupation of the province, which their warlike habits and turbulent spirit presented, and to the influence on the minds and dispositions of the inhabitants, which *cannot fail to be created by their being relieved from* the odious and oppressive control exercised over them by a foreign soldiery You having anticipated the Governor-General's opinion on this point, and having authorized Captain Briggs, in all cases compatible with the object of diffusing throughout the province a just impression of the power of the British Government, to consent to their being conveyed with their arms and property to Arabia at the expense of the British Government, has met with His Lordship's entire approbation. The proclamation addressed by Captain Briggs to the Arabs is in every respect in consonance with the Governor-General's views and although from *unforeseen circumstances* the success of the measures connected with it has not yet been complete, the justice of the ground on which they were determined on is by no means shaken.

27. Your directions to Captain Briggs regarding the line of proceedings to be observed towards the Bhils are considered to be perfectly judicious. His Lordship has remarked with much satisfaction, throughout the whole of your correspondence with the officers placed by you in charge of positions of our newly acquired territory. The great importance you attach to the most unremitting exertions for the conciliation of the inhabitants, and for leading them to regard the change of Government as a source of benefit and immediate relief, as well as of future security from the evil of anarchy to which in Khandesh especially, the country has long been exposed.

28. The plan of operations proposed by Captain Briggs for the establishment of our authority throughout Khandesh and the movement of troops by which it was to be supported are regarded by the Governor-General as being highly judicious, and His Lordship regrets, that circumstances prevented them from being carried into execution. It is His Lordship's hope, that the force which has now been allotted to the service of Khandesh, coupled with the reduction of Malligory and its probable consequences, will enable Captain Briggs to enter on a regular and systematic plan for the subjugation of that part of the province which still resists our power, and the settlement of the whole. The arrangements made for sending succours to Khandesh in concert with the Government of Bombay and Brigadier-General Smith and latterly with Brigadier-General Doveton, are regarded by the Governor-General with much approbation.

29. The general scope of your instructions to Captain Briggs with regard to the future Government of Khandesh is considered by the Governor-General to be in all respects judicious, and adopted to the state of the country, and to the nature and novelty of our connection with it. The judgment, ability and prudence displayed by Captain Briggs throughout the late services, justify the most confident expectation of the success of your views under his management.

30. His Lordship has been pleased to confirm the salary of Rupees 2,000 per mensem assigned by you to Captain Briggs and the authority you gave him to charge his expenses to an amount not exceeding Rupees 1,500 per mensem. Captain Briggs will of course have ceased to draw his former salary from the date on which the present arrangement took effect. The salary of 800 Rupees per mensem assigned to the Assistant to Captain Briggs, is also sanctioned, and the Governor-General has been pleased to confirm the nomination of Captain Hodges to that duty.

31. The arrangements made by you for the provisional administration of the conquered territory between Khandesh and the Nevia, the formation of the separate jurisdictions of Poona and Ahmednagar, the selection of officers to introduce and administer our authority into those territories, and the spirit and tenor

of the instructions which you gave those officers for their guidance in the execution of the trust committed to them respectively, are all viewed by His Lordship with sentiments of unqualified approbation

32 The wisdom and justice of taking for the basis of the new system of administration, the existing institutions of the country, except where they are inconsistent with reason and equity, and of avoiding any *innovations not indispensable for the removal of gross* corruptions and abuses, are incontestable, and the earnest desire shown for the conciliation of all classes of inhabitants, the preservation of their just rights and the security of their persons and property, the abolition of the farming system and all the intolerable grievances resulting from it, and the introduction of a moderate and equitable assessment, the abolition of odious and unjust taxes, and the establishment of the ready means of access to redress through the medium of institutions formed on models known to, and respected by the people, together with the vigorous administration of the police through the same channels, as were employed by the ancient Government, all these objects are provided for by your instructions to the provisional collectors, and are calculated to render the British Government equally popular, powerful and just.

33. I shall have the honour in a separate letter of acknowledging the receipt of your dispatches, transmitting the reports of Captain Pottinger and Captain Robertson, the Provisional Collectors of Ahmednagar and Poona, and of conveying His Lordship's sense of their meritorious execution of the duties of their respective stations and his sentiments on any part of the proceedings of those officers on which the communication of them may seem to be necessary

34. The allowances and establishments authorized by you for the Provisional Collectors, viz., Rupees 2,000 per mensem with an addition of 500 Rupees when travelling, are entirely approved and sanctioned by the Governor-General.

35 Those gentlemen will continue to act in the capacity you have assigned to them until further orders, and will proceed without delay to make a settlement of the Revenue for the ensuing year, and to ascertain the real resources of the country, with a view to future and more permanent arrangements.

36. His Lordship deems it especially incumbent on him to notice with approbation the conduct of Mr. Coats, whose zeal led him to offer his services to you on the first establishment of our authority in the city of Poona and whose knowledge of the place and the confidence reposed in him by the people rendered his assistance of great value in the infancy of our administration

37. His Lordship has particularly remarked, the attention paid by you to the suppression of plunderers in every part of our newly acquired possessions, and the protected territory of the Rajah of Satara. You justly attach the greatest importance to this object, and the ample means you have placed at the disposal of the local authorities, and the vigour and judgment with which they appear to have been applied, will His Lordship hopes, leave the effect of completely subduing that spirit, which has naturally been fostered and encouraged by the events of the last season. Your plans for the gradual conversion of the Military classes from their present habits to those of peaceful industry, for giving employment to them in the interval, and for sending back to their former occupations those who, not strictly belonging to the Military class, have been encouraged to embrace that mode of life by the measures pursued by the Peshwa before the war, and by the events that have followed, are eminently judicious, and will His Lordship doubts not, be attended with success in due time. In the mean while the conduct of this part of the population will demand your vigilant attention. You appear to have it in contemplation to require or encourage the Raja of Satara, as well as the great Jagirdars, to maintain, at least for a time, a stipulated quota of Horse as one means of effecting this object; and His Lordship entirely concurs in your opinion of the advantage of that measure.

38. His Lordship is happy to observe the reduction of Pritchutgarh in a manner highly creditable to Major Cunningham and the officers and troops under his command; and the partial successs that has already attended the operations undertaken by Captain Pottinger against Dharmaji Prataprao, which will no doubt conduce to the attainment of the desirable object of suppressing systematic and organized plunder.

39. The settlement of the Konkan will have been undertaken by the Governor in Council of Bombay, under whose immediate orders it has been reduced. It will be expedient to annex the northern portion at least of that conquest to that Presidency and possibly this may be the most advantageous mode of disposing of the whole of the late Peshwa's territories below the Ghats. You will be pleased to take this question into your considaration, and communicate your sentiments to the Governor in Council of Bombay who will be authorized to establish the authority of that Government in the Konkan to the extent you may recommend. The rest will remain under your management. Should you be of opinion, that the whole of the Konkan should be placed under the authority of the Government of Bombay, then you are requested to correspond with the Governor in Council relative to the most expedient line of boundary to be established between that district and the territories which will remain under your management and those of the Rajah of Satara, in any points in which the Ghats may not form a proper and natural boundary. With the eventual exception of the Konkan, it is the intention of

the Governor General that the whole of the territory acquired from the Peshwa, together with the cessions obtained from Holkar in Khandesh, should for the present be retained under your exclusive management. Probably this will continue to be the arrangement, until the final orders of the Hon'ble the Court of Directors can be received on the whole question. Indeed, as His Lordship now contemplates the subject, he will be inclined to recommend, that this system should continue for at least two or three years, but it is unnecessary to anticipate, in this place, all the considerations which suggest themselves to His Lordship's mind on this important question.

40 The territories to the South of the Kistna, have been under the entire management of Brigadier General Munro, and though His Lordship has not received any account of the details of that officer's operations for the settlement of the Civil administration of the districts occupied by him, His Lordship's entire confidence in the talents, experience and discretion of Brigadier General Munro leave him no room for doubt or apprehension on the subject. Should Brigadier General Munro be compelled to withdraw from the charge, you will probably deem it advisable to exercise more direct control over the administration of those provinces, and will especially take the management of the Southern Jagirdars into your own hands, aided to such extent, as you may find convenient and expedient, by Political Agent at Satara.

41 The Governor General has given his particular attention to your correspondence with Brigadier General Munro relative to the Southern Jagirdars, and entirely approve the principles on which you recommended that our policy towards them should be regulated The justice of your views and expectations have abandantly verified by the early relinquishment of the cause of Baji Rao by the whole body of the Southern Jagirdars, with the exception of Appa Desai and Rastiah and the relations of some of the others of inferior note, who appear to have been detained by compulsion. The active services of those Chiefs against the Peshwa, was not to be expected, and their declaration in our favour and remaining quiet, was justly regarded by you as constituting such a claim to the benefit of your declaration as to make it highly expedient to admit it, subject only to the right to require their assent to such modifications as we might desire not at variance with the principles of the articles of Pandharpur

42. His Lordship concludes that Brigadier General Munro will have proceeded to settle with the Jagirdars who come within the above description on this principle. Until the details of that officer's proceedings shall be known to the Governor General, it would be premature to state any particular observations in addition to the sanction now given to the general principle of the arrangement. The following remarks, however, will serve to show the general colour of His Lordship's views with regard to these chiefs.

43. The knowledge possessed by you, and Brigadier General Munro, of the interests and dispositions of the Jagirdars with relation to the Government and to each other, and the manner in which their relations with us as well as among themselves can best be simplified and improved for the benefit of all parties, will have enabled you to introduce the modifications that may be most conducive to those objects. The articles of Pandharpur and the Tynaut Zabitas to which the former have reference, seem sufficiently to define the relations between the Government and the Jagirdars and it is not the intention, or the wish, of the Governor General to extend over them any authority not countenanced by those engagements, while they shall continue faithful and obedient. Above all, his Lordship has no design of introducing into the territories of the Jagirdars our system of administration in any of its branches. His Lordship conceives the British Government to be entitled, however, to require the establishment by the Jagirdars themselves of such an internal course of management as by maintaining the peace of their own districts shall prevent them from becoming dangerous to the tranquillity of the neighbouring possessions of the Government. Some stipulations for preventing their lands from being converted into harbour for offenders endeavouring to escape the vigilance of our police will also be expedient, and may justly be demanded.

44. His Lordship thinks it essential that the quota of Horse which the Jagirdars are bound to maintain by the existing engagements should be reduced to a standard, which will enable them really to keep them up. His Lordship is aware, that this subject has received your attention. When the quotas are once fixed on this improved principle, the Jagirdars should be required to keep up the stipulated number with punctuality; some regulations with regard to Muster and to the quality of men and Horses will probably be necessary, but on all other points the Jagirdars will not be under any other restrictions than they were heretofore.

45. The case of Appa Desai, and of the other Chiefs who adhered to Baji Rao after the period indicated in the proclamations and letters circulated by you, must be separately considered. Appa Desai must, of course, forfeit Mohouly and Chichory, which are to be transferred to the Raja of Kolhapur, whose fidelity and general good conduct has given him a strong claim to our consideration. These districts must be relinquished by Appa Desai without equivalent, and indeed His Lordship apprehends, that he has justly subjected himself to the forfeiture of all his Saranjami lands. It is a question, of which His Lordship will be desirous to receive the opinion of you and Brigadier General Munro, how far this measure should be enforced, and you will have considered yourselves at liberty, under your general powers, to determine it on the spot. His Lordship thinks that, in no view of the case, ought Appa Desai to receive back any part of the land that were resumed by the Peshwa before the war, and that he should

also be deprived of the Chout assigned to him in the territories of the Nizam. You will consider yourself at liberty, however, to relax the strictness of this provision, if you deem it expedient on grounds of policy.

46. None of the Jagirdars appear to have merited the boon of an addition to their former saranjamy held out as the reward of early and unequivocal declaration in our favour and active support of our cause, and the Governor General sees no reason for diminishing the proper resources of the Government by such liberality to any of them. The Desai of Kittoor, whose conduct appears to have given satisfaction to Brigadier General Munro from the beginning, may be an exception, and if you and Brigadier General Munro should regard him in this light, His Lordship will be prepared to confirm any grant you may make to him.

47. The Governor General is not prepared to state anything regarding Rastia, and the other Chiefs who have retired, until he shall reveive a further communication of your views. The singular ingratitude and inconsistency of Rastia's conduct entitle him to no consideration beyond what our motive of humanity may suggest.

48. The Vinchoorkar having adhered to Baji Rao to the last, however creditable such conduct may be to his fidelity towards his master, he can have no claim to the kindness of the British Government. You are aware that his former possessions in Hindustan have been already alienated, and that Oattcar has been represented by the Government of Bombay, as constituting so valuable an accession to that country to render it highly inexpedient to relinquish it. Anything that may be retained by the Vinchoorkar beyond his Enam lands, which it is your purpose to leave even to those who adhered to Baji Rao to the last, must be regarded as purely gratuitous. His Lordship is, indeed, not yet prepared to say, whether any such favour will be expediently extended to that Chief. He has determined to attend Baji Rao to Hindustan, and his conduct during the journey may perhaps in some degree affect the decision on his case. This is a point on which His Lordship wishes you to exercise your judgment with reference to the influence, our conduct towards this chief and others similarly situated may have, on the interests specially entrusted to your charge.

49. All the Jagirdars will be feudatories of the British Government, with the exception of two or three, whom it may be expedient to place in that relation to the Rajah of Satara either on account of their connection with that prince's family, the situation of their lands, or other considerations. It is an object to uphold his dignity by giving him this species of supremacy over a certain number of Chiefs; but His Lordship apprehends that a general transfer to him of the obligations of the Jagirdars

would be raising him to an influence and authority beyond what good policy would enjoin, and it is moreover to be borne in mind that the consent of the Jagirdars, generally, would be necessary to warrant such an arrangement with reference to their interest.

50. The Jagirdars whom it is proposed to attach to the Raja are the Pratinidhi, the Pant Suchiv Jam Rao Nimbalkar, and the Rajah of Aukulkot. The condition of the Rajah of Akalkot may possibly be affected by the interchanges for territory which it may be necessary to make with the Nizam for the improvement of the common frontier.

51. I now proceed to state to you the sentiments of the Governor General on the arrangements you have made relative to the new state to be founded for the Rajah of Satara, and His Lordship's instructions on such points connected with this subject as appear to require them.

52. His Lordship has perused with great satisfaction your instructions to Captain Grant, whose provisional appointment to conduct those arrangements and the affairs of the Raja is quite approved by His Lordship. Your supposition, that His Lordship would wish the extent and value of the territories to be assigned to the Rajah of Satara to be calculated to render that state the means of providing for a portion of the soldiery of the country, and likewise of maintaining some of the civil and religious orders whom it might be difficult to dispose of under our Government in addition to the objects specially stated in my dispatch of the 15th of December, was perfectly correct.

53. The limits proposed by you for the state of Satara are entirely consistent with the views of the Governor General who does not conceive, that the objects of its establishment could well be answered if it were placed on an inferior scale. His Lordship would propose to carry it to the full extent of the ancient territory of the Peshwa Eastward, subject to such cessions and interchanges of territories as it may be convenient to adjust with the Nizam. It will be necessary, His Lordship imagines, that the heads of the Ghats to the Westward should be possessed by the British Government. In other respects, the whole territory, formerly belonging to the Peshwa, between the Niera to the North of the Kistna and the Warna to the South of the Nizam's possessions on the East and the Ghats on the West, will belong to the Raja of Satara, subject to the reservation above stated regarding the Jagirdars whom it will not be expedient to make dependent on the Rajah, although some of their territories lie within the general limits above described. All resumed lands within these limits will be annexed to the territories of the state of Satara. The suggestions regarding the lands of the Pratinidhi and others contained in your instructions are entirely concurred in by the Governor General.

54. The course pointed out in your instructions to Captain Grant of taking possession, in the first instance, of the whole country in the name of the British Government, and the other measures directed to the assumption and maintenance of the supremacy of that Government, are entirely approved. This object must be kept in mind in all the arrangements connected with the establishment of this state, and the Rajah must be taught to understand the true nature of his relations with the British Government. The General tenor of your instructions to Captain Grant on this point appear to be extremely well calculated for the purpose. This object must, however, be carefully kept distinct from an habitual and systematic interference with the internal administration of the country, after it shall have begun to be conducted by the Rajah and his immediate ministers. It appears to the Governor General to be essential to the respectability of the Rajah's Government, to its efficiency as a subordinate ally of the British Government, and to the success of the whole arrangement, that while he is politically controlled by the British power, he should feel himself, in his internal Government and the exercise of his authority over his own subjects, free and independent.

55. The circumstances that may tend to facilitate or obstruct the completion of the present arrangement are correctly stated by you, and the measures enjoined in your instructions to Captain Grant for improving the one and counteracting the other, are in all respects judicious. The necessity for the general details of the administration being conducted by Captatin Grant, in the present inexperience of the Rajah and his ministers, is obvious, and the rules you have prescribed for his guidance in the performance of this important duty are perfectly approved. The principles of Government on which they are founded should be carefully inculcated in the mind of the Rajah and his ministers, and should become then rule of action when the Raja shall assume the administration of his own affairs; and it will be a matter of great satisfaction of the Governor General, to witness the arrival of the period when this authority may safely be reposed in the Raja. With a view to facilitate it, and to secure as far as possible the success of the Raja's administration, it seems expedient, that Captain Grant should endeavour to employ in the details of the Government those persons who would naturally be the instruments of the Rajah, and who will thus acquire experience and habits of business, and a knowledge of those principles of Government by which the administration of their native Prince should be guided.

56. The line of conduct which you have directed Captain Grant to pursue towards the Rajah and the members of his family is perfectly proper and considerate, being visibly calculated to win his confidence and secure his attachment. Your opinion of the personal character and disposition of the Raja, as far as

it has yet developed itself is very encouraging, and His Lordship is happy to perceive from one of your later dispatches, No. 76, the Captain Grant was gradually getting the better of the defects observed by you in the Court of Satara.

57. Captain Grant's success in reducing Forts and in bringing the country generally into order, as reported in his dispatches to you, of which copies have been transmitted to the Governor General, and the general aspect of affairs in that quarter, have afforded the Governor General much satisfaction.

58. The restraints to be imposed on the Rajah's foreign correspondence are a necessary result of the relation in which he stands towards the British Government. They will, of course, not be enforced in a manner to wound his feelings and if the object and nature of them be skilfully rendered familiar to his mind, it is not probable, that they will be regarded as in any degree irksome.

59. It does not appear necessary to touch on any other points of your instructions to Captain Grant, which appear throughout to partake of the same correct and enlightened views of humanity and policy which have characterized your general administration.

60. When the boundaries are settled, and the extent of the Rajah's territories and that to remain in Jagir dependent on him is defined, it will be expedient to reduce the conditions of the grant, and the several provisions with which it is accompanied, to the form of a treaty, with a specification of the lands forming his possessions. It will be necessary also to settle the amount and description of the Rajah's military establishments, with a view both to the general efficiency of his Government, and to the object of providing for a position of the Marhatta Sirdars and soldiery whose habits will render them unfit for employment under our Government. These definitive engagements may, however, be expediently postponed till the practical success of the arrangement has been in some measure ascertained.

61. The salary of 2,000 rupees per mensem assigned by you to Captain Grant, with permission to charge his expenses to the extent of Rs. 1,500 per mensem, is sanctioned; as well as the authority to charge his office establishment separately. His Lordship also sanctions the allowance of rupees 500 per mensem assigned by you to Balaji Pant Nathoo exclusive of his pension.

62. I shall have the honour in a separate dispatch to communicate to you His Lordship's views and instructions relative to the most expedient exchanges of territory with His Highness the Nizam, for the purpose of improving the frontier of the possessions of the two states. The plan will include the cession proposed to be made to the Nizam from the territories acquired by the

British Government from the state of Nagpur, and the equivalent it may seem reasonable to require from the Nizam's Government in return for those cessions, and the relinquishment of the Peshwa's claims which have devolved on the British Government; after providing a suitable remuneration to His Highness for the zealous and liberal co-operation afforded by his Government during the late operations. Corresponding instructions will be issued at the same time to the Residents at Hyderabad and Nagpur.

63. The Governor General directs me to signify to you his perfect probation of your reception of Chemnajee Appa, after his separation from his brother's interests, of your prompt and humane attention to his distresses and the means you took to relieve them.

64. His Lordship perceives by your correspondence with the Government of Bombay, enclosed in your letter to me of the 12th, of June, *the only dispatch on the subject that has yet been* received; that Basseen has been fixed on for the residence of Chimnajee, and that you do not consider his vicinity to the scene of his brother's late power to be likely to produce any *inconvenience. You will have inferred, since the conclusion of* the arrangement under which Baji Rao will probably reside at Benares, that the removal of Chimnajee to that city might have been objectionable on that special ground. His Lordship is satisfied, that your assent would not have been given to any arrangement, for Chimnajee likely to create embarrassment, and His Lordship is disposed to believe, that the quiet character, and moderate talents and influence of Chimnajee, will preclude any such consequence from his residence at Basseen. You will, of course, observe his conduct with vigilance, and be prepared on the first appearance of any suspicions proceeding on his part to interfere effectively for the prevention of his designs. You will, of course, have reported the nature and amount of provisions you propose to assign to him. No letter on this subject, however, has yet reached headquarters.

65. The arrangements you may propose to make in favour of any of the late Peshwa's ministers, as well as the mode and extent of reward to be conferred on persons who have adhered to us through the late contest, will also, doubtless form the subject of an early report, so that Government may know the amount of deduction on this head from the resources of the newly acquired territory.

66. The attention shown by you to the wife of Baji Rao and your anxiety to contribute to her comfort, were highly approved by the Governor General, as was the humane and liberal treatment she experienced from Lieutenant Colonel Prother on the surrender of Raigarh.

67. The foregoing paragraphs comprehend all the observations which have appeared to the Governor General to be required on the material points detailed in your dispatches and to convey to you a sufficient exposition of His Lordship's views and sentiments relative to the measures actually in progress, or remaining to be executed in order to complete the settlement of the late Peshwa's country. I shall have the honour to address you, separately on several subsidiary and minor questions on which communications have been received from you.

68. The character of the war and the natural consequences of so complete a revolution in the Government, must naturally preclude the expectation of any material accession of Revenue from these territories during the current season. Considerable remission, indeed, would seem to be essential both for the relief of the people and to avoid at the outset of our Government the odium of pressing them too hard. It is the hope of His Lordship, however, that the value of these acquisitions will soon begin to be felt and the measures taken by the collectors under your orders, are calculated to effect the realization of the revenue in a manner creditable to our name, and little burthensome to the country. It will be satisfactory to His Lordship to receive at an early period as may be practicable an account of the collections and expenditure of the present season, and you are requested to forward to the Accountant-General at Fort William, monthly statements in abstract of the collections, disbursements, and balance of the preceding month. You will be pleased also to correspond with the Accountant-General respecting the appropriation of the surplus revenue, after payment of the current charges.

69. The military provisions that will be requisite for the service of those provinces is another point on which His Lordship is desirous of receiving an early report from you, after consulting with Brigadier General Smith. The arrangement and dispositions actually in force must probably continue for the present, but after some months of peace, and when the remains of insurrection shall be subdued, and the province of Khandesh tranquilized and settled, it will be necessary to consider the question, with reference to that supposed state of circumstances. It will also be necessary to consider and determine what garrisons are to be permanently formed of regular troops, and to place the Forts in a proper state of security. In all these arrangements the utmost attention will be paid by you to economy, as far as that object may be consistent with our real strength and safety.

70. As the auxiliary force must still be maintained for a time both with a view to the object, adverted to in a preceding paragraph, of finding employment for a portion of the Native Soldiery, and as furnishing a description of troops very useful for the service on which they are likely to be required at the commencement of the new Government, His Lordship is disposed to

hope, that some early reduction of the regular troops now in the province, under your charge may be practicable, even though a permanent allotment of the force to be stationed in them may still be postponed. Your attention will be directed to this object at your earliest leisure from more pressing duties.

71. The Governor General having taken into consideration the nature and extent of the duties assigned to you under the instructions of the 15th of December, and those contained in this dispatch, far exceeding in variety, difficulty, and responsibility those of a Resident, or indeed almost any other class of functionary in India, it has appeared to His Lordship no more than equitable to place your allowance on a corresponding footing. His Lordship has accordingly been pleased to determine, that from the 15th of December, the date of your appointment to be sole Commissioner, you shall draw a personal salary of rupees fifty thousand per annum with authority to charge your expenses to the public.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

On the Ganges near Mongheer : (Sd.) J. ADAM,
The 14th July 1818. Secy. to the Governor General.

Letter No. 9.—The letter has an enclosure which conveys the approbation of Government of the conduct of Lieutenant Low in escorting Baji Rao to northern India. He is instructed to take him to Allahabad for residence.

FROM—J. ADAM, CHIEF SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT.

To—R. JENKINS, RESIDENT AT NAGPUR.

Fort William, the 19th September 1818.

I am directed by the Governor General in Council to transmit to you, for your information, the accompanying copy of a letter which has this day been addressed to Lieutenant Low.

To—LIEUTENANT LOW.

SIR,

The Governor General in Council has received from Brigadier General Sir John Malcolm, a copy of his instructions to you, for your guidance in the execution of the important trust confided to you of conducting Bajee Rao to Hindustan.

2. The Governor General in Council has received a very favourable impression of your temper, talents, and qualifications, from an observation of the highly satisfactory manner in which you have discharged your public duty since you have acted in the capacity of assistant to Sir John Malcolm, and His Lordship in Council entirely approves of that officer's selection of you for the present service, both for the reasons stated on account of the degree in which you have acquired the confidence of Baji Rao and his principal adherents, and a knowledge of the pecularities of his character and his ordinary principles of action. The tenor of Sir John Malcolm's instructions to you is also approved, as well as the nomination of Lieutenant Low to act as your Assistant with a salary of rupees 300 per mensem which is confirmed.

3. Adverting to the nature and extent of the duties assigned to you, their peculiar delicacy and importance, and the unremitting vigilance, their due execution will require, the Governor General in Council deems it proper that you should receive a personal salary of rupees 1,000 per mensem (including your salary as First Assistant to the Resident with Holkar) and that you should be permitted to charge to the public your actual expenses under the ordinary rules.

4. The Governor General in Council has perused your letter of the 24th of August, enclosing a copy of the letter addressed by you to Major General Sir David Ochterlony, the tenor of which is entirely approved.

5. The only point connected with Baji Rao's condition, on which immediate instructions are required, is the place of his future residence. The numerous objections existing to his being established at Benares renders it a matter of much satisfaction to the Governor General in Council that Baji Rao has relinquished the wish of residing there. It is to be regretted, however, that his choice should now be fixed on Muttra, to which objections of a different nature though not less powerful, present themselves and it is much to be desired that he should be dissuaded from fixing his abode there.

6. Besides the places mentioned in the 48th paragraph of my dispatch to Sir John Malcolm of the 8th of July, Allahabad has occurred to the Governor General in Council as one very free from objection, and likely, on the other hand, to be acceptable to Baji Rao, from the supposed sanctity of the spot. His Lordship in Council will, therefore, very much approve your endeavour to give this direction to his wishes.

7. There will, His Lordship in Council conceives, be no difficulty in providing good accommodation for him there, either in the town or in some of the houses constructed for the residence of English Gentlemen, which with some additions may be rendered perfectly commodious.

8. It will, of course, be your care to remove from his mind, if it should be entertained, any impression of its being proposed to lodge him in the fort, to which unquestionably he will have a decided repugnance.

9. You will be pleased to continue to correspond directly with me on all points connected with your present duties and to report from time to time your progress and proceedings.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

Fort William:
The 19th September 1818.

(Sd.) JOHN ADAM,
Chief Secy. to Government.

Letter No. 10.—This letter has three important enclosures. The first one is very important inasmuch as it conveys to Elphinstone the views and instructions of the Governor-General in Council pertaining to the settlement of the affairs of the Peshwa's territories recently acquired. All aspects of the question, political, administrative and military have been discussed. The main objectives of the British Government have been set forth. The modes of dealing with the refractory and loyal jagirdars, with the Holkar, Gaikwar, and the Raja of Satara, and with the hill tribes have been reviewed. Revenue collection, dispensation of justice, religious foundations and starting of colleges, have also been discussed.

The second enclosure conveys the directions of the Governor-General to the Governor of Bombay for the immediate annexation of the whole of Konkan to the Presidency of Bombay and his determination "to liberate the Gaikwar from the annual payment due to the Peshwa's government according to the treaty of Poona and now become due to the British Government by virtue of its accession to the sovereignty of the Peshwa."

The third enclosure intimates the views of the Governor-General regarding certain territorial adjustments between the Nizam and the British. The Nizam was to be offered territories belonging to the Peshwa, the Holkar and the Bhonsla worth 14 lacs and required to cede the territories to the eastward of the Wardha, between the Toongbhadra and the Krishna, and between Seena and the Bhima. The Nizam further will not be required to pay the Chouth he paid to the Peshwa, which the British Government could claim from him by virtue of their accession to Peshwa's authority. These concessions to the Nizam, it is pointed out, are disproportionate to the services rendered by him in the late war but they have been inspired by a sense of liberality.

FROM—J. ADAM, CHIEF SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT.

To—R. JENKINS, RESIDENT AT NAGPUR.

Fort William, the 26th September 1818.

I am directed to transmit to you the enclosed copies of letters addressed on this date to Mr. Elphinstone, to the Resident at Hyderabad and the Chief Secretary at Bombay.

2. You will perceive from my letter to Mr. Russell, that it is the intention of the Governor-General in Council to require from the Nizam the cession of the possessions and rights of His Highness East of the Wardha, with a view to their transfer to the Rajah of Nagpur, and you are requested to correspond with Mr. Russell on the subject, as well as regarding the cession to the Nizam of the territories to the West of that river obtained from the state of Nagpur. It is of course intended to exclude from the latter arrangement such of the personal possessions of the Raja or his relations and principal ministers as it is usual to permit personages of that description to retain in similar cases of alienation of territory. You will probably have furnished Mr. Russell with statements of such lands, but in all cases of the kind it will be necessary to apply to Government and obtain the sanction of His Lordship in Council to the reservation.

To—THE HON'BLE MOUNTSTUART ELPHINSTONE

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch No. 78, dated the 18th of June, containing a general view of the measures adopted and proposed by you for the settlement of the Peshwa's late territory and stating such facts and observations relative to that subject as are calculated to assist the judgment of the Governor-General in Council, in deciding on the important questions which that dispatch presents for deliberation.

2. You will since have received my dispatch to your address of the 14th of July containing the instructions of the Governor-General in Council, on the most material points connected with the settlement of the country acquired from the Peshwa formed on the information derived from your previous reports, and from an attentive consideration of the facts and circumstances which had come to His Lordship's knowledge during the course of the war. His Lordship in Council perceives with satisfaction that those instructions correspond in principle, and with few exceptions, in detail with the views entertained by you and unfolded in the dispatch now referred to. The coincidence of opinion on the general

question, and the ample discretion with which you were vested by the Governor-General, will have enabled you to proceed without interruption or embarrassment to carry into effect the measures best suited to the attainment of the objects in view, even in those cases in which the exact mode of proceeding pointed out in the instructions, did not entirely accord with that proposed by you under a nearer view of circumstances and a more accurate knowledge of details.

3. In communicating to you by the direction of His Lordship in Council the further remarks suggested by the perusal of your dispatch now acknowledged, the occasion be taken of adverting to the few and comparatively unimportant points in which a difference of sentiment has occurred, and of stating to you the matured opinion of the Governor-General in Council on each.

4. The general view taken by you of the different divisions of the country which the result of the war with Baji Rao has placed at our disposal, the distinctive character, habits and feelings of the inhabitants of each, and the influence of those circumstances on their future conduct and consequently on the stability and ease of our rules is interesting and important, and furnishes information which cannot fail to be useful in regulating our administration of those countries and our treatment of the allies, and dependents of the Government by whom a considerable portion of it will continue to be held. The completion of the conquest of lands since the date of your letter, and the consequent extinction of the remains of Baji Rao's authority throughout his late territories, the capture of Trimbakjee Dainglia and Dharmajee Pratap Rao and the suppression of the insurrection headed by the pretender Chatter Singh have improved the general condition of our affairs and contributed to the consolidation of our power and must necessarily have facilitated the introduction of those arrangements in which you are now engaged.

5. The statement given by you of the revenue of the territories of the late Peshwa remaining in the hands of the British Government after meeting all the demands on us arising from the circumstances under which they were acquired is satisfactory, and appears to have been framed by you on such cautious and moderate principles as to afford just grounds for the belief, that no disappointment will be experienced through any unexpected defalcation. The necessity of considerable remission during the current year has been already recognized, but any immediate sacrifices of this nature cannot justly be regarded as an ultimate loss to the state, since the good effect of this early indulgence will not fail to be seen in an extended cultivation in succeeding years, and a permanent improvement in the growing resources of the country.

6. According to your statements the total clear revenue which we shall derive from the acquisition of the territory, supposing the expenses of the Civil Administration not to exceed those of Bajee

Rao, and the Military charge to be met by the cession of Bassein and Poona, which may reasonably be expected, is calculated at Rupees 31,00,000 per annum for the first and it is further hoped that by a considerable reduction of the charge of the auxiliary force, such an addition will be made to our clear revenue from the source as will make the whole not less than 50,00,000 from the close of the ensuing year.

7. In framing this calculation, you have provided for all the demands on the British Government arising out of its accession to the power and dominion of the Peshwa, and the consequent necessity of providing in a suitable manner for many contingencies referable to the particular circumstances of the case.

8. I shall proceed to advert to each of these in the order in which they stand in your dispatch.

9. The Governor-General has already signified to you his entire assent to the force of those considerations which induced you to extend the original objects of the establishment of the Rajah of Sattara in an independent sovereignty and the consequent enlargement of the territory to be conferred on that prince. The limits of the territory to be thus appropriated as described in your instructions to Captain Grant of the 8th April, and in the dispatch now acknowledged, are perfectly approved. The testimony now borne by you to the good conduct of the Rajah since the formation of his connection with the British Government naturally confirms this view of the question and will induce His Lordship in Council to approve of the extension of his territory to the widest limits you have proposed and to place under his authority those of the Jagirdars whose possessions fall within those general limits with the exception of the Patwardhans. The particular case of Sholapur will perhaps require to be separately considered, and must depend on a good measure on the interchanges of territory to be effected with the Nizam, to which reference will be made in a subsequent part of this dispatch. It will be proper to make some provision for the security of these Jagirdars, and your attention is very properly directed to that object. In concluding the final arrangements with the Rajah to which these remarks and the 52nd and following paragraphs of my dispatch of the 14th of July refer. you will keep this matter in view.

10. You will exercise your discretion with regard to the period when it will be proper to conclude a formal treaty with the Rajah.

11. The entire separation of the Rajah from the former dependents of his nominal state is fundamental and indispensable principle of the present arrangement. His new Jagirdars ought however, to be more to look to him as their immediate superior, and their contingents should form a portion of the Horse which the Raja is to be bound to bring forward for the service of the British Government.

12. It is provided that the Rajah's administration is to be conducted for the present under the superintendence of the British Agent, but it is expedient, that the name and authority of the Rajah should be employed in all formal public acts, both to accustom his future subjects to the exercise of his authority, and to give his proper weight and dignity in their eyes and as the best means of giving an undisputed legal sanction to those acts.

13 The whole tenor of your sentiments and proceedings and those of Brigadier General Munro relative to the Southern Jagir dars has received the approbation of the Governor General in Council In the expectation however, of receiving a detailed report from you or from Brigadier General Munro of the arrangements made or in progress with those chiefs His Lordship in Council refrains at the present time from offering any particular remarks on this important branch of the general settlement.

14. In my dispatch of the 14th of July, I stated the Governor General's opinion, that Appa Desai had forfeited all claims to indemnification for Chickorey and Manouly besides incurring further penalties. You have in your dispatch now replied to take a more favourable view of Appa Desai's claim to consideration, and the Governor General in Council will be fully prepared notwithstanding the opinion above expressed to consent to any arrangement in his favour which you or Brigadier General Munro may have led him to expect or which you may think it proper to concede on grounds of expediency His Lordship considers it to be equitable, that any compensation to be made to Appa Desai for his claims on the Nizam's territories which under the sanction now given may be admitted should be borne by the Government of Hyderabad

15 In the former instructions also, it was observed that the amount of the contingent of each Jagirdar should be reduced to the scale which he might reasonably be expected to maintain. It is inferred from a passage in your dispatch however, that a tacit acquiescence in their furnishing only a fourth part of the stipulated quota is preferred by you to any change in the terms of the Iynaat Zabita The Governor General in Council has of course no objection to this arrangement, if you see any particular reason for giving it the preference over a reduced quota fixed by regular engagement.

16 The opinions expressed by you relative to the advantage of resuming the Jagirs of the second class of Jagirdars, who hold lands for the payment of troops, and who did not quit the cause of Baji Rao on the first summon, accord with those of the Governor General in Council, and you will act on this principle, except when particular circumstances may render it expedient to make an exception The proposal for allowing this class of persons and the other holders of lands for their personal expenses to

retain the enjoyment of the last mentioned grants, is founded on principles of wise and liberal policy, and has the perfect concurrence and sanction of the Governor General in Council subject to such special arrangements and provisions as you may judge necessary in apportioning the grants, with a view to make distinctions according to individual desert, and to leave at the same time some fund to provide for persons similarly entitled to considerations but who did not derive their support from grants of land.

17. Your propositions regarding the maintenance of the religious institutions of the country are entirely approved and adopted by the Governor General in Council. Those which have been confirmed by the proclamation of Satara or other public declaration must of course be supported on present footing, but His Lordship in Council fully concurs with you in the propriety both on grounds of economy and morality of substituting for the indiscriminate charities or rather alms-giving of Bajee Rao some useful and permanent institution for the benefit of the community. Your suggestions for the foundation of a Hindoo College at each of the sacred towns of Nasik and Wai. is approved by the Governor General in Council who requests you to submit further details of the plan you would propose and the extent of the endowment.

18. The employment of the Military classes is a subject of the first importance, and has naturally and properly occupied much of your attention as well as that of the Governor General in Council. The views and plans you have formed on this subject are regarded as extremely correct, and you will consider yourself at liberty to prosecute them in the manner you propose.

19. The establishment of the state of Sattara and the obligation to be imposed on the great Jagirdars to maintain a certain number of Horse will occupy a portion of this class. The measures in progress for reducing gradually the auxiliary Horse will perhaps create vacancies in that Corps sufficient to enable you during the ensuing season to furnish employment for a further number, which will of course have the effect of keeping a still greater proportion at their homes, in expectation of similar service. By these expedients for a time it may reasonably be hoped that the Horse-men thrown out of employment by the dissolution of the late Government and the other events of the war, will be kept from disturbing the county while the progress of our authority and the gradual operation of time and nature will reduce the number of this class of military adventurers to such a scale as to render them of little consequence. The expense to be incurred in these measures, ought not to exceed the sum allotted to the auxiliary Horse, and it is very satisfactory to His Lordship in Council to observe the confidence with which you anticipate the early reduction of that charge to half its actual amount.

20 The Infantry of the late Government will as you remark find employment as Sebundee or Revenue peons and they are not calculated to be so troublesome in the present state of India as the Horse. The Arabs are an exception, and as they are totally unfit for our service, and of turbulent and licentious habits, there seems no resource but acting against them with vigor wherever they collect until they are broken and disarmed or compelled to quit the country

21 You are authorised to assign suitable but moderate pensions to such of the officers of the late Peshwa's service as are not provided for by having their personal Jagirs left to them.

22. The arrangement you propose regarding the civil officers of the late Government, and some of the old Ministers of the Poona state reduced to poverty by the persecution of Baji Rao, are entirely approved by the Governor General in Council. Your excluding from these arrangements those individuals who remained with Baji Rao to the last, is also approved

23 The pensions to Baji Rao and Chimaji Appa will of course be a charge on the revenue of the conquered country and the Governor General in Council sanctions the eventual appropriation of the further sum of two Lakhs for unexpected claims not provided for in your other calculations, including a provision for the family of Ganga Dhar Shashtri which it is equally just, liberal and politic for the British Government to grant

24. Adverting to the nature and origin of the claims of the Peshwa's Government on the Gaikwar as settled by the terms of the treaty of Poona to the degree in which the Gaikwar's interests have been involved with our own in the transactions that led to the late revolution, as well as to the fidelity and zeal with which the Government of Baroda has performed the duty of an ally during the late war, the Governor General in Council considers it to be expedient and equitable to relieve the Gaikwar from the payment of the annual tribute of five lacks of Rupees per annum. Instructions of which a copy will accompany this dispatch will be transmitted to the Government of Bombay on the subject. Considering the benefit which the Government of Baroda will have thus acquired in the course of the late transactions, it will not be unequitable to render the completion of this grant a means of inducing the Gaikwar to give his assent to any of the remaining objects we have in view at that Court.

25 The settlement to be made with the Nizam is more complicated as they involve all the claims of the Peshwa's Government on the state of Hyderabad, besides various questions of exchange of territory and mutual concessions. The scale of His Highness's exertions in the prosecution of the war entitle him to the greatest consideration As the negotiation for the adjustment of these claims and the pecuniary and territorial arrangements

arising out of them must be carried on at Hyderabad, I have been desired on this account, as well as to avoid the unnecessary extension of this dispatch to transmit His Lordship's instructions on these subjects to Mr. Russell. A copy of the instructions to Mr. Russell will accompany this dispatch and you will be pleased to correspond with him on all points connected with these arrangements.

26. The result of your calculations of the clear revenue that will remain to the British Government from the conquered territory has already been adverted to, His Lordship in Council, observes that you have not included in your statements the amount of the revenue of Holkar's share of Khandesh, although inconsiderable at present it may be expected to increase with the general improvement of the country.

27. On considering the mode pointed out by you for augmenting our immediate revenue, it has appeared to the Governor General in Council on the whole, to be better not to depart from the arrangements already contemplated for the sake of that object, since it must be acquired by some corresponding sacrifice of another kind.

28. The annexation to our territory of the lands of Rastia and of Gokhla between the Neera and the Krishna, though it would increase our direct revenue would proportionally circumscribe that of the Rajah of Satara whom it is a great object to maintain in dignity and ease. These lands would moreover be separated from our other territories, and intermixed with the possessions of the Raja or those of his Jagirdars or of ours, and though this is a minor objection and would not operate against the adoption of the plan were it otherwise expedient, it adds force to other objections.

29. The tranquillity of the country and the future success of our administration is so much involved in the grant of liberal provisions to the civil and military officers of the late Government that the Governor General in Council would feel very much averse to sanction any reduction of the amount appropriate to that purpose. Many of these are for life, and will ultimately increase the revenue of Government, and they will indirectly have the same effect by their influence in the general prosperity and productiveness of our possessions. The Governor General in Council does not by any means contemplate a general resumption of the Jagirs especially those held by military officers. Every fair occasion however should be taken to resume or curtail Jagirs falling in by the death of the holder.

30. The reasons already assigned for relieving the Gaikwar from the tribute fixed by the treaty of Poona, appear to the Governor General in Council to be conclusive in favour of that arrangement.

31 The extent of concession in favour of the Nizam will be discussed in its proper place.

32 On the whole then, it is the opinion of the Governor General in Council that our real and permanent interest, will be better consulted by confining our immediate possessions and revenues within the limits assigned by you, trusting to the reduction of charge and the increase of rent for the future improvement of our resources in this quarter

33 Both of these sources of increase may be expected to be considerable, when the services of the auxiliary force can be dispensed with, and the progressive establishment of our authority and the tranquilization of the country shall have extended cultivation and commerce and have given competence and security to the mass of the people.

34 I have already had the honour to convey to you the expression of the Governor General's full approbation of the principles on which you have proposed to establish the administration of the provinces which are to remain in our immediate possession

35 The tenor of my letter of the 14th of July will have prepared you for the assent of the Governor General in Council to the annexation of the whole of the Konkan to the Presidency at Bombay and the Right Hon'ble the Governor in Council, will have acted on the conditional authority conveyed to him in my letter of the same date to Mr Warden The right Hon'ble the Governor in Council will doubtless adopt all proper and necessary precautions for conciliating the inhabitants by an attention to their prejudices and institutions, and by providing a suitable maintenance for those who have lost their employment by the revolution.

36 The annexation to either of the established presidencies of the remaining territory does not require to be particularly attended to at present since you are aware of the resolution of the Government, that all the territory above the Ghats, including both Khandesh and the provinces south of the Kistna, shall remain for a term under a separate provisional administration to be conducted by you under the immediate authority of the Supreme Government The means of rendering this system efficient by affording you the aid of qualified and experienced public officers in the several departments, will occupy the particular attention of the Governor General in Council after receiving a statement of your sentiments and wishes in this respect and an intimation of the branches in which more extensive assistance than is immediately at your command is required

37 You will have seen from my dispatch of the 14th of July the decided repugnance of the Governor-General to the introduction of any comprehensive body of Regulations into the new provinces, and His Lordship's unqualified preference of a system founded on the existing institutions of the country, purified as far as may be

practicable from all gross abuse. Such system besides its immediate and obvious merits will be open to gradual and temperate reform founded on a mature and distinct consideration of each individual measure suggested by progressive experience, and our increasing knowledge of the genius and character of the people and of the structure of society as influenced by the civil and religious institutions of the state.

38. This system of administration besides the advantages just stated, will possess that of requiring a less expensive establishment of civil officers of large emolument, than a more perfect and artificial scheme of Government. The principal officers must however proportionally enjoy a larger authority and must be placed at footing which will set them above all temptation to abuse the confidence that under such a state of things must be reposed in the public agents of Government.

39. The provisional administration adopted by you and already approved, appears to be calculated for the attainment of these beneficial purposes. Further experience will naturally suggest improvements. In the mean while the Collectors will exercise the general powers of judicial, police and revenue officers in their respective districts subject to the general rules framed by you on the principles above stated.

40. You have already been apprized of the importance attached by the Governor-General in Council to the collection of all useful information in the Revenue Department. It is not less requisite in cases of judicial investigation of any importance, whether conducted by Panchayats or under the more immediate superintendence of the Collectors in their judicial capacity.

41. The powers confided to you by the Governor-General were distinctly intended to vest you with the highest criminal jurisdiction within the territory subject to your authority, and it is gratifying to His Lordship in Council to observe the moderation and discretion with which this important trust has been exercised and the case shown both in the investigation of charges by the Magistrate and in your subsequent revision to arrive at the truth.

42. The precaution of receiving the deliberate opinion of a Hindoo Lawyer in all cases of magnitude, and of adhering more especially on the side of mercy as strictly as is practicable consistently with our notions of criminal justice to the sanctions of the Hindu Law is perfectly approved. The reservation for your own confirmation of all capital sentences was a proper and necessary precaution, and the Governor-General in Council has seen every reason to be satisfied with the manner in which this branch of your executive functions has been performed in the cases which have come under this observation.

43. You have also wisely founded the administration of Civil justice on the existing institutions, and usages of the people. Such a system, while it not only secures in the most satisfactory manner

of which present circumstances admit, the ends of essential equity will form the best possible basis for such future ameliorations as the superior integrity and intelligence of the British Agents may enable them to introduce.

44. The degree of authority proposed to be left to the Mamlat dars under the orders of the Collector, and the smaller Jagirdars within their lands under the same supervision guarded by the regulations established by you, appears to be proper and calculated to combine the attainment of speedy justice with sufficient security against abuse. The greater Jagirdars who will still retain their personal Jagirs such as the Vinchoorkar and Poorunderee and others of this class, must be allowed a larger scope of authority and not be interfered with, except in cases of great injustice. The tenure by which they hold their lands entitles them to exercise this authority while it is not abused.

45 The Southern Jagirdars must of course also retain the powers they at present possess. This privilege is distinctly recog nised in my letter of the 14th of July and could not be invaded without a violation of their established and hereditary rights.

46 In the 40th paragraph of my letter of the 14th of July I stated the opinion of the Governor-General, that after the depar ture of Brigadier General Munro, you will find it expedient to take the management of the Southern Jagirdars into your own hands with such aid as you might think it proper to require from the Agent at Satara The reasons assigned by you however, for avoid ing any arrangement that may encourage the Jagirdars to look to Satara as the seat of authority or to keep their Vakeels there are considered by the Governor-General in Council to be just and con clusive, and His Lordship in Council will approve of your delegat ing such part of this duty as well as of the communications with the Rajah of Kolhapur as cannot conveniently be performed by yourself, to the Collector in the Southern districts. This officer may be permanently constituted the agent of Government for this purpose when the ultimate connection of the Southern districts to the Presidency of Fort St. George shall take place, a measure which you are aware is considered premature at the present moment.

47 The Governor-General in Council concurs in your opinion of the importance of maintaining a political agent in Khandesh until the country is more settled, and the numerous plunderers expelled or weaned from their predatory habits, and His Lordship has confirmed your nomination of Captain John Briggs to this responsible office. The settlement and collection of the Revenue and the Superintendence of the administration of justice in that Prov ince (including the districts ceded by Holkar) will form a part of the duties of the Agent. The evil of the intermixture of authorities in that province is strongly felt by the Governor-General in Council, who has under his consideration the means of consolidating the respective possessions of the British and Marahatta Governments in

that province by interchange of territory. As this plan is connected with other arrangements affecting the interests and claims of Sindhia and Holkar in other quarters, it must remain suspended for the present. In the mean while every effort must be made to restrain the officers of those Governments from impeding our plans. Representations will be addressed to both Durbars on the subject, and no hesitation is to be made in chastising at once any aggression on the part of their officers or subjects in cases requiring the prompt application of remedy. Notice should immediately be given on such occasions to the Residents at the Courts of Sindhia and Holkar, respectively that the circumstances may be fully explained and the misrepresentations of the other party anticipated.

48. The Governor-General in Council is disposed to concur in your view of the inexpediency of leaving to Holkar the possession of any portion of territory or rights in Khandesh and to restrict the indulgence rigidly to a few Enam villages, to which he is understood to attach much value as being the ancient hereditary possessions of his family. A limited grant of this nature under due restrictions will perhaps not be attended with the inconvenience apprehended from a more enlarged one necessarily involving the possession of extensive powers.

49. It is also His Lordship's purpose to endeavour to obtain from Sindhia by exchange the lands he has continued to hold in Ahmednagar and other parts of the late Peshwa's territories by a loose and abusive construction, with the connivance of the Peshwa of the stipulations of the 8th article of the Treaty of Surjee Anjangaon.

50. An arrangement with our Jagirdars for a consolidation of their lands now inconveniently intermixed is very desirable, and your attention should be directed to this object in the approaching territorial grants or confirmations.

51. Your plan for reclaiming the Bheel and other Hill Chiefs from their predatory habits as sketched in the dispatch now replied to and more particularly explained in the instructions given by you to Captain Griggs and Captain Pottinger, appears to the Governor-General in Council to be judicious and likely to be attended with success. You will accordingly consider yourself authorized to proceed in it.

52. The Governor-General in Council has already signified his approbation of the military arrangements for the provinces under your authority concerted by you and Brigadier General Smith. His Lordship in Council has also called on the Government of Fort St. George for a reinforcement for the Southern Districts which it is hoped will enable you to complete the disposition you have in view. His Lordship in Council fully concurs in your sentiments regarding the importance of maintaining an efficient force in the provinces under your charge during the infancy of our rule, both

for the encouragement of the well affected and industrious and to curb the disloyal and turbulent, who must necessarily for a while be numerous.

53 These are the only remarks and instructions that have been suggested to the Governor-General in Council by the perusal of your dispatch now acknowledged, but they will when combined with the general instructions conveyed to you in my former dispatch of the 14th of July and in the usual replies to your separate references to His Lordship's authority, on special points put you sufficiently in possession of the views and principles of the Governor-General in Council to enable you to establish the foundations, and provide for the gradual consolidation of a system of administration calculated not more to secure the just rights and promote the interests of Government than to place the happiness and prosperity of the people on a firm and permanent basis.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

(Sd.) J ADAM,

Chief Secretary to Government.

Fort William,
26th September 1818

To—FRANCIS WARDEN, ESQUIRE, CHIEF SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY.

Sir,

Since the dispatch of my letter to your address of the 14th of July the Governor-General in Council has received a further report from Mr Elphinstone relative to the settlement of the territories conquered from the late Peshwa in which he has recommended the immediate annexation of the whole of the Konkan to the Presidency of Bombay

2 His Lordship in Council thence concludes that the Right Hon'ble the Governor in Council will have acted on the conditional instructions conveyed in my letter of the 14h of July and have proceeded to introduce the authority of the Government of Bombay throughout that province.

3 The enclosed copy of the instructions this day addressed to Mr Elphinstone combined with those of the 14th of July formerly communicated, will apprize the Right Hon'ble the Governor in Council of the sentiments of this Government with regrad to the principles and objects to be kept in view in the establishment of our authority in the conquered country and the Governor in Council will, His Lordship doubts not, adopt any plans and arrangements to the views indicated in the instructions to Mr Elphinstone.

4. The Right Hon'ble the Governor in Council will be pleased to observe from the 23rd paragraph of the instructions to Mr. Elphinstone that the Governor General in Council has determined to liberate the Gaikwar from the annual payment to the Peshwa's Government stipulated by the treaty of Poona and now become due to the British Government by virtue of its accession to the sovereignty of the Peshwa.

5. In communicating this resolution to the Gaikwar, the Resident at Baroda will of course represent it as a free concession on the part of the British Government arising out of the considerations stated in the letter to Mr. Elphinstone, and as a practical proof of the advantage resulting to that state from a zealous and faithful performance of the obligations of the alliance.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

Fort William:
The 26th September 1818.

(Sd.) J. ADAM,
Chief Secretary to Government.

To—HENRY RUSSELL, ESQUIRE, RESIDENT AT HYDERABAD.

Sir,

I am directed to transmit to you the enclosed copy of a dispatch addressed on this day to Mr. Elphinstone, and to communicate to you the observations and instructions of the Governor-General in Council on the subject adverted to in the 25th paragraph of that dispatch.

2. The just pretensions of the Nizam's Government to share in the advantages derived from the success of our arms in the late war grounded on the zeal and fidelity with which it performed its duties as an ally of the Hon'ble Company, are fully admitted, and it is now to be considered how those pretensions can be best realized with mutual convenience to the two states.

3. It is scarcely necessary to promise, that the part taken by the Nizam in the late Campaign is by no means such as to entitle him to be considered a principal in the war, cordial and zealous as was the interest manifested by his Government, and praise-worthy as was the conduct of those of his troops engaged in the operations of the campaign he can only be viewed as an auxiliary in an enterprize undertaken chiefly for the security of his dominions; a security so fortunately established by the effort as to be of itself a most adequate recompence for His Highness's exertions.

4. The further contest which unexpectedly burst upon us was of a nature demanding the employment of the British resources in a proportion so much beyond any comparison with those brought forward by the Nizam's, that the two powers cannot be considered as standing on similar ground in regard to the issue. His Highness therefore can set up no claim to any thing like an equal participation with the British Government in the advantages acquired. In apportioning to His Highness his share of those advantages every obligation of equity and good faith will be fulfilled by preserving a fair proportion between the extent of His Highness's exertions with the consequent expense, and the value of the acquisition he will receive on a general comparison of the two without any attempt at minute accuracy.

5. Viewing then the actual services performed by the troops of the Nizam and the general co-operation of his Government contrasted with the degree of his obligations and the positive benefit he will derive from the success of the war in the security it has given him from predatory inroads alone, it would not be too much to say that his services would be aboundantly repaid by the acquisition of such portions of the territories of the Peshwa, the Rajah of Nagpur and Holkar as are situated within the general boundary of His Highness's dominions, as a permanent addition to his possessions.

6. The detached portions of the Peshwa's territory intermixed with those of the Nizam are stated by Mr. Elphinstone to yield in round numbers three Lakhs of Rupees per annum. Those of Holkar namely, Amber, Ellora, etc., are rated at about 5,00,000 per annum and the districts of Akool Argony, and others, lying under the Gawilgarh range of hills and ceded by the Rajah of Nagpur are understood to yield about 6,00,000 Lakhs of Rupees per annum after deducting all grants to individuals. If these statements are at all accurate, the Nizam would receive at once a permanent addition to his possessions of territory of the value of fourteen Lakhs of Rupees per annum. To this might be added the possessions of the Forts of Gawilgarh and Nernallah in the range of hills, if there be no political or military objection to their transfer to the Nizam, of the existence of which the Governor-General in Council is not at present aware. On this point however, it will be desirable to receive the opinion of the Resident at Nagpur, after he shall have consulted the military authorities with whom he is in communication.

7. Although perhaps by these cessions every just claim of the Nizam's would be fulfilled, the Governor-General in Council is prepared to manifest the liberality of the British Government by still further concessions in His Highness's favour which I shall now proceed to detail to you.

8. By the conquest of the Peshwa's territories and the subversion of his Dynasty, the British Government has succeeded to all the rights and claims of the state of which Bajee Rao was the head, and is at liberty to enforce or remit them according to its own views

of equity, policy and expediency. You are aware that claims to a very large amount on account of Chout and other dues were annually realized by the Peshwa's Government from the Nizam's Districts, and that still larger payments were claimed together with arrears of Chout which if established would have amounted to an enormous sum.

9. It is not necessary to recall to your recollection the measures taken by this Government with a view to the arbitration of the demands in question, or the circumstances which prevented the execution of that purpose. A reference to my letter to your address of the 17th of June 1814 will show, that under the view then taken of the subject by His Lordship in Council, on a consideration of all the circumstances before him there was a very slender probability of the Nizam's being able to repel the demands of the other party, and that the Governor-General in Council was prepared for such a result of the proposed investigation as would have made the Nizam a Debtor to the Peshwa to a large amount on account of arrears, besides establishing the right of the latter to an annual tribute from the former to an amount exceeding very considerably that which was actually paid. The Chout of Beder alone if established, as there seemed little reason to doubt would have been the case, was stated at Rupees 17,00,000 per annum with arrears since the demise of the late Nizam in 1803.

10. It is true that those claims were not considered as positively established, and that the Nizam was to have had the benefit of a strict investigation of them. Though such a process might have reduced the amount, there is the strongest ground for believing that it would still have been so considerable as to have left the Nizam no option but to seek through our mediation, a compromise involving either a considerable cession of territory or the payment of a grievously heavy sum of money to the Peshwa in lieu of the claims in question.

11. Were the Governor-General in Council disposed to avail himself of the full extent of the rights acquired by the British Government in succession to the late Peshwa, an investigation of the nature above proposed would be necessary. The course which the Governor-General in Council purposes to adopt will however supersede the necessity for such a procedure, and will enable His Lordship in Council to mark the extent of his liberality to the Nizam, while he secures every requisite benefit for the British Government which it is necessary to found on these extensive claims. Besides the wish to show favour to the Nizam on account of the good conduct of his Government during the war, His Highness is entitled to further consideration; since it is highly probable had the war terminated in leaving the Peshwa in possession of any part of his dominions, that he would have been required to relinquish, either the whole or a considerable part of his demands on the Nizam, especially the large accumulation of arrears of Chout.

12. On the whole it is the intention of the Governor-General in Council to exonerate the Nizam in perpetuity from the payment of all Chout or other tribute, and of all Moharra and other dues heretofore claimable from his districts by the Government of Poona, and to remit all arrears on that account on the following conditions.

1st.—That the Nizam shall cede to the British Government with a view to their being transferred to the Rajah of Nagpur all His Highness's possessions or rights to the Eastward of the Wardha.

2nd.—That his Highness shall cede to the British Government in full sovereignty, his territorial possessions lying between the Seena and the Beema

3rd.—That His Highness shall cede to the British Government the whole or such portion as may be hereafter determined of his possessions in the Dooab of the Kistna and Toombhadra.

4th.—That His Highness shall pay to the British Government a sum of sixteen Lakhs of Rupees in annual instalments of Rupees 4,00,000 till the whole be liquidated

13. The cession under the first head is desirable in order to put an end to the inconveniences of joint possession and to render the Wardha distinctly the boundary between the possessions of the two states. The value of the lands and rights to be ceded does not it is believed amount to more than one Lakh of Rupees per annum.

14. The acquisition by the British Government of the Nizam's territories between the Seena and the Bhima is very desirable in order to render compact our possessions in that quarter and improve the frontier Other small cessions or exchanges in the same quarter may be desirable with that view respecting which, you will be pleased to correspond with Mr Elphinstone.

15 The extent of cession in the 5th article is reserved for future consideration as it must depend mainly on the actual value of the possessions in question and the other contemplated cessions, regarding which the Governor-General in Council has no accurate information, that which is on the records of Government referring to former periods and being evidently over rated It is not the desire of the Governor-General in Council to require from the Nizam territorial cessions to an amount exceeding in actual clear revenue at the present moment of ten or twelve Lakhs of rupees per annum. It is understood that the territory in the Dooab comprehends considerable portions of land granted in Jagir, so that notwithstanding their extent the revenue derived directly to the state may not be considerable. Their possessions are important to us as rendering the Kistna the boundary between the territories of the two states. but if their value materially exceeds what is supposed, it will not be necessary to require a greater cession in that quarter than will be required to make up the whole amount of ceded territory, including that between the Seena and Bhima, to the sum above stated, supposing the latter alone not to equal that amount.

16. The Governor-General in Council is disposed to think that it will be more advantageous to the British interests generally to retain the territories of the Poona state on the Bhima, comprehending Sholapur, Wyraug, etc., which might otherwise be given in exchange for the Nizam's districts between the Bhima and the Seena, than to acquire territory in the Dooab. This is a point however on which you might correspond with Mr. Elphinstone and report the result of your joint consideration of the subject to Government.

17. The sum required by the fourth condition especially under the provision for its gradual liquidation may be considered as a very easy composition for the immense claims that might be substantiated against the Nizam, and the demands seems in all respects unobjectionable. Should any reasonable grounds of dissent be offered by the Nizam's Government or occur to your own mind, you will of course state them. You will otherwise consider the payment of the sum specified as one of the conditions of the proposed concessions in His Highness's favour.

18. You will perceive that the information regarding the value of the lands to be acquired by either party on which the foregoing instructions are founded, is avowedly defective. More accurate information may require a modification of the plan now proposed, and it will of course be open to consideration should your representations or those of Mr. Elphinstone suggest the expediency of a change. In the opposite event you will be prepared to carry these instructions into effect by opening a negotiation with the Nizam as soon as you shall have ascertained the several points on which further enquiry may be requisite by correspondence with Mr. Elphinstone or reference to other authorities. The proposed exchanges and cessions where finally settled must be of course reduced to the form of a treaty.

19. Supposing the present plan to be finally carried into effect wholly or with inconsiderable alteration, the result will be nearly as follows.

20. Mr. Elphinstone states the total amount payable to the Peshwa from the Nizam's Districts as exhibited in the Poona accounts at about Rupees 24,00,000 per annum of which about half reached the treasury the other half being absorbed by charges or embezzled by the officers. The territorial cessions above referred to being taken at fourteen Lakhs, the whole direct gain by the Nizam, amount to Twenty-six Lakhs of Rupees per annum supposing the same abuses to continue as are supposed to have existed as in the Peshwa's time, and in the opposed supposition to an amount still more considerable. To this is to be added the release from disputed claims amounting to about eighteen or twenty Lakhs more of which at least half would have been established and the final acquittance of an account of arrears of several crores of Rupees. The cessions demanded of the Nizam will amount to about 12 Lakhs. This cannot be regarded but as an arrangement highly favourable or rather

generously magnificent to the Nizam On the other hand, the Governor-General in Council does not consider the sacrifices made by the British Government in this transaction to be excessive taking into consideration all the circumstances of the case.

21 Recurring to the cessions from the Rajah of Nagpur I am directed to remind you of the encouragement given to the Nawab Salabat Khan to expect a considerable addition to his Jaidad in that quarter on his making a proportionate augmentation of his horse. The communications on this subject with Salabat Khan were conducted by Brigadier-General Sir John Malcolm, and you are requested to correspond with that officer, and after ascertaining the extent of the Nawabs reasonable expectations to apply to the Nizam's Government in his behalf It appears to be proper that the grant should proceed from the Government of the Nizam, but Salabat Khan will continue to be, as heretofore, regarded as under the special countenance of the British Government.

22. Copies of this letter will be transmitted to Mr Elphinstone and Mr Jenkins and also to Sir John Malcolm, with all of whom you will correspond on each part of the arrangement prescribed as refer to their official authority

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

(Sd) J ADAM,

Chief Secretary to Government.

Fort William,
The 26th Sep 1818

P S Copy of a letter to the Resident at Nagpur is enclosed for your information.

SINDHIA'S AFFAIRS

Letter No. 1.—The letter carries an enclosure which is a copy of Mr. Adam's letter to Captain Stewart, Acting Resident with Dowlat Rao Sindhia. The enclosure discusses some of the provisions of the treaty between the British Government and Sindhia particularly those that pertain to the cession of territories, viz., Hindia, and Aseergarh.

FROM—J. ADAM, SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

To—RICHARD JENKINS, RESIDENT AT NAGPUR.

On the Ganges, near Dinapur, 9th July 1818.

I am directed by the Governor-General to transmit to you for your information the enclosed copy of a letter addressed this day to the Acting Resident with Dowlat Rao Sindhia in reply to his dispatch of the 26th ultimo.

To—CAPTAIN STEWART, ACTING RESIDENT WITH DOWLAT RAO SINDHIA.

SIR,

I have had the honour to receive your dispatch of the 26th ultimo enclosing the engagement concluded with Dowlat Rao Sindhia for the exchange of territories, etc., and a schedule (No. 2) containing the cessions made by His Highness to the British Government both bearing the Maharajah's seal together with a counterpart of the engagement and a Schedule (No. 1) of the cessions made by the British Government to Sindhia, for the ratification of His Excellency the Governor-General.

2. The engagement with the Schedule No. 1 having been this day ratified by the Governor-General the ratified instruments are herewith transmitted for the purpose of being delivered to Sindhia.

3. The engagement appears to His Lordship to be correct in all respects and sufficiently comprehensive for all the purposes of such a document.

4. The Governor-General has perused a copy of Sir John Malcolm's statement that any specific pledge has been given to Jeswant Rao that can impose on the British Government the obligation of insisting on the exact mode or amount of provision to be made for that chief by Sindhia. The clause in the engagement is quite satisfactory and the Governor-General relies on your efforts to effect such an arrangement in Jaswant Rao's favour as shall be adequate to his reasonable expectations You will have furnished Capt. Caulifield with instructions to deliver over the territories under his charge to the officer appointed by Sindhia to receive them and you will be prepared to represent to the Durbar any deviation that may come to your knowledge from the condition of their restoration to Sindhia relative to their future administration

5 The Governor-General is not aware of any advantage that can result to the British Government from delaying the restoration of Hindia to the officers of Sindhia's Government and the formal relinquishment of our claim to possess ourselves of Asseer It is on the contrary desirable to carry that part of the arrangement into effect since the revenues of those districts form but a nominal resource for the payment of the contingent while the relinquishment of them entitles us to receive if necessary from Sindhia, the amount of the Rajah's tribute for a third year

6. The course of procedure with relation to Asseer is considerably embarrassed, however by the recent hostility committed by Jeswant Rao [Laur] in firing on Major Doveton's detachment besides his open and avowed support of Baji Rao while he was in arms against us

7 The information of the Governor-General on the subject is not yet complete and His Lordship is unable therefore to determine on the precise course of measures to be pursued. I am directed however to communicate the following observations regarding the affair as far as it appears to affect Sindhia.

8 The known want of the power of control over Jeswant Rao Laur on the part of Sindhia will induce the Governor-General to receive the Maharajah's disavowal of that Chief's conduct and a declaration of his inability to have prevented that procedure as a sufficient exoneration of His Highness from the guilt and the consequences of the act reserving to the British Government the right of pursuing its own measures with relation to Jeswant Rao.

9. Such a disavowal and declaration the Governor-General as no doubt Sindhia will forward to make and if the circumstances of the transaction do not differ from what His Lordship is led by the information already before him to suppose them to be, it is His Lordship's purpose to limit his proceedings with relation to Sindhia to a formal remonstrance against Jeswant Rao's conduct and to accept the adoption by Sindhia of the above course as a sufficient atonement on his part.

10. In the mean while if it does not appear to you likely to embarrass that proposed mode of proceeding or to weaken in its effects on the ground we are entitled to take with respect to Jaswant Rao's conduct the Governor-General will approve of your at once declaring Sindhia released from that obligation of the 8th article of the Treaty of Gwalior which relates to Asseergarh, and its dependencies, signifying to Sindhia, however that this is a question entirely distinct from that referring to Jeswant Rao Laur's personal conduct since the arrival of Bajee Rao in the vicinity of that fortress.

11. In the event of the Governor-General deeming it necessary to reduce Asseergarh for the punishment of Jaswant Rao (which insufficient information does not yet enable His Lordship to decide) the fortress will immediately on its capture be delivered to the Maharaja.

12. You will at any rate declare to Sindhia the readiness of the British Government to restore Hindia and its dependencies to the Maharaja without delay, and you will furnish the Durbar with a letter to the Officer Commanding the fort and district of Hindia authorizing him to make them over to Sindhia's officers. Sir John Malcolm, by a detachment from whose force Hindia is occupied, will instruct the officer in charge to comply with your requisition on its production by Sindhia's officers.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

(Sd.) J. ADAM,

Secretary to the Governor-General.

On the Ganges,
Near Dinapur,
9th July 1818.

Letter No. 2.—This is a covering letter for the enclosure which is a copy of Government dispatch addressed to Captain Stewart, Acting Resident with Sindhia. The enclosure contains the sentiments of the Governor-General regarding the withdrawal of the claims of Sindhia to certain territories which form the "ancient possessions of the Powar family" of Dhar.

FROM—J. ADAM, CHIEF SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT.

TO—R. JENKINS, RESIDENT AT NAGPUR.

Fort William, 7th August 1818.

I am directed to transmit to you for your information the enclosed copy of a letter this day addressed to the Acting Resident with Dowlat Rao Sindhia by the authority of His Excellency the Governor-General in Council.

To—CAPTAIN STEWART, ACTING RESIDENT WITH SINDHIA.

Sir,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch of the 15th ultimo reporting that Sindhia has withdrawn his claim of the pergunnahs of Saharingpur, Budnawar and Bairseeah forming a part of the ancient possessions of the Powar family.

2. You are aware that Sir John Malcolm has been authorized to negotiate with the principal branches of that family with a view to detach them from the predatory mode of life which they have lately followed and to resume the character and habits of regular Government. The recovery of such of their possessions as have not been permanently and irrevocably alienated was one of the inducement which the Governor-General purposed to hold out to them, to accede to the arrangements to be proffered by Sir John Malcolm, and to adhere to the engagements they might form with the British Government. It would consequently have been impracticable to comply with Sindhia's request to be allowed to retain the lands now referred to, and it is with satisfaction His Lordship has learned that the Maharaja has withdrawn all claims to them and relieve the Government from the necessity of refusing a direct request on the part of His Highness.

3. No definitive arrangement can be made regarding Barseeah, until the result of Sir John Malcolm's negotiation with the Chief of Dhar shall be known, and it is not necessary to take any further notice at present of Atmaram Pandit's communication, than to express the satisfaction of the Governor-General in Council at the Maharaja's declaration.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient humble servant,

Fort William,
7th August 1818.

(Sd.) JOHN ADAM,
Chief Secretary to Government.

Letter No. 3.—This is a covering letter to the enclosure which is a copy of the Government dispatch addressed to Captain Stewart, Acting Resident with Sindhia. The dispatch contains the sentiments of the Governor-General regarding the settlement that has to be effected between Madho Singh the expelled Raja of Nerwar and Doulat Rao Sindhia.

From—J. ADAM, SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

To—R. JENKINS, RESIDENT AT NAGPUR.

Fort William, 7th August 1818.

I am directed to transmit to you for your information the accompanying copy of a letter addressed on this date to the Acting Resident with Sindhia by the authority of His Excellency the Governor-General in Council.

To—CAPTAIN STEWART, ACTING RESIDENT WITH SINDHIA.

SIR,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch of the 6th of July, reporting the desire expressed by Madho Singh, the expelled Rajah of Nerwar, to make his peace with the Government of Dowlat Rao Sindhia through the intercession of the British Government, and the readiness of Sindhia to assign a provision to Madho Singh.

2. The Governor-General in Council is satisfied of the expediency of assisting Dowlat Rao Sindhia in the settlement of his country, and especially in putting an end to insurrections and disturbances of the character of that excited by Madho Singh. His Lordship, accordingly authorizes you to employ your efforts in bringing about an accommodation with Madho Singh and to offer the guarantee of the British Government to the terms that may be settled between him and the Durbar through your mediation.

3. The Governor-General in Council is not sufficiently informed of the nature of Madho Singh's pretensions to form any decided judgment of the terms that may be considered to be reasonable for him to expect, or Sindhia to grant. A suitable provision and an amnesty for past outrages with a pledge on the part of Madho Singh to remain quietly at the place assigned for his residence, and to dismiss his armed followers, seem to be the principal stipulations to be entered into on either side. You will arrange the details in the manner you may judge most expedient.

4. If Madho Singh should not accede to conditions that you may deem reasonable, or if he should continue his predatory practices, there will be no motive for withholding from Sindhia the aid of the British Government in putting down Madho Singh and his adherents, in the event of an application being made by the Durbar to that effect. It will not be desirable to encourage this expectation, however in the present stage of the business, lest the hope of our support in crushing Madhoo Singh should render Sindhia less solicitous for an amicable settlement.

5. These observations apply equally to the case of Rajah Jai Singh and will furnish a rule for your guidance should his affairs be brought under your consideration, either by him or by the Durbar.

6. I take this opportunity of acknowledging the receipt of your letter of the 15th of July, enclosing copies of dispatches from Captain Blacker reporting the dispersion of the Banditte under

Major Aratoon, and to inform you that the Governor-General in Council approves your having authorized Captain Blacker to pursue his march to Ujjain under his original instructions

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

Fort William (Sd.) J ADAM,

7th August 1818 Chief Secretary to Government.

Letter No 4.—It is a covering letter to an enclosure in which the Governor-General's views regarding the distracted state of Sindhia's government are expressed. It is mentioned that if Sindhia could not establish order in his own government, British aid will be given, on the condition that Sindhia's conduct deserved it and he was willing to pay for it.

From—J ADAM, SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNOR GENERAL.

To—RICHARD JENKINS, RESIDENT AT NAGPUR.

Fort William, 14th August 1818

I am directed to transmit to you, for your information the enclosed copy of a letter which I have this day addressed to the Acting Resident with Dowlat Rao Sindhia, under the authority of His Excellency the Governor-General in Council.

To—CAPTAIN STEWART, ACTING RESIDENT WITH DOWLAT RAO SINDHIA.

Sir,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch of the 18th ultimo reporting the substance of your conferences with Atmaram Pandit, relative to the desire expressed by Sindhia on the co-operation of the British troops on the settlement of his country

2. The tenor of my late letters to you will have shown you the disposition of the Governor-General in Council to render every reasonable degree of aid to Sindhia in the prosecution of an object so much calculated to promote and secure the general tranquillity and to complete the system already established for preventing the revival of predatory habits and practice. It is, indeed evident that this most desirable end cannot be completely attained until some regular Government is established in Sindhia's country and it ceases to be the scene of anarchy, misrule, and devastation. To encourage Sindhia to take measures for the reformation of his Government and

country, and to throw himself on the aid of the British Government for the effectual attainment of that laudable purpose, is a primary object of the Governor-General's policy with relation to the Maharaja.

3. It has, therefore afforded His Lordship much satisfaction to perceive the gradual manifestation of a disposition on Sindhia's part, to seek that aid, and the Governor-General's late instructions to you will testify that every step has been taken to encourage his reliance on us. You will thence anticipate the authority of the Governor-General in Council for receiving any application of this nature from Sindhia with assurances of the readiness of the British Government to meet His Highness's wishes in an affair in which the cause of order, peace, and good Government, is so much concerned as in the establishment of His Highness's just and legitimate authority.

4. Should you receive any direct proposition for the aid of our forces in cases appearing to you such as will warrant compliance without reference to Government the Governor-General in Council will approve of your applying to the officers commanding in Bundelkhand or Saugor, or in other contiguous positions, for the aid of the troops under their command. In such cases His Lordship in Council would willingly afford the aid gratuitously but if the resort to our assistance become habitual, or our efforts on a scale of any extent be required, it may then become proper to consider the expediency of calling on Sindhia to contribute to the expence of the operations. You will not however think it necessary to agitate this question with Sindhia without express instructions. The main object is to give Sindhia confidence in the stability of our friendship while his conduct is such as to deserve it, and to lead him to look to us for that support which his delapidated finances and distracted system of Government must compel him to seek beyond his own resources.

5. It may be hoped that this will gradually ripen into a connection between the two Governments, which will tend to the re-establishment of tranquillity and good order in His Highness's territories, and consequently to the preservation of the general tranquillity.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant.

Fort William:
The 14th August 1818.

(Sd.) JOHN ADAM,
Chief Secretary to Government.

Letter No. 5.—It is a covering letter to an enclosure which makes mention of the conspiracy between Baji Rao and Sindhia. The Governor-General's views about the manner of pursuing the matter with Sindhia are reported.

From—J. ADAM, CHIEF SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT.

To—R. JENKINS, RESIDENT AT NAGPUR.

Fort William, the 14th August 1818.

I am directed to transmit to you, for your information the enclosed copy of a letter this day addressed to the Acting Resident with Dowlat Rao Sindhia by the authority of His Excellency the Governor-General in Council.

To—CAPTAIN STEWART, ACTING RESIDENT WITH DOWLAT RAO SINDHIA.

Sir,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch of the 24th of July reporting the substance of your communications with Atmaram, on the subject of the secret intercourse between Baji Rao and Sindhia, which had been imparted to Sir John Malcolm as described in his dispatch of the 11th of July.

2. The Governor-General in Council entirely approves of your having noticed the subject to Sindhia in the manner stated in your letter and of the whole tenor of your conduct and discourse on the occasion. It is not considered by the Governor-General in Council to be expedient to render this correspondence a subject of formal remonstrance since His Lordship in council is satisfied that it originates in feelings such as those avowed by Sindhia and is not likely in the present disposition of that prince's mind, and with the knowledge possessed by him of its existence have been made known to the British Government, to be carried to any greater length.

3. Your proceedings with relation to Govind Rao the late Vakeel of Gwalior, are considered by the Governor-General in Council to have been perfectly judicious and proper.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant.

Fort William:
The 14th August 1818.

J. ADAM,
Chief Secretary to Government.

MISCELLANEOUS

AFFAIRS OF—SHRIDHAR PANDIT, GOND CHIEFS, NAWAB OF BHOPAL, GANGADHAR INGLIA, RAMCHANDRA WAGH, BUTIS OF SITABULDI, NAWAB OF OUDH AND RAJA OF SATARA.

Letter No. 1.—The letter mentions that Shridhar Pandit had applied to the Governor-General requesting the British Government to take steps to protect his jagir-villages in the Nagpur territory, now under the British management, and in Berar, and also pay to him his annual pensions at Benares, where he had shifted to spend his last days. The enclosures contain his application and the Governor-General's reply.

FROM—G. SWINTON, PERSIAN SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT.

TO—R. JENKINS, RESIDENT AT NAGPUR.

Gorakhpur, the 21st May 1818.

With reference to Mr. Adam's despatch to your address under date the 19th October 1817, enclosing a translation of a letter from Shridhar Pandit relative to his Jagir lands, I am now directed to transmit to you the accompanying translation of a second letter received from the Pandit on the same subject and to request that you will make the necessary enquiries respecting those Jagirs and report your opinion whether any objection exists to a compliance with the Pandit's application, no answer to Mr. Adam's despatch, above adverted to having yet been received.

2. You will also be pleased to report (as already requested) the date up to which Shridhar Pandit's pension has been paid or remitted by you to him, in order to enable his Lordship to issue the necessary orders for its transfer to the Benares Treasury.

3. Copies of my letter to the Agent to the Governor-General at Benares and of His Lordship's reply to the Pandit's letter are herewith transmitted for your information.

FROM—SHRIDHAR PANDIT.

Received 8th March 1818.

I had formerly the honour to address a letter to your Excellency on the subject of my concerns, with the knowledge and concurrence of Mr. Brooke to whom I also entrusted some verbal

representations which he had the honour to make to your Lordship, but I have not yet had the honour to receive a reply. The occurrences at Nagpur are known to your Lordship. With respect to the Jagir villages which I have held since the time of the former Rajahs of Nagpur, now that the settlement of the Government at Nagpur is in the hands of the British Government, I can have no apprehension. On the contrary, my confidence is augmented and I rejoice exceedingly, but I am anxious that such instructions regarding them as your Lordship shall think proper, may be issued to Mr. Jenkins that they may be continued to me as heretofore. Moreover there are some Jagirs in Berar granted to me from of old by the Nizam's Government and that of the Peshwa, which I am also desirous that Mr. Jenkins should be directed to protect from all molestation or interference. The pension which was settled upon me by the British Government was remitted to me yearly by Mr. Jenkins. Now that I have taken up my permanent residence (at Benares) under the protection of the British Government, I am desirous that the amount should be paid to me by the Collector of this city, and I accordingly beg that your Lordship will be pleased to issue orders to that effect, that receiving it at this treasury, I may spend my days in praying for your Lordship's prosperity and welfare. As I regard your Lordship as my patron and protector, I have thus stated all the circumstances of my case for your gracious consideration. May the Almighty ever preserve your Lordship and prosper all your views and undertakings.

For further particulars I beg leave to refer your Lordship to the communications of Mr. Brooke.

(A true translation.)

(G. SWINTON),
Persian Secretary to Government.

To—W. A. BROOKE, ESQUIRE, AGENT TO THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

SIR,

I am directed to transmit to you the enclosed letter from His Excellency the Governor-General to Shridhar Pandit, in reply to his letter forwarded in your dispatch of the...........March last.

2. Copies of His Lordship's letter to the Pandit in the English and Persian languages accompany for your information.

3. With reference to Shridhar Pandit's request that the payment of his pension may be transferred to the Benares treasury, I am directed to acquaint you that the necessary orders on this subject will be issued to the Collector of Benares as soon as it shall

be ascertained up to what period it may have been paid by Mr. Jenkins who will be called on to report the date with the least practicable delay. You will be pleased to make a communication to this effect to the Pandit.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient humble servant,

Gorakpore: G. SWINTON,
The 21st May 1818. Persian Secretary to Government.

To—SHRIDHAR PANDIT.

Sir,

Written, the 21st May 1818.

I have had the pleasure to receive your letter (recapitulate contents of letter received 8th March).

On the receipt of your former letter, I issued instructions to the Resident at Nagpur to make the necessary enquiries respecting your Jagir lands and I have now repeated my orders to Mr. Jenkins on that subject.

With respect to the transfer of your Pension to the Treasury at Benares I shall have great pleasure in complying with your request to that effect and the necessary orders will hereafter be sent to the Collector. For further particulars on this head I beg leave to refer you to Mr. Brooke.

(A true copy)

G. SWINTON,
Persian Secretary to Government.

Letter No. 2.—The letter gives cover to a copy of the petition from Ragho Pandit, son of Nago Pandit, late Dewan of Nagpur State. The petitioner prays that the pension of Rs. 25,000 a year, granted to his father by the Governor-General and withheld in 1817 in suspicion of his complicity in the war of the Bhonsla that year, should be paid to him as his father Nago Pandit was dead. The opinion of Jenkins is invited on this petition.

From—H. W. PRINCEP, PERSIAN SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT.

To—RICHARD JENKINS, RESIDENT AT NAGPUR.

Fort William, the 2nd May 1823.

I have the honour to transmit to you the translation of a petition from Raggoo Pandit, son of the late Nago Pandit, Dewan of Nagpur, received through Mr. Brooke, Agent to the Governor-General at Benares and am desired to request that you will report

for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council, how far you deem the family of the late Dewan to be entitled to the consideration of Government.

FROM—RAGHO PANDIT

Dated the 19th February 1823.

Received, the 28th April 1823

As my father Nagoo Pandit had long been in the service of the Rajah of Nagpur he was appointed as Dewan of the whole of that kingdom and as he also had shown great fidelity and attachment to the Company when the State of Nagpur came under engagements to receive a subsidiary force he was appointed to be in attendance on Mr Jenkins and confirmed as Dewan. Whatever business was required to be transacted by the Company with the Government of the Maharaja was done through him. My father being in attendance on Mr Jenkins in obedience to his order, carried the business of the Company with the greatest fidelity Mr Jenkins in his kindness was pleased to write to Government in recommendation of my father stating that he was well affected to both the Governments. His Lordship was pleased in consequence to grant my father a Sunnud, dated 27th of May 1816 (28th Jumadi Oos Sanee, 1231) stamped with his seal allowing him 25 thousand Rupees yearly For 1¼ years he received this, viz., from the beginning of 1816 till the middle of 1817 Besides this, the Maharaja formerly granted a pension of 4,00,000 Rupees yearly for the support of our family and connections which my father received from the Company's Treasury This sum I leave to your generosity to dispose of as you please. Through the will of the Almighty my father went to Allahabad and was imprisoned there but as he was innocent he was released after a short time. He then with all his family came to Benares and it was his intention to have waited on you and petitioned for the allowance of 25 000 Rupees yearly which had been stopped on his imprisonment. But through my ill fortune my father died at Benares and I was grieved beyond measure. Sir, when the Company grant stipends of this kind the grantee and his family are never interrupted in the enjoyment of them. I send you a copy of the original Sunnud of the Governor-General in the name of my father which I have by me. I am well acquainted with all the duties of Dewan if you will be pleased to give me the situation Besides women and children there are 200 men dependent on me who are very much distressed for subsistence. I hope, therefore, that you will issue orders for the continuance of the allowance as stated in the Governor-General's Sunnud from the middle of 1817 up to the end of 1822 and by these means I shall obtain my end and feel grateful to you.

(True translation)

T FRASER,

Asstt. to Persian Secy to Government.

Letter No. 3.—The letter and its enclosures report that Shridhar Lachman Pandit died at Benares on the evening of 24th January 1825. The enclosure No. 2 is a letter from Shridhar Pandit to the Governor-General soliciting his indulgence to confer his own jagirs upon his adopted son Narayan Rao Shridar Pandit. The enclosure No. 4 is a petition of Narayan Rao to the Governor-General soliciting his protection and the kind consideration that his father received.

From—A. STERLING, PERSIAN SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT.

To—RICHARD JENKINS, RESIDENT AT NAGPUR.

Fort William, the 25th March 1825.

I am directed to transmit to you, for your information and report, the accompanying copy of correspondence, given below regarding the death of Shridhar Lachman Pandit, at Benares and the claim of his adopted son Narain Shridhar:—

Letter from A. G. G. at Benares of 25th January and 17th ultimo with enclosures.

To—A. STIRLING, ESQUIRE, PERSIAN SECY. TO GOVERNMENT, FORT WILLIAM.

Sir,

I have the honour to report to you for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council, the demise of Shridhar Lachman Pandit, yesterday evening, and to transmit to you the enclosed Khureeta found on his Kullumdaun and delivered to me this morning.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient humble servant,

Benares: W. A. BROOKE,
The 25th January 1825. Agent to the Governor-General.

From—SHRIDHAR LACHMAN PANDIT.

Received, 1st February 1825.

My Lord,

I am at present so greatly indisposed, that I have not the most distant hopes of ever recovering from my present attacks of illness; but having experienced the greatest kindness from you, I wish to

communicate to you the state of my affairs. I formerly informed Your Lordship that I had adopted Narain Rao as my son. Besides him I have no other child, and trusting in the attention I have always experienced, I take the liberty to request a continuation of your kindness in his favour. I write in perfect possession of all my senses, and trust that a reply to this letter may be addressed to Narain Rao, as it is doubtful whether I may live to receive it. I have also to request that, in consideration of my long and zealous services, Narain Rao may be favoured with a continuation of my stipend, and allowed to retain possession of my Jagir, viz., the Jagir in Nagpur, Jubbulpore and Sheotee Jhulrah; the Jagir in Hyderabad of Shirshangaon, etc., and the Jagir in Poona of Kulbah Soobala, etc. All my property, moveable and immoveable, I have bestowed upon him.

(True translation)

S. FRASER,
Deputy Persian Secretary to Government.

To—A. STIRLING, ESQUIRE, PERSIAN SECY. TO GOVERNMENT, FORT WILLIAM.

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit to you a Khureetah from Narain Rao Shridhar, the adopted son of the late Shridhar Lachman Pandit, to the address of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,

Benares:
The 17th February 1825.

W. A. BROOKE,
Agent to the Governor General.

From—NARAIN RAO, ADOPTED SON OF THE LATE SHRIDHAR LACHMAN PANDIT.

Received 27th February 1825.

Sir,

My late father, when on point of death, addressed a letter to Your Lordship, explanatory of his circumstances, and having entrusted me to the care of Mr. W. A. Brooke was removed from this world. ....no one suffer such distress, as has befallen me even in my childhood. It is impossible to find expressions suitable to my grief, and notwithstanding my endeavours, I have not been able to yield with resignation to the wills of God. I acknowledge no other protection but Your Lordship, and the considerations always shown to my late father leads me to hope that, as I am now an orphan, and solely dependent on Your Lordship, I also shall be honoured with marks of your favour.

(True translation)

S. FRASER,
Deputy Persian Secretary to Government.

Letter No. 4.—The letter requires that the validity of the adoption of Narayan Rao by Shridhar Pandit as his son should be investigated. The pension of Rs. 30,000 a year granted to Shridhar Pandit for his lifetime has to be discontinued. As regards his jagirs and immoveable property in various parts of the country, in Nagpur, Jubbulpore, Poona, etc., the title has to be proved, and Narayan Rao has to apply to the local authorities in those places.

FROM—A. STIRLING. PERSIAN SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT.

TO—W. A. BROOKE, AGENT TO THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL, BENARES.

Fort William, the 25th March 1825

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letters, dated the 25th January and 17th ultimo reporting the death of Shridhar Lachman Pandit, and transmitting two Khuritahs to the address of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General: one from the Pandit, of a testamentary nature, and the other from his adopted son Narain Rao Shridhar.

The Governor-General in Council requests that you will state at what period Narain Rao was adopted by the late Shridhar Lachman, and whether you consider that adoption valid, and proper to be recognized by the British Government. The sentiments of the Resident at Nagpur, also will be consulted respecting the above adoption.

The yearly stipend of Rupees 30,000 granted for life to the late Pandit, as well as his life Jagirs in the Jubbulpore territory, now of course lapse to Government, and the necessary steps will be taken for their resumption. You will be pleased to instruct the Collector of Benares to discontinue the payment of the pension. With respect to any land which may have been held by the Pandit hereditarily in the territories of Nagpur, Poona and Hyderabad, applications should be made regarding these to the proper authorities.

Copies of the present correspondence will be sent to the Resident at Nagpur for his information and report.

Letter No. 5.—The letter has two enclosures, which are copies of addresses of the Agent to the Governor-General at Benares, and Narayan Shridhar Pandit, the adopted son of Shridhar Lachman Pandit. Narayan Rao has repeated his request to be put in possession of his father's jagirs in Poona, Hyderabad and elsewhere, which had been resumed by the Local authorities there and to receive the annual pension that his father received from the Company. The Agent to the Governor-General at Benares writes that the adoption of Narayan Rao

is valid and proper But the Government's decision communicated is that the pension given to Shridhar Pandit for his services could not be continued to his adopted son.

FROM—A STIRLING, PERSIAN SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT

TO—R. JENKINS, RESIDENT AT NAGPUR.

Fort William, the 22nd July 1825

In continuation of my letter to your address, dated the 25th March last, I am directed to transmit to you the accompanying copy of a letter from the Agent to the Governor-General at Benares, dated 9th ultimo, with copy of a translation of its enclosure from Shri Narain Rao, the adopted son of the late Shridhar Pandit.

2 The Governor-General in Council is of opinion, that the services of the deceased, however valuable, were amply remunerated by the liberal pension which he enjoyed for life from the British Government and consequently that his family possess no further claims whatever on the bounty of the Hon'ble Company

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TO—A. STIRLING, ESQUIRE, PERSIAN SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT, FORT WILLIAM.

SIR,

In answer to your letter of the 25th March last, I beg leave to acquaint you, for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council, that the late Shridhar Pandit adopted Narain Rao Shridhar about five years ago, and communicated the circumstances to the Governor-General who, in answer to the Pandit's letter, assured him that the same attentions on the part of the Government would be continued to him during the rest of his life as heretofore, as well as to his adopted son Narain Rao after him, with whose nomination he was quite satisfied. From this letter, which was dated 9th January 1821, there can be no doubt of the adoption being valid, and proper to be recognised by the British Government.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

Benares
The 9th June 1825

W A. BROOKE,
Agent to the Governor-General.

P S.—I herewith transmit a Khureetah from Narain Rao Shridhar, to the address of the Right Hon'ble the Governor General

FROM—SHRIDHAR NARAIN RAO.

Received 22nd June 1825.

My father, Munshi Shridhar Lachman, during his late attack of illness, nominated me to all his property, both real and personal; but in consideration of my youth and the good...........shown towards him by Shridhar Pottah Thokea, he appointed him Executive to the Estate, and despatched a letter to the Governor-General through Mr. Brooke, informing him of these arrangements. On the death of the Munshi, I addressed a letter to Your Lordship, communicating the lamentable intelligence, and orders were issued, in consequence to the Governor-General's Agent at this place, intimating the resumption of the Jagir of Jubbulpore and 30,000 Rupees yearly allowed to Shridhar Lachman, deceased, and stating that the remaining Jagirs were at the disposal of the Chiefs of the country within whose jurisdiction they existed. My Lord, the late Munshi, when very ill, addressed a short letter to Your Lordship; but had he entered into a full and detailed explanation of the contents of all the papers in his possession regarding the Jagirs, the above would not have been the result. The fact is, that the late Munshi agreeably to the customs of the Hindus and the rules of the Shastra, adopted me, when five years old, as his son, and reported the same to His Excellency the late Governor-General. In reply a letter was received, dated 9th January 1821, stating that Government would continue every consideration at present shown to the Munshi, to his adopted son. The Munshi in consequence of the purport of the above letter, agreeably to the practice of our family, wrote to His Lordship on the occasions of my having the Brahminical thread put on me, and of my marriage. A reply, dated 5th March 1825, was received, in which the expression of interest, etc., continuation of consideration towards me, were repeated. My father being satisfied that I should be protected and cherished by the Government delivered me into the charge of Mr. Brooke, and departed this life. I was and still continue hopeful of protection from the British Government and from the re-perusal of the above letter and referring to the favour shown to my father, feel convinced that I shall receive it. I have, however, lately learnt from the communications of the Agents of the Jubbulpore, Nagpur, Seoni Chapara, Hyderabad and Poona Jagirs that the Public Officers of Government have resumed them, with all the property, grain, etc., on the estates; and I cannot express to Your Lordship how much this intelligence has distressed me.

My Lord, in consideration of the fidelity of the late Munshi, and his good services both to the British Government and the State of Raja Sena Sahib Soobah Bahadur, an allowance of 30,000 Rupees yearly was granted to him, and a Parwana, dated the 25th July 1806, issued to that effect, the Jagirs granted by Maharaja Pandit Pradhan Bajee Rao Raghunath and Maharaja Raghoji Bhonsla, Seena Sahib Soobah Bahadur, were fixed in the name of my father and grand father, and although the Hyderabad Jagirs were gifts

from the Chief of that place, yet they originated in the favour of the Company during General Wellesley's administration at that Court, and have hitherto descended from father to son. The Jagirs granted by the former Emperors and Rajas have never been resumed by the Company and I have no other means of subsistence, but the Jagirs and Pension above mentioned, from which I can for his dependants, and make the usual donations to the Thakur, as fixed by the deceased. The same expenses are incurred for the establishment of the Munshi as heretofore, but without the assistance of your Lordship it will be impossible to provide funds to meet them. I am but a youth, and have no body to look to but your Lordship I trust therefore that you will be graciously pleased in consideration of my father's services to issue orders to the several authorities, to continue to me the Jagir, Pension, etc., allowed to the late Pandit.

(A true translation)

Letter No. 6.—The letter and its enclosure mention the claims of the Gond chiefs Anup Singh and Nihal Singh, to certain yearly grants of money from Nagpur Government which they want to be sanctioned by the British officer Anup Singh's disposition and loyal attitude in forming a Tooman to help the British in maintaining internal peace are referred to

FROM—C. A. MOLONY, COMMISSIONER ON THE NERBUDDA.

TO—R JENKINS, RESIDENT AT NAGPUR.

Narsinghpur, the 12th January 1819.

I have the honour to transmit to you the copy of a letter which I have received from Lieutenant-Col. Adams.

The purport of the joint petition from Anup Singh and Nihal Singh enclosed in that letter is to explain the circumstances under which the grant of an allowance from the revenues of Seoni and Saoligarh was originally obtained by these chiefs.

It states that on some occasion Khema Thakur, the father of one of them, was treacherously seized and put to death by the Soobah of Hindia in conjunction with Narsingh Rao the commandant of a detachment of Nagpur troops, that in revenge for this outrage Anup Singh and Nihal Singh laid waste the Mehals of Seoni and Saoligarh, that the Killedar of Saoligarh received orders from Nagpur to conciliate them, in consequence of which it was agreed that they should receive 2,250 Rupees per annum out of the revenue of Saoligarh, on condition of protecting instead of plundering the country, that as allowance of 1,260 Rupees per annum was subsequently granted to them out of the revenue of

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Seoni on similar conditions; that a brother of one of them was killed at Seoni in resisting the incursion of the Pindaries, and that the allowance above mentioned had been continued to them by successive Komavisdars till about 3 years ago. The real cause of its discontinuance is of course that referred to by Colonel Adams, namely the presence of the British troops.

The question of granting any provision to these chiefs must I suppose be considered as one merely of expediency; and I confess it appears to me that the measures of enrolling their followers in the Neijeeb Corps should form a sufficient tie on them, while it will greatly relieve their necessities by affording the means of providing for many of their relations and immediate dependants. I am wholly ignorant however of their own resources, and therefore unable to judge of the degree of weight which may attach to their plea of distress. I have requested Colonel Adams to afford me any information which he may possess on this point, and in the meantime to intimate to the chiefs, if they should renew their application, that I cannot hold out to them any hopes of a favourable result.

The Tooman composed of Anup Singh's followers is I believe more likely to be efficient than I had expected, as Lieutenant Campbell informs me that the men have been enrolled are chiefly military adventurers from Hindustan. The Tooman is commanded by Anup Singh's son, and it has been sent to Betul, where I am sorry to say, notwithstanding a most burthensome establishment of sebundies, numerous instances of depredations have recently occurred.

Another Tooman has been formed of the followers of Busseit Khan the Pathan mentioned in one of Colonel Adam's letter, and Captain Roberts informs me that it is of considerable service in affording protection in that part of this valley which has suffered most from incursions. The depredations which have been lately committed in the central and western parts of the valley, particularly in Sohagpur, Babye, and Futtehpore, have given me great anxiety, and interfere of course most materially with the collections of the revenue. The alarm as usual spread with such rapidity, and was so disproportioned to the real danger, that vast numbers of the inhabitants have fled across the Nerbudda and cannot without great difficulty be persuaded to return to their villages.

The court of enquiry referred to in Colonel Adams's letter was held on the conduct of a man who was apprehended, on suspicion of correspondence with Appa Sahib, and of an intention to join him. The evidence is very inconclusive, but I have thought it proper not to release the man, without satisfactory security, till after the campaign.

To—C. A. MOLONY, ESQUIRE, COMMISSIONER ON THE NERBUDDA.

SIR

Anup Singh one of the Gond Chiefs having completed his Tooman I beg to enclose an Arzee from him in which he states his claim to certain sums as Tanka upon the district of Saoligarh, Seoni, Chappara and Omutwurra.

In the above paper Anup Singh claims the Tanka, as a grant from the Nagpur Government but I do not believe that such will be found to be correct for upon my first arrival in 1816, not only Anup Singh but Nehal Singh also entreated I would intercede and procure them a continuance of this source of subsistence, stating what was very true that the local authorities of the Rajah's Government had refused to pay it since the presence of the British troops and for the same cause they were afraid to enforce the payment which they asserted they would immediately effect if I would promise not to interfere. In reply I could only strongly recommend their desisting altogether from plunder in the Rajah's country, and to bring any deed of the grant which they possess and which they did, but the seal proving that of a former Aumil, and not of the Nagpur Government, the authorities placed by Sadik Ali Khan refused at once to acknowledge its validity, although they could not deny the plain fact that they would have to pay the amount or be plundered of all their cattle and property if the British troops were not present.

Sir John Malcolm in his recent endeavours to put a stop to the plundering and depredations carried on by the petty chiefs to the Northward of the Nerbudda in Malwa has in his transactions with them particularly investigated this claim of Tanka, and after flinging out all that could not be substantiated and oppressions from the anarchy and confusion of the times, recognized their title to the remainder, so long as they refrained from committing depredations or forcibly exacting payment and with which they appear to have cheerfully complied.

The claims made by Anup Singh conjointly with Nehal Singh upon the districts specified, amount to between three or four thousand Rupees a year, and upon his renewing them in a conference with me the other day, whilst acknowledging his thanks for so many dependants being taken into service he observed that his own family and himself being left thus destitute was the reason of his doing so, I distinctly informed him that any positive right would never be acknowledged, because he must be aware that the British Government could and was to defend their territories from any such oppressions, and punish all aggressors but that I would forward his claim to you provided he assents to abide by your decision whatever it might be, and to this he most willingly agreed.

Upon the system therefore which has been adopted by Sir John Malcolm and after a fair investigation of the claims of Anup Singh and Nehal Singh I readily conceive that if a 1,000 Rupees a year could be allotted to them out of the revenue of those districts it would be attended with the greatest advantage to the public interests.

I beg to enclose to you the proceedings of the court of enquiry upon Purrum Sookh which have been delayed in consequence of the indisposition of Captain Hardwicke and which terminated in his death.

The evidence is not particularly strong against him but it appears to me advisable that he should be kept under restraint until the projected service is concluded.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

J. W. ADAMS, Lt.-Col.
Commanding Nagpur Field Force.

Head Quarters,
Nerbudda Field Force,
Camp Sainkheda,
The 5th January 1819.

Letter No. 7.—The letter has two enclosures. They report the death of Raja Fatteh Shah of Saoligarh without an heir to succeed to his jagirs. Hence the Rani had adopted one Pratap Shah. The circumstances of adoption, the value of the jagir, and a brief history of the relations between Fatteh Shah and Nagpur are given.

From—C. A. MOLONY, COMMISSIONER ON THE NERBUDDA.

To—R. JENKINS, RESIDENT AT NAGPUR.

Camp Sreenuggar, the 11th February 1819.

I have the honour to transmit to you the copy of a letter addressed by me to Major McPherson, and of his reply regarding a Jagir held by Rajah Futteh Sah who lately died without heirs. In consequence of the failure of heirs I had directed Major McPherson to resume the Jagir in the first instance, leaving the family to come forward with any claim which they might have for a provision. I am not aware how far the adoption of a son by the widow and relatives after Futte Sah's death, and without any intimation of his sanction, may be conformable to Hindu law, or to the usages of the Gonds to which tribe the family belongs. It seems probable however that the adoption was resorted to merely with the view of securing the continuance of the Jagir.

I think it unquestionably equitable and expedient that a provision should be granted for the support of the family whether in land or in money. The former would probably be most acceptable. With reference however to the circumstances of the adoption, it may perhaps be considered probable that the grant should be in the name of the Rani and limited to her life. I have directed that in all cases the assignments under the denomination of Bhent, Damee, or Rukum should be resumed and consolidated with the Jama of Government, the parties being left to prefer their claims to a pension in lieu of these emoluments. In the present circumstances however, it will not perhaps be thought necessary that the provision for Raja Futteh Sah's widow and family should exceed the computed value of the Jagir.

To—MAJOR McPHERSON, IN CHARGE OF THE DISTRICT OF HOSHANGABAD.

SIR,

The arzee addressed to me by the Ranee Kesur Kooar the widow of the late Raja Futtey Sah, which I have the pleasure to receive from you in a private letter states that she had, with the concurrence of her late husband's kinsmen, adopted one of them, named Pratab Sah, as his son and successor. It does not appear precisely in what relation Pratap Shah stands to the late Raja, and I conceive it possible that the posthumous adoption, unsanctioned by any declaration of the Rajah's desire previous to his demise may not be valid in Law I therefore of course write to.. .... Ranee, as she appears to .recognizing this adoption... .... I am not aware of what my recognition of it could....... .... The Rani supposes as I she does, that it would imply......... succession of the adopted the Jagir which was held by Futtey Sah I request you will inform her, if she should make any further application that I cannot hold out to her.. ... . expectation whatever on this .. I should be obliged to you however to communicate to me any information which you may possess regarding the circumstances of Ranee, and the family. The annual value of the Jagir which has been resumed, and the period at which it was obtained, in order that I may judge of the propriety of suggesting to Government the grant of some provision to the Ranee for her maintenance during life.

I should also be obliged to you to inform me of the relationship on which Pratap Shah stands to the late Raja Futtey Sah.

Singpoor, C. A. MOLONY,
The January 1819. Commissioner on the Nerbudda.

To—C. A. MOLONY, ESQUIRE, COMMISSIONER ON THE NERBUDDA.

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 14th ultimo on the subject of an Arzee addressed to you by Rani Kesar Kooar, widow of the late Raja Futteh Sah, and requesting me to communicate any information which I may possess regarding the circumstances of the family, the value of the Jagir which has been resumed, the relationship in which the adopted son Pratap Shah stands to the late Raja Futteh Sah, etc., etc.

In reply I have the honour to acquaint you that it appears the forefathers of Raja Futteh Sah possessed the whole of the Saoligarh district. Soon after its being finally conquered by the Nagpur Government it was found necessary to prevent the depredations of the Gonds, to establish him in a Tunka of Rs. 5,000 per annum; about 8 or 9 years ago the Tanka was withheld, and the depredations of the Gonds recommenced, when in lieu of a Jagir of 12 villages in the Perganna a Bhet of 2 Rupees from each village in the district was assigned to Raja Futty Sah. From the best information I can collect, the Jagir may be valued at Rupees 2,600 yearly,...........the amount of the Bhet he collected, at............. 4 to 500 Rupees. The adopted son Pratap Sah, son of Raja Futteh Sah's mother's........... There being no nearer male heir........... placed by the relations on the...........family is now stated to be in very...........circumstances they having been...........of no other means of subsistence...........this Jagir and Bhet.

Hoshangabad : D. MACPHERSON,
The 5th February 1819. In charge of the Hoshangabad district.

Letter No. 8.—The letter makes mention of the intention of Thakur Mohan Singh of Pachmarhi to surrender on assurances given to him by Henley.

FROM—W. HENLEY, IN CHARGE OF THE POLITICAL MISSION AT BHOPAL.

To—R. JENKINS, RESIDENT AT NAGPUR.

Sehore, 2nd June 1819.

I have had the honour to receive your letters of the 19th April and the 16th May. The persons referred to in that of the former date appeared to be at present at Seronge but as it has been represented to me that their return to Bhopal was daily expected I have omitted taking any steps for interfering with them at the former place. Should however any further delay occur I shall

refer the matter to the Manager at Seronge and have little doubt but the return to her family of the daughter of Debil Khan will be permitted.

2. I have this day heard of Thakur Mohan Singh of Pachmarhi who has indicated a disposition to surrender, and under the assurances you have pleased to authorize me to convey to him, I expect he will come to me at this place and finally be induced to return to his Jagir.

3. I shall have the honour of acquainting you with any proceedings that may take place with respect to Mohan Singh who is at present in the hills of Baree with about 40 armed followers.

Letter No. 9.—The letter reports that Thakur Mohan Singh of Pachmarhi had fled away with his son and family to the territory of Bhopal and had surrendered. He wants to go back to Pachmarhi for which he needs some money which may be advanced to him. A perwanah also may be issued in order to calm his fears and suspicion.

FROM—W. HENLEY, IN CHARGE OF POLITICAL MISSION AT BHOPAL.

TO—R. JENKINS, RESIDENT AT NAGPUR.

Sehore, 28th June 1819.

With reference to your letter of the 16th May and my reply of the 2nd June, I have the honour to acquaint you that Mohan Singh of Pachmarhi has just been with me and that his son Sarup Singh and the rest of his family are safely lodged at the village of Sajowlie belonging to the state of Bhopal. Mohan Singh will remain with me here till I am favoured with your directions respecting him.

2. In apology for his flight across the Nerbudda he states that delays having accidentally occurred to protract the period at which his dismission to Pachmarhi has been promised by Captain Montgomerie he became alarmed for his personal safety and fled.

3. In the event of his being permitted to return from hence for the purpose of resuming his Jagir he may probably solicit some pecuniary aid to enable him to subsist himself on the journey, in which event I have to beg the favour of your instructions as to my compliance and to what extent.

4. A parwannah of encouragement from yourself and the authorities at Nagpur, should it be deemed expedient to grant it, would tend to calm the fears and suspicions of Mohan Singh, and upon himself and son returning to Pachmarhi it would probably afford additional confidence, if he had the option for the rest of his family remaining at Sajowlie till he had re-established himself and prepared for their return.

Letter No. 10.—The letter reports that on 6th December 1819 the eldest son of the brother of the late Nawab of Bhopal succeeded to the Musnud since there was no male issue to the late Nawab. The new Nawab took the title of Nuzirud Dowlah Mooneer Mohammed Khan.

FROM—W. HENLEY, IN CHARGE OF POLITICAL MISSION AT BHOPAL.

TO—R. JENKINS, RESIDENT AT NAGPUR.

Camp Bhopal, the 6th December 1819.

I have the honour to forward the accompanying Khureeta to your address from the Begum of the late Nawab of Bhopal and to acquaint you that the miscarriage of the Begam having left no further hope of male issue to the Nawab he has been succeeeded by the eldest son of his only brother who has this day ascended the Musnud under the title of Nawab Nuzeer-ood-Dowlah Mooneer Mahomed Khan.

Letter No. 11.——The letter and its enclosures mention the desire of Government, provided Mr. Jenkins is aggreeable, to grant a pension of Rs. 4,500 a year to Gangadhar Rao Inglia, son of Khandoji Inglia. Khandoji served the Bhonsla as the Subahdar of Jubbulpore till his death, and was the brother of Ambaji Inglia, who served the Sindhia. His birth place and connections are mentioned.

FROM—G. SWINTON, SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT.

TO—RICHARD JENKINS, RESIDENT AT NAGPUR.

Fort William, 26th March 1824.

I am directed to transmit to you the annexed copy of a dispatch from the Agent to the Governor General in the Saugor and Nerbudda territories, recommending the grant of a Pension to Gungadhar Rao Inglia, of Rs. 4500 per annum, and to request that you will report your sentiments on the subject of it.

TO—GEORGE SWINTON ESQUIRE, SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT, FORT WILLIAM.

SIR,

I have to submit to the Right Hon'ble the Governor General in Council an application which has been repeatedly made to me for a provision from Government by a person of very respectable family and character residing at Jubbulpore, Gangadhar Rao Inglia to whom I allude, is the son of an officer who was in the service of the Nagpur state named Khandujee Inglia, a brother of the well known Ambajee Inglia, formerly in the service of Sindhia.

2. The birth place of the family is in the Poona territory. Khanduji Inglia was like his brother, formerly in the service of Sindhia, which he left about the year 1810, to enter into that of the Nagpur Government. His last situation under the latter was that of Soobah of Jubbulpore which he held not quite two years, when he died. His son Gangadhar Rao succeeded him and retained the situation three years, when he was superseded, about nine months before the transfer of the territory to the British Government.

3. Though deprived of the office of Soobah, Gangadhar Rao retained an assignment of the pergunnah of Barella in Jaidad for the support of a party of Horse. He was allowed to retain this pergunnah (which then yielded about 15,000 Rupees per annum) during the first year after the transfer owing to my having been in the first instance misinformed as to the nature of the grant under which it was held. He enjoyed likewise for his personal maintenance a Jagir in the Reserved territories of the Nagpur State, valued nominally at 12000 Rupees per annum, but said to have produced no more than 9000. This Jagir was, I understand, the inducement held out to Khandujee Inglia to quit the service of Sindhia. It was I believe resumed soon after the introduction of our authority into the Nagpur State.

4. Since the resumption of his Jagir, Gangadhar Rao has subsisted on the property which he then possessed, but which is I fancy now nearly exhausted. A good deal of his property consisted of Horses which he was unable to sell, and most of which have died and I believe he is now much distressed for the means of subsistence. He is of that class of men to whom the introduction of our Government is always fatal; as their whole dependence was on the service of the state, and our system affords no employment for persons of their rank in society.

5. Under these circumstances I trust that the Governor General in Council will consider it proper that a provision should be made for Gangadhar Rao, which indeed seems necessary to save him from actual want.

6. It may perhaps be considered a question whether the expense of such a provision should fall on the British Government or on the Nagpur state. On this point I may remark that the employment which Gangadhar Rao held, was in his territory, and that this is the only instance in which a demand of this nature has been made upon our Government. All the other principal officers of the Nagpur Government who were employed in this territory left it immediately after the breaking out of the war, and have been provided for at Nagpur. On the other hand it is to be remarked, that the Jagir which Gangadhar Rao enjoyed more especially for his personal maintenance, was in the Nagpur reserved territory.

7. I would suggest for Gangadhar Rao an allowance of Rupees 4500 per annum, to commence from the present year.

8. I found Gangadhar Rao residing at Jubbulpore in a house which is the property of the Government. I thought it right however to allow him to remain in it, and as it cannot be made applicable to any public purpose, I trust that he may be permitted still to occupy it.

9. I shall transmit a copy of this letter to the Resident at Nagpur, as the Governor-General in Council may probably wish to receive a communication of that officer's sentiments on the subject of it.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

Narsinghpur: February 1824.

C. A. MOLONY,
Agent of the Governor-General.

Letter No. 12.—The letter and the enclosure pertain to the claims of Bhujang Rao and Venkat Rao to the Zamindari of Alapilly. The statement of Mr. Crawford given from memory throws light on the validity of the claims advanced by each party

FROM—CAPTAIN W. HAMILTON, ACTING FIRST ASSISTANT, NAGPUR RESIDENCY.

TO—CAPTAIN PEW, SUPERINTENDENT OF AFFAIRS, CHANDA.

Nagpur Residency, the 31st May 1826.

I have been instructed by the Resident to acknowledge the receipt of and reply to your letter of the 29th ultimo respecting the disputed claims of Bhujang Rao and Venkat Rao the reputed adopted son of Khandu Bapoo to the Zamindari of Alapelly.

In hopes that Captain Crawford might be able to furnish information useful in forming a decision on the question, a letter was addressed to him and I have the honour to transmit a copy of his reply, but as his statement does not appear to be either sufficiently explicit or clearly substantiated to admit of a decision being made without previous investigation you will have the goodness to institute an enquiry as proposed in your letter now under acknowledgement and report the result of it.

To—CAPTAIN HAMILTON, ACTING FIRST ASSISTANT TO THE RESIDENT, NAGPUR.

SIR,

I had the honour yesterday (Sunday) to receive your letter of the 15th instant giving cover to the copy of one from Captain Pew, Superintendent of the Affairs of the District of Chanda, together with a copy of Captain Pew's translation of the Principal parts of the petition of Bhujang Rao, Zamindar of Ahiri I have no memoranda upon the subject in dispute, but proceed to give you all I vaguely recollect of the matter As for the history of the Zamindari I know it not, but if I am not mistaken, Bheemba, the late Zamindar was not a son, if even a near relation, of his predecessor, whoever he might be. I always heard that the Zamindar who held Ahiri before Bheemba, had been long confined at Nagpur, and that Bheemba, was in the first instance fixed upon by the election of the Zamindar's wives or women and the people, to act for the man in confinement, and that he eventually succeeded to be Jumeendar upon the death of his predecessor, who I believe, died in confinement at Nagpur.

I do not recollect that Bhujang Rao was adopted by Bheemba, he was a servant of his and when the Fort of Ahiri was treacherously opened for Kondu in 1818, Bhujang Rao was accused of having betrayed Bheemba. Gajur Malhar who was murdered by Kondoo was Bheemba's confidential servant, and a much more likely person to have been adopted by him than Bhujangrao I do not think that Bhujang Rao was adopted by Bheemba, he was however acknowledged Zamindar of Ahiri but whether as acting for Bheemba's infant daughter or otherwise I am not certain.

The dispute about Kundoo's adoption of Rajeshwar Rao's Child I recollect, and when very brought before me, I told the parties that Government wished all such matters to be settled among themselves according to their own usages and customs, and to interfere as little as possible concerning such disputes, indeed, would only do so for the purpose of preserving the peace, or when urgently called upon by the parties to decide I explained to them that in forming my judgment of such matters, I should be principally guided by the opinions of their peers, and that if they thought I either disliked the trouble of investigating the business or would not listen to their complaints, they had only to give in petitions, and I would lose no time in assembling the Zamindars, and taking steps to have the investigation laid before Government. I concluded by desiring them that I would use no authority, nor give any opinion upon the matter, before a thorough investigation had taken place and desired them to choose for themselves whether to present petitions, and have it decided by Government or to settle it amongst themselves, and Bhujangrao, as far as I know of the

matter no longer disputed the right of Rajeshwar Rao's son as heir to the Alapalli Zamandari, and the natives appeared to consider the boy as properly adopted.

I do not recollect the name of Khandu's aunt. Bheemba had a daughter, whom I have seen frequently, and I have some faint recollection of a talk of her being or about to be, betrothed to Rajeshwar Rao's son, in order that the two Zamindarees of Ahiri and Alapilly should merge into one.

Essobae is said to have died in September 1824 and Bhujang Rao's petition is brought forward nineteen months after that event, without any good or plausible reason being given for his having so long delayed to urge what he considers as his right, and the circumstance of Bheemba's having left a daughter is not mentioned.

Regarding the Zamindars, the view I take of their situation is that they are a sort of tributary or military dependents, generally masters as to their own internal arrangements, but acknowledging a general allegiance, which is my reason for having invariably recommended them to call as little as possible for Government interference in their disputes.

Some of the Kacheri servants of the Superintendent of Affairs of the district of Chanda are perfectly informed of all that took place in this business whilst I was Superintendent of Affairs of the district of Chanda, and I dare say can give a true account of the matter if they choose to do so. From the business having been brought forward at the time it has, and not before, I have some suspicion in my own mind that there may perhaps have been a canvassing of interest with them, bribery for the purpose of misrepresenting matters to the Superintendent of Affairs, on the part of Rajeshwar Rao and Bhujang Rao, and I beg leave with all deference to hint that some of the Kacheri servants are anxious to hold Maufi Villages in perpetuity from the Zamindars, and that the villages of Ghot and Arpillee are close to Chamoorsee.

In conclusion I beg it to be clearly understood that I merely speak from a faint recollection of a dispute never fully canvassed before me, nor decided by me, and upon which I never gave an opinion, nor ever used interference or influence, and that I should not wish that my indistinct recollection with the Resident.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient humble servant,

Ballarpore : G. R. CRAWFORD,
Monday, 22nd May 1826. Assistant Superintendent of Affairs,
Chanda.

Letter No. 13.—The letter gives cover to another in which the death of the king of Oudh is reported. It is expected that his son Nasiruddin Hyder will succeed without any trouble.

FROM—M. RICKETTS, RESIDENT AT LUCKNOW

TO—F WILDER, RESIDENT AT NAGPUR.

Lucknow Residency, 20th October 1827

I have the honour to transmit for your information a copy of my dispatch of this date to the Secretary to Government in the Political Department.

TO—G SWINTON, ESQUIRE, SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT IN THE POLITICAL DEPARTMENT, FORT WILLIAM.

SIR,

It is with very sincere regret, I communicate for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council, the demise this instant of His Majesty the King of Oudh, an event for which my recent reports on the subject of His Majesty's health, will in some measure have prepared His Lordship in Council.

2. Doctor Baillie, His Majesty's physician reports the immediate cause of His Majesty's death to have been a total decay of the functions of nature.

3 I am now at the palace and have much satisfaction in stating that I have no reason to apprehend the slightest disorder will ensue in consequence of this melancholy event. On the contrary the accession of His son, Nasseer-ood Deen Hyder will, I have no doubt, be marked with tranquillity and good order

Palace — M. RICKETTS,

The 20th October 1827 — Resident.

Letter No. 14.—The letter reports that on the death of His Majesty the King of Oudh his son ascended the throne at the age of 26 and assumed the title of Aboon Nusseer Kootoobood Deen, Soleyman Jah, Nusseer ood-deen Hyder Shahi Jehan, Padshahi, Oudh.

FROM—M. RICKETTS, RESIDENT AT LUCKNOW

TO—F WILDER, RESIDENT AT NAGPUR.

Lucknow Residency, 29th October 1827

I deem it proper to inform you that His Majesty the King of Oudh, ascended the throne on the 20th instant in the Twenty Sixth year of his age, and assumed the title of Aboon Nussur, Kootoob-ood-deen, Soleyman Jah, Nusseer-ood-Deen Hyder Shahi Jehan, Padshahi Oudh.

Letter No. 15.—The letter gives cover to three enclosures pertaining to Ramchandra Wagh. He was a dependant of Appa Saheb and followed him in his flight. He had sometime back returned to live in Jubbulpore. to which the Government at Fort William was not agreeable. The Agent to the Governor-General at Jubbulpore thinks otherwise.

FROM—A. STIRLING, DEPUTY SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT.

TO—F. WILDER, RESIDENT AT NAGPUR.

Fort William, 14th August 1829.

I am directed to transmit to you for your information the annexed copies of letter from the Acting Agent in the Saugor and Nerbudda territories dated 16th ultimo, and of the letter addressed to him in reply under this date.

TO—GEORGE SWINTON, ESQUIRE, CHIEF SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT, FORT WILLIAM.

SIR,

In my present state of ignorance whether the Government have passed any resolutions on the subject it will not I hope be considered obtrusive to forward a copy of a correspondence connected with the arrival at Jabbulpore of a man of some notoriety named Ramchandra Wagh, a former dependant of the ex-Raja of Nagpur, because I am incompetent to give him a final answer to his application for the arrears of a pension of Rupees Eighteen hundred (1800) per annum, allowed him by the Nagpur Government, which he states are due from the beginning of the year A. D. 1825, and the payment of which I am informed by the Resident at Nagpur is objected to by that Court, and also to order him away. From the contents of your letter dated the 20th October 1821 to Major General Manley which by merely prohibiting his return to the Nagpur territories does not seem to deprive him of the option of residing at this station, for though the proximity of Jubbulpore to the Nagpur dominions would lead me to participate in the wishes of both Mr. Wilder and Captain Sleeman that Ramchandra Wagh should not become a permanent resident here, especially when his personal character and former connection are considered in conjunction with the rumours afloat relating to the designs of Appa Saheb, to attempt the recovery of his lost power and authority, still I feel disinclined to issue any peremptory orders for his immediate departure from an apprehension that such might be at variance with the views of Government and that his present forlorn situation might be thought to deserve a more considerate and benevolent course of proceeding.

2. Ramchandra Wagh as has been mentioned in my letter to Mr. Wilder of the 6th of April is ready to leave these territories for any other station that may be fixed upon if by the renewal of his pension he has the means of subsistence ensured to him henceforward, and unacquainted as I acknowledge myself to be with the grounds on which the grant was cancelled and whether his previous conduct had merited it, I cannot conscientiously abstain from remarking that the object of keeping Ramchandra Wagh apart from intrigues tending to disturb the tranquillity of the country is sure not to be gained by forcing him under the pressure of want, and impressed with a conviction of future misery and wretchedness, to seek a livelihood wherever and however it may be required, and that unless the cessation of his pension has been equitable and just he may avail himself of the letter from Mr. Jenkins in his possession as involving the officers of the British Government in the violation of a compact or promise and such a letter being forthcoming it has appeared proper to submit a copy of it with the rest of the correspondence for the consideration of the Government.

3. Ramchandra Wagh is now in the decline of life when men are least of all able to bear up against the vicissitudes of fortune, those he has gone through are apparent from the correspondence and the probable short duration of the expense attendant upon it might be urged as an argument in favour of the restoration of his allowance and though it is not my wish to stand forward as an advocate in his behalf except inasmuch as his unexpected application to Mr. Maddock and myself has compelled me to be, I feel bound to observe that his general conduct at the station has been decorous and becoming and that he has been living in a quiet and retired manner.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient humble servant,
C. FRASER,
Acting Agent to the Governor-General.

Jubbulpore,
Office of the A. G. G.
The 16th July 1829.

To—C. FRASER, ESQUIRE, ACTING AGENT TO THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL, SAUGOR AND NERBUDDA TERRITORIES.

SIR,

I am directed to acknowlege the receipt of your letter dated the 16th ultimo, with its enclosures, reporting the arrival at Jubbulpore of Ramchandra Wagh, and submitting copies of correspondence with the Resident at Nagpur and others regarding that individual, and reply to state as follows.

2. The prohibition against Ramchandra Wagh's entering the Nagpur territory, may fairly be considered to include the Jubbulpore Districts which had been so recently separated from the

Rajah's dominion, when that order was issued, and the position of many of which would afford to him every facility for carrying on intrigues against the established government of Nagpur. There can be little doubt, indeed, but that the appearance of Ramchandra Wagh at Jubbulpore, is connected with the designs lately manifested by Appa Saheb, and that the same intrigues which brought the Ex-Raja from his retreat beyond the Sutlej, have prompted the movements of his adherent to the vicinity of the quarter where his machinations were likely to prove most useful. The Governor-General in Council is of opinion therefore that you should require Ramchandra Wagh to quit the territory subject to your control. The connection which he is stated to have recently formed with the Ruler of Jalown, by the marriage of his daughter to the son of that chief will doubtless secure to him an asylum against actual want, whenever he thinks proper to avail himself of it, but whatever may be the real state of his circumstances His Lordship in Council does not consider that we should be justified in urging the Nagpur Government to restore his Pension, especially after the unwillingness it has manifested to provide for him.

Fort William : A. STIRLING,
The 14th August 1829. Deputy Secretary to Government.

Letter No. 16.—The letter gives a brief outline of the early history and banking activities of the Buti family of Sitabuldi in Nagpur. They originally lived in Bhandara and had extensive money-lending business in the district of Bhandara during the twelve years of British management from 1817 to 1829. Then they seem to have incurred the displeasure of the Raja and leaving Bhandara came to take refuge within the Residency limits of the British in Nagpur. The letter mentions the troubles Sadashiv Buti's son was experiencing from the hostile attitude of the Raja and the charges that the Raja had brought against him. Hence he appeals to the British for an equitable settlement.

Nana Sahib) and latterly for Ambika Bai (one of Raghojee's wife). He was entrusted with advances in money and clothes; these he says, he repaid, together with a considerable profit and regulariy gave to persons appointed to receive the same, annual accounts exhibiting the outstanding balances.

3. When he undertook charge of this Government Dukan in 1221 Fusli it was not because he was destitute of other means of subsistence or of capital of his own. Indeed it was the circumstances of his being possessed of wealth of his own which exciting the avidity of Bapoo Sahib led him to seek the superintendence of this Sirkar Dukan. For by this gaining the protection of that branch of the Raja's family whom he served, he hoped to be..................from the effects of the displeasure and avidity of Raghojee whose necessities latterly drove him to limit his unjust demands against his subjects only by their ability to satisfy them.

4. By Nana Sahib's acceding to his wishes and consigning to him the management of a Dukan which he established in the name of his wife Munia Bai, Buti eluded the payment of a fine which Bapoo Sahib was to impose upon him.

5. He received charge of the Dukan in 1221 Fusli. He continued superintending its concerns till the downfall of the Bhonslas in 1228 Fuslee during which time he submitted to Jalba Khooshee, Sadashiv Venaik and others appointed by Munia Bai to receive the annual accounts of the concern.

6. He states that on the British Government's succeeding to the management of the affairs of the Nagpur state he was called upon by Dr. Gordon who had charge of the city of Nagpur to state the amount of balances due by the debtors of this Sirkar Dukan. On that occasion he gave the required explanatory statement to Baboo Rao appointed through Bucherao by Doctor Gordon and subsequently he furnished a similar list of balances and all other accounts of the Dukan to Abajee Pant deputed by Goojaba Dada to receive them, and that these balances are all that is due on accounts of the Dukan except what he had previously repaid into the Sirkar.

7. The Raja does not specify in his Shooka the amount of balances which he says Buti owes him. Buti however denies the justice of any demands against him, and gives the above explanations. During the minority of His Highness, Goojaba Dada, when regent requested first Captain Wilkjnson and afterwards Colonel Jenkins whilst Acting Superintendent at Bhandara to send Buti to him to settle his accounts. Buti was sent by Captain Wilkinson to the Dada Sahib but nothing definite was fixed upon. When the the Dada Sahib made his second application to Colonel Jenkins, that Gentleman requested that a Vakeel might be deputed to Bhandara, there to plead the cause and that he would listen to the petition but that it was not..................to send the defendent to the place of Residence of the Plantiff to have his cause adjudged.

8. The Raja now demands that Buti and his sons may be surrendered to him, but Buti being under apprehensions for the honour of himself and family has left Bhandara and settled in the Sitabuldi Bazar which lies within the British limits, and claims the protection of the British Government.

9. It now becomes a question as to whether, refugees (not being criminals) should on application be given up to the Raja by the British Government or not.

10. I am of opinion, but I state it with diffidence that such refugees have a right to the protection of the British Government; and should not be given up. Demands urged against them should be listened to and the payment of whatever might be decreed against them by the Judicial authority of Sitabuldi, should be enforced by the usual means of personal restraint and when necessary. This is the process which would be adopted in the adjoining territories upon the Nerbudda, and this cession to the Hon'ble Company has inherent in it equal rights and privileges with those of any other British possession.

11. As however the exercise of this privilege in this place situated as it is in the centre of the Nagpur dominions, and closely adjoining the capital may be inconvenient by necessitating the Company's authority here to become the arbiter of many causes between the Raja and his subjects, and as it might devolve duties of investigation for the dispatch of which two or three judges would be insufficient, it may be deemed politic never to exercise this privilege of protection. Still it would be proper in the first instance to proclaim that all refugees from the Rajah's limits will be surrendered on his Highness's demand.

12. Buti's case is however peculiar, 1st because he took refuge here under the impression that he would not be given up and that his person and property would be as safe as if he had fled to Seoni (he being of course always ready to meet at either place whatever might be legally decreed against him). Had he anticipated any doubts of finding protection here he would have fled in the first instance into the Nerbudda territories.

2ndly. Because he has now become the victim of our system of management. It was the greatness of the British Officers in the charge of districts and I trust I speak without partiality when I say of none more than the late Superintendant of Bhandara to encourage and extend cultivation and promote in every way the interests of Government. To effect these objects outlays of capital were necessary. The avidity of the former rulers had brought on a timidity and backwardness in entering upon speculations which made it difficult to induce Sowkars to come openly forward but by labouring to give every possible security in the outlay of capital in agricultural and mercantile dealings and by enforcing prompt payment of all recent and just debts the superintendents succeeded in inspiring the fullest confidence. Capitalists readily felt satisfied that the only risk they incurred was a bad season.

13. Of all the Sowkars of the Bhandara district none has contributed more to the advancement of that district to its present state of prosperity than Buti. Relying confidently on the aid of Government in the recovery of his advances he lent freely and largely. He extended his dealings even beyond the limits of his own capital. He has been latterly in the habits of borrowing annually to a large amount from other men of wealth, who felt less confidence or had not equal enterprise or habits of business, in order to lend out again and thus aid in the "Sunch" renting cultivation, of the lands of Government.

14. But he has shown all this activity and enterprise because he felt a mistaken assurance that the British Rule was not to be withdrawn. From the moment he heard of the intended transfer he began to complain of the want of due notice. He said that he had been encouraged to extend his dealings all over the country, that his grain and money was now spread through every pergunnah to such an extent that it was impossible to collect them before rule ceased, and that thus he must now prove the victim of a system of justice and security which had led him in advancing his own, to promote also so extensively the interests of Government.

15. These considerations may induce you to interfere so far as to see that no injustice is done to Buti, even though it may be inconvenient and impolitic to refuse to surrender him on the application of the Raja.

He courts enquiry but not once by any creature of the Raja. He is willing to submit to the decision of a Panchayat, composed of independent and respectable men, he having the nomination of an equal number with the Raja, but on the condition that the Panchayat shall record and submit for your examination their decree and the evidence, proofs, and documents upon which they found it. He begs, that, if you decide on sending him to the Raja you will do so telling His Highness that he is the father of all his people and that you trust and enjoin that he will treat Buti whose dealings have so much advanced the interests of the district with that regard due to him.

Letter No. 17.—The Dak stages mentioned in the enclosure to the letter indicate the route from Poona to Nagpur.

FROM—J. A. FORBES, ACTING POST MASTER GENERAL, GENERAL POST OFFICE, BOMBAY.

TO—THE HON'BLE R. CAVENDISH, RESIDENT AT NAGPUR.

Bombay, the 31st December 1838.

With reference to my letter, dated the 26th instant I have now the honour to annex a list of Dak stages between Poona and Nagpur, via Aurangabad, Jalna and Karanja.

(Enclosure)

Memorandum of the stages through which the Horse Dak proposed to travel from Poona to Nagpur.

No. of stages	Names of the villages	No. of states	Names of the villages
1	Poona	29	Unjuee
2	Shegaon.	30	Sowgorpore
3	Lonee	31	Unjunee
4	Shikrapoor	32	Bipree
5	Ranjangaon	33	Chandoot
6	Seroor	34	Wuduff
7	Naraingaon.	35	Jowolkay
8	Soopa	36	Kinhee
9	Chaua.	37	Jonhagheer
10	Ahmednagar.	38	Kuekon
11	Jewoor.	39	Karinja
12	Singwa.	40	Dipalgaon
13	Rastapore.	41	Karlee
14	Khadakwadi	42	Mewejrool
15	Toka.	43	Tewtee
16	Selagaon.	44	Ghorekher
17	Waloory.	45	Rewagaon
18	Aurangabad.	46	Boregaon
19	Chikhalthara.	47	Khuwath
20	Kudgaon.	48	Telle Vullee
21	Seaikta	49	Aumlay
22	Budnapore	50	Selooj
23	Naugamandi	51	Keljhar
24	Jalam	52	Ausoola
25	Nhawaye	53	Saulehole
26	Sheokhan	54	Daygaon
27	Kavgaon	55	Nagpur.
28	Beebee		

Deccan Post Office:
Poona, 29th Dec. 1838.

W. W. PREEDY,
Acting Dy. Postmaster at Poona.

Letter No. 18.—The letter gives cover to an enclosure which is a copy of the proclamation issued by the Resident at Satara, on the occasion of the deposition of the Maharaja of Satara in favour of his brother.

FROM.—J. P. WILLOUGHBY, SECRETARY WITH THE GOVERNOR OF BOMBAY.

To—THE RESIDENT AT NAGPUR.

Dapooree, the 10th September 1839.

I am directed by the Hon'ble the Governor in Council to forward for your information copy of a proclamation issued by his authority under date the 5th instant explaining the grounds on which the British Government has been reluctantly compelled to depose the Raja of Satara and to proclaim his brother as his successor.

(Enclosure)

Proclamation by the Resident at Satara issued under the authority of the Hon'ble Sir James Smith Carnac, Baronet, Governor of Bombay, dated Satara the 5th September 1839.

1. When the British Government was compelled by the unprovoked hostility of Baji Rao to declare war against him, a proclamation, dated the 11th February 1818, was issued by the Hon'ble Mr. Elphinstone sole Commissioner for the settlement of the territories conquered from the Peshwa setting forth the circumstances which had rendered that measure imperative. In this it was announced as follows:—

"The Raja Satara who is now a Prisoner in Baji Rao's hands will be released and placed at the head of an independent sovereignty of such an extent as may maintain the Raja and his family in comfort and dignity. With this aim the fort of Satara has been taken. The Raja's flag has been set up in it, and his former ministers have been called into employment; whatever country is assigned to the Raja will be administered by him, and he will be bound to establish a system of justice and order. The rest of the country will be held by the Hon'ble Company. The revenue will be collected by the Government, but all property real or personal will be secured. All Wuttun and Enam (hereditary lands), Warshashans, annual stipends, and all religious and charitable establishments will be protected, and all religious sects will be tolerated and their customs maintained, as far as is just and reasonable."

2. The Raja of Satara having been released from captivity, on the defeat of the Peshwa at Ashta was, pursuant to the above declaration, placed on the throne, and a treaty of alliance and friendship was concluded between His Highness and the British Government, dated the 25th September 1819. By the 2nd article of this compact, the Raja for himself and for his heirs and successors engaged, to hold his territory in subordinate co-operation with the British Government, and to be guided in all matters by the advice of the British Agent at His Highness's Court. By the 5th article the Raja for himself and for his heirs and successors engaged to forbear from all intercourse with foreign powers and with all Sirdars, Ijhardars, Chiefs and Ministers, and all persons of whatever description, who were not rendered subject to his authority and to abstain from all connection or correspondence with them. It was further stipulated by the same article, that any affairs that might arise with the aforesaid states and persons relating to His Highness, should be exclusively conducted by the British Government and that if (for the purpose of forming matrimonial connections for His Highness's family, or for any similar purpose) His Highness should have occasion to communicate with persons not rendered subject to his authority such communication should be

made entirely through the Political Agent. Finally it was declared that this article was a fundamental condition of the agreement, and that any departure from it on the Raja's part would subject him to the loss of all the advantages secured to him by the said treaty.

3. Notwithstanding this solemn compact it has been conclusively established to the conviction of the British Government that the Raja unmindful of his obligations, and of the generosity which restored him to liberty and conferred on him a Throne, has for a series of years held clandestine communitions contrary to the stipulations contained in the 5th article of the treaty; that he has cherished ambitious designs hostile to the British Government; that he has advanced claims and protection incompatible with the letter and spirit of the treaty and that he has conducted himself in a manner subversive of the alliance formed between the two states.

4. Nevertheless the British Government willing to believe that the Raja had been betrayed into these acts by the counsels of evil and designing men and in the hope and expectation that the Raja would appreciate to..............and abandon the dangerous course into which he had been seduced, had resolved to overlook and forgive the past, on his agreeing for the future to act strictly and in good faith according to the treaty; to dismiss from his counsels the Minister who had been chiefly instrumental in creating disunion between the two states, and to abstain from injuring those persons through whose information his violations of the Treaty had been established.

5. With this view the Hon'ble Sir James Smith Carnac Baronet, Governor of Bombay, vested with full authority from the Right Hon'ble Lord Auckland, Governor-General of India, proceeded in person to Satara, and having explained to the Raja the dangerous position in which he had placed himself and having communicated both verbally and in writing the conditions on which the British Government was willing to grant an amnesty for the past, urged him to the compliance with these terms as the only mode by which relations of amity and friendship with him could be restored.

6. The Raja after repeated conferences and ample opportunity for reflection and after having been explicitly warned of the consequences rejected these conditions and the British Government being therefore convinced that it is impossible any longer to maintain friendly relations with a Prince who has shown himself so regardless of a Treaty entered into under the peculiar circumstances above recited, hereby declares the alliance between the two states dissolved, and its intention to enforce the penalty specified in the 5th article of the treaty entered into by the Raja and dated the 25th September 1819.

7. The British Government however having no view of advantage and aggrandizement has resolved to invest the brother and next in succession to the Raja, with the sovereignty of the Satara state, according to the limits fixed by the treaty of the 25th September 1819. He is therefore hereby proclaimed Raja of Satara under the title of Shrimant Maharaj Shahjee Chatrapati of Satara and all persons residing within his territory are hereby required to render to him allegiance.

C. OVANS,
Resident at Satara.

CONFIDENTIAL NEWS-LETTERS OF 1840

No. 1.—From—J. W. BAYLEY, ASSISTANT SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

Fort William, the 10th July 1840.

INTELLIGENCE—NORTH-WEST FRONTIER AGENCY

4th June: The Punjab Akhbar contains the following items of intelligence:—

1st. The custom office at Attock having caused some inconvenience to some British Officers on duty in that quarter orders were immediately issued to prohibit any undue interference.

2nd. A reply was received from Sultan Mohammed Khan, to the orders lately sent to him, saying that he was setting out with his troops to join Rajah Socheit Singh and that he had now entrusted these to his son Mohammed. Orders for Sultan Mohammed Khan's immediate attendance at the Durbar and his non-interference in any matters connected with the Khaiber Pass were immediately issued.

3rd. The Durbar was busy in the preparation of presents for the Queen of England.

4th. General Avitabile was ordered to send the Barakzye Chiefs to the Durbar instantly and Alla Singh was despatched to Kohat to bring in the Chiefs in question together with the Ghilzyes. Copies of the orders issued to the Barakzye Chiefs were forwarded to Lalla Kishna Chand for the information of the Governor-General's Agent.

8th June: The Lahore Akhbar of date noted in the margin contains the following items of intelligence:—

1st. Rajah Socheit Singh has demolished the Gaddi of Delasa Khan, and is making ararngements for the revenue of that district.

2nd. General Avitabile reported that he had dismissed Rahmat Khan Barakzye who was going to extremeties in all the little cases relating to the collection of the revenues from the Khaibaree cultivators.

10th June: The Barakzye Chiefs were preparing to attend the Durbar with the Ghilzyes.

19th June The Lahore Akhbar contains the following items of intelligence —

1st General Avitabile was ordered to confiscate all the Jagirs in the Peshawar district.

2nd. Kunwar Sher Singh reported that his troops had crossed the Chinab on their way to Peshawar

3rd. Lt. Mackeson is making his arrangements with the Shan wari and the Afreedee Afghans and trying to recover the plundered property of the merchants

4th. The Kunwar is stated to evince much fickleness, sometimes he seems bent on conciliating the Rajah's he is so estranged from them that he excludes them from all interference in public affairs.

30th May The Peshawar Akhbar of the 30th May states —

1st. The tribes of Bajire (Bajaur) concerned in expelling Meer Allum Khan and restoring the ancient families to the villages and lands of their forefathers

2nd. Noor Mohammed Khan son of Sultan Mohammed Khan and Sardar Peer Mohammed Khan have arrived at Peshawar

AFGANISTAN—KABUL

3rd June The envoy and Minister ascribes to the collusion of the Barakyze Chiefs with Amir Khan, the usurpation by the latter of the Bajore Country

1st June The envoy and Minister also reports the despatch *to Kabul of a son of Dost Mohammed and a son of Meer Walle's* as also the arrival at Bameean of the Chief Minister of Mohammed Murad Beg The envoy and Minister is using every effectual measure to induce the speedy return of Nawab Jabbar Khan.

10th June Later letters from Kabul dated 10th June state that the son of the Wallee of Khoolum had come into Kabul, that from Khyow was daily expected and that Atma the Prime Minister of Meer Murad Beg of Koondooz had come to Kabul, it was supposed with the intention of negociating for the aid of the British Government to be given to his master against his rebellious subjects. For a full account of the character of Atma see page 119 of Reports and Papers, political geographical and commercial submitted to Government by Sir Burnes B N I., Lieut. Leech B.E., Doctor Lord, B M.S, and Lieut. Wood I N, employed on mission in the years 1835, 36, 37 in Scinde, Afghanistan and adjacent countries, printed at Calcutta in 1839.

Major McSherry reports his having raised two hundred and fifty two recruits for service in Afganistan and states that after the rains many Goorkhas will join him at Deyrab. Lieut.-Gerrard has raised at Karnal 120 Hindustani recruits all for the Shah's force.

KANDHAR

29th May: In a letter of date noted in the margin the envoy and minister reports on the effects of the late operations on the Ghelzye country. The local authorities are of opinion that it would be highly necessary to gain the confidence of the distrustful among the Hokee and Tokhee Ghilzies and to afford every encouragement to the present chiefs. Major Leech reports that the present chiefs Meer Allum Khan Hokee and Samad Khan Tokhee, have shown themselves to be entirely in Shah Soojah's interests and deserve to be consulted on any measures being contemplated affecting their respective tribes. Major Leech is of opinion that the prisoners taken by Captain Anderson might be employed in repairing or re-erecting the fortress of Kelab-i-Ghilzie and that to this party might be added the other dependants of the ex-chiefs who may hereafter be seized. Captain Bean has been directed to send to Kandhar the troop of House Artillery under command of Lieutenant Cooper.

11th June: The Major General commanding the troops in Afganistan reports the capture of Walloo Khan a Ghilzye Chief who took so conspicuous a part in the late attack on Capt. Anderson's detachment, and of a nephew of Murro also a rebel Chief. These will be handed over to be dealt with by H. M. Shah Shuja.

5th June: The Ex-Chiefs of Kandhar are said to have proceeded to Shahr-i-Babēl, the revenues of which had been assigned to them by the Shah of Persia for their maintenance. Intelligence (believed to be authentic) had been received of the death of Rahimdel Khan by Dropsy.

The Political Agent at Kandhar states that nothing has yet been settled regarding Seistan between the Herat and Kabul Governments. The Beloochee Chiefs in the Agents opinion owe allegiance to Kandhar. In consequence of one of the Beluchi Chiefs (Ibrahim Khan) having refused to furnish the quota of grain he had promised, and having thrown off his allegiance to the Herat Government he has been besieged in a small fort by Mohammed Raza Khan. The sum of 200 Herat Roomuns (or Co's. Rs. 1333-4-4) has been sent to the Khan last named to aid in carrying on his operations against the rebel Ibrahim.

JELLALABAD

4th June: The Political Agent reports the submission of the refractory people of Zawah to Shah Shuja's authority. The Mulliks of the Meer Khee Kheil (a tribe not famed for their loyalty) have also owned their allegiance to the king, and the inhabitants of the neighbourhood of Kheyjah promising a steady observance of their duty to the authorities placed over them.

KHOOLUM

8th June: The Walee has exercised a forcible interference in the affairs of Sir-i-pool which principally is nominally subject to Bukhara.

BAMEEAN

Orders have been issued by Shah Shuja to countermand the attendance of the Huzzurah Mallicks on Mulla Shakur at Kabul for the purposes of taking their taxes and H. M. is about to depute a Governor to Bameean.

The Political Assistant reports his having received an emissary from the Chief of Huzzar professing allegiance to the king Dr Lord at Bameean also states that the practice of dealing in slaves had been very rare in his neighbourhood and that the very few who had been carried off have been at once surrendered on requisition

BAJORE

4th June The Military Assistant to the Envoy and Minister reports his failure in his endeavour to penetrate the Bajore country and his consequent return to Kabul.

KARRACK

Captain Heunell is desirous of opening a communication with Major Todd at Herat through Yezd or Kerman, for the purpose of facilitating the transit of communications from Herat Major Todd will do all in his power to aid in this measure.

PERSIA

The king of Persia has been attempting to arrange affairs at Ispahan and has seized and punished the authors of the late disturbances. A force amounting to 8000 men has been collected at Ispahan upon the employment of which there are many speculations It has been last asserted that they will be sent against the wild and lawless people who occupy the country Westward of that Place. The French, Russian, Turkish and Oorjunge embassies had proceeded to Ispahan.

PERSIA—KHYVA

19th May It is rumoured that the Shah of Persia had sent a message to the Khan of Khyva that he should submit to the Russians and that the khan repelled the proposition with indignation.

KHYVA

5th June Count Duhamel informed Zabbar Dust Khan the Agent to the Persian and Russian authorities at Tehran that the Russian force now marching in Khyva would not advance beyond that place, that the object of the expedition was to avenge the insults and injuries offered by the Khan Hazrat to the Russian Government, and that when that object was attained the troops would be withdrawn

BUKHARA

14th May A letter from Nazir Khanoollah at Bukhara under date noted in the margin states, that an Agent had made his appearance from the Russian Camp with presents to the king of

Bukhara and that His Majesty has resolved to depute an Agent to the Russian Camp with return presents. The same letter adds (what we have since learnt both from the Emba via to Petersburgh and London: and from Khiyva and Bukhara via Kabul and Hindustan), the Russians have reoccupied their camp.

The same native letter further states that the king of Bukhara has sent 2000 Tillahs (gold coins) to purchase wood and rafters at Samarkund for the purpose of making boats for the Oxus. This timber was expected to reach Bukhara in a short time after the date of the letter. The writer adds the name of the English for justice has so spread throughout Turkistan that many people of Bukhara have expressed a wish to join the British troops on their reaching Balkash with 10000 Horse, and the king of Bukhara is very much perplexed at the present juncture of affairs.

It is stated in another native letter that the daughter of Dost Mohammed Khan had arrived at the above place, that the ex-Amir had been set at liberty, and that probably the Government of Balkash about to be conferred on him.

Herat

The Envoy at Herat states that as the grounds on which he has hitherto objected to any movement against Ghorian seem now hardly to have effect, he doubts whether he shall be any longer able to dissuade the Vazir Yar Mohammed Khan from attempting its recovery, as its possession is considered of the highest importance to the Government of Herat.

Bagdad

5th May: The Political Agent in Turkish Arabia states that various parties of French officers have passed through Baghdad on their return to France from Persia and that the French Envoy was expected shortly to do the same leaving an Agent at Tehran.

Bushire

5th May: The Political Agent in Turkish Arabia states that a French Counsul has just been appointed for Bushire.

Guzerat

14th April: The Political Commissioner reports the abolition of the rite of Suttee by His Highness the Gaikwar and the issue of a proclamation prohibiting its being hereafter performed within His Highness's dominions.

Scinde Upper

The Political Agent states with reference to the strength and resources of the Maree tribe that the number of armed men said to have assembled near . . . has been very much exaggerated and that the garrison of that fort is able to maintain itself against any force which can be brought against it.

Scinde Lower

The Political Agent reports the despatch from Gorabaree for Sukkur of 2,000 stand of arms for Afghanistan, and the arrival at Currachee of 1,000 for the same destination.

CHINA

2nd April The Rear Admiral and Commander-in-Chief of the Naval Force reports from the Cape of Good Hope his having received orders to assume the Naval command on the India station and to proceed to Singapore and China. To ensure the efficiency of the expedition, the Commander in-Chief expresses a hope that at least three steamers will be sent him for the service in China.

NEPAL

The Resident reports the divided state of the Royal family and of the chiefs and great discontent in the army from a proposed measure of reduction in pay The Resident further reports that more marriages in the Royal family are on the tapis and that under cover of them the Durbar is again seeking to send mission to the plains. The hope of getting passports renders the Durbar pliant to the Resident's demand for satisfaction for various wrongs. The last private letters from Nepal state that a serious mutiny had actually taken place at the capital on the reduction of pay being proclaimed.

NEPAL—TIBET

The Resident reports that the Viceroy and Grand Lama of Lassa in reply to the Durbar's invitation addressed to the Emperor of Tibet to attend the Heir apparent s marriage stated that it had never been the custom for Nepal to send, or Pekin, to receive, any such invitation. The letter of invitation was returned to the Durbar with an intimation that beyond the fixed quinquennial mission and the usual reports of current transactions nothing was required from it. The Resident states, moreover, that there can be no doubt that the news of our warlike preparations against China has reached Lassa and that yet up to the present moment Nepal's attempts to arouse the Tibetans had been entirely ineffectual.

AVA

A letter from Ava states that the restrictions on the receipt and dispatch of letters noticed in the News letter No. 2, dated 10th ultimo are no longer in force at the Post Office.

A private letter from Ava states that a report gains ground of a disturbance having broken out at Sho-ay-gain. It is also reported that a disturbance or open revolt had taken place at Rameethan, a further letter of the 17th June reports the country somewhat more quiet again.

ASSAM

A letter has been received by the Political Agent from Nurgropllah Caum reporting that all is quiet in the Frontier towards Burmah.

MISCELLANEOUS

The Bombay Government have established a quarantine for all vessels from the ports of Egypt where the plague is raging

J W BAYLEY,
Assistant Secretary to the
Government of India.

Fort William
The 10th July 1840.

No. 2.—From—J. W. BAYLEY, ASSISTANT SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

Fort William, the 22nd July 1840.

INTELLIGENCE—NORTH-WESTERN FRONTIER AGENCY

20th to 25th June: The Punjab Ukhbar of the date noted in the margin contains the following item of intelligence, *viz.*, "Rajah Dhyan Singh described the usefulness of the Goorkhas in mountain warfare, and orders were issued to enlist any Goorkhas that might happen to come to Lahore." Another Lahore Ukhbar contains the following items of intelligence:—

1st. General Avitabile reported that Sultan Mahomed Khan and Syed Mohamed Khan were preparing to set out for Lahore with the Ghilzies.

2nd. An urzee from the Barkzies was received saying that their coming to Lahore would unsettle everything in their quarter, the people being so refractory. An answer was sent that the Sarkar had no fear of any such mischief resulting, and that they must come quickly or they would be severely punished.

3rd. The Koonwar is applying himself more and more to the army and the public affairs.

4th. Of late no difference or discussions have taken place between the Maharajah and the Koonwar.

5th. Bhya and Surdars Sultan Mohammed Khan and Syed Mohamed Khan reported that they had set out from Kohat for the Durbar with all the Ghilzies on the 9th June.

PESHAWAR

11th June: The Political Agent expresses a hope with reference to the attack made on the . . . Kaflla in the Shinwarri territory by the Sunga Khail tribe (in which 7 merchants were cruelly murdered and property to the extent of 3 or 4000 Rs. was plundered) to get redress from the said tribe for this outrage by marching against them with the help of the Chief of Khyber who is desirous of co-operating with him in bringing them to terms.

AFGHANISTAN—KABOOL

13th June: On the night of the 5th instant a portion of the force under Colonel Wallace marched upon the Fort of Maroo Fureekee (a notorious leader of Bandittee who had been the terror of the Country for many years) which after a march of 25 miles over a very difficult country, it succeeded in surprizing and taking by *Coup de main.* The towers of the fort were blown up by order of the Political Officer in charge, who made the inhabitants and neighbours engage not to repair the same.

The troops mentioned in the margin under comamnd of Capt. Anderson had on the 8th June joined Lieutenant-Colonel Wallace's detachment and the latter officer has ordered the detachment of 2 *Cavalry* of Shah Shoojah's Force to proceed towards Kabool on the 9th instant The undermentioned forts, the property of Robber Chiefs in the Ghilzie country, were taken possession of and destroyed on the morning of the 9th June without opposition by a detachment as per margin.

15th June { Detachment 4 Local Horse / 2 Troop N A S S F / Detachment 2 / 5th Infantry Do. / Draft from 6th F Do

2 Companies 2nd N I. / 100 Christer Horse / 1-9 Pair Gun sappers and Miners

1st The Fort called Kulai Moura. 2nd The Fort called Kulai Baran. 3rd The fort called Kalai Aboobouktr

20th June The detachment has returned to Camp A letter from Kabool, dated 30th June states, "You will be glad to hear that owing to the vigorous and judicious measures adopted here, the affairs of the Ghilzie country will soon be restored to order" Mention is made of an intention to station a Regiment (probably Capt. Woodburns) in the neighbourhood of the Ghilzie country

20th June The Major General Commanding the troops in Afghanistan reports that Dukkah Khan the brother of Sultan Mohamed Khan had come into Camp, that a great number of his followers had also already returned, that others were still returning to their lands bringing with them their families and that there was every probablity of all hostile operations rapidly drawing to a close.

HERAT

8th June A letter from Herat dated 8th June refering to the newly established communication between Kandahar and Herat adds "the posts of the Afghan horse have answered well and robberies are no longer heard of between Herat and the Kandahar frontier" It seems that the attack upon Ghorian as refered to in the News Letter No 5, dated 10th July about to be made by the Herat State at the suggestion and under the arrangements of the Vazier Yar Mohamed Khan, was not likely to be made before the 20th Ultimo The families of the party within Ghorian friendly to Herat, are stated to be now in the hands of the Vazier. The Repairs of the fortifications of Herat are going on steadily and the harvest throughout the Valley will be reaped in about 20 days, so that no fear of famine * exists.

KHYVA—THE RUSSIANS

15th June The following occured in a conversation held between Yakub Beg, Deputy from Khyva and the Envoy and Minister at Kabul

* By a later letter just received it is stated that Barley was selling on the 10th June in Herat 16 seers per rupee and that wheat was expected to be 1 Heratee rupee per Maund.

On Yakub Beg mentioning that from the favourable impression made on his mind of the character of the English the King of Kharazm determined that his State and that of England should be one. Sir William Macnaghten asked "what are the distinct points contemplated in this alliance". Why that you should consider Kharazm as your own country and defend it accordingly. The Shah first wishes you to send some good artillery men "at present"; (replied Sir William Macnaghten) 'we could not meet the Khan Huzrut's wishes in this respect because it would be helping you against the Russians, with whom we are friends, and whom we consider to have just grounds of quarrel with you for capturing their Countrymen and attacking their Caravans. After some further conversation, the Khyva Envoy remarked to the Envoy and Minister that false reports had been circulated in Turkeestan about our designs in coming to Afghanistan but that judging from our proceedings towards Shah Shoojah he was convinced to the contrary and would disabuse the minds of the Khyvans of the impressions which such reports were calculated to produce.

20th June: The Envoy to Herat has received intelligence from Lieut. Shakespear now at Merve that, the Russians had destroyed the forts which they had erected on the Khiva frontier, and had marched back to their own country. Further that a quantity of Iron and spare stores left behind by the Russians had been brought into the city of Khyva by a party of horse who had been sent by the Khan Huzrut to watch the movement of the Russian forces.

Persia

10th May: A letter from Erzroom, dated 10th May says "information from the desert confirms the intelligence from Persia of the almost total destruction of the Russian force and adverts to 12000 Russians with Guns in that Expedition having suffered an actual defeat in the field.

The same letter alluding to the 2nd Expedition in comtemplation is to be directed from the Shores of the Caspian states, "the distance is about 550 Versts. This appears to be the obvious route to be selected for the proper season the beginning or the end of winter, but it now seems to me to be wholly impracticable, for it appears impossible at this time of the year to obtain water even for a very small body of men".

From the same document it appears that the Circassians have taken 5 Russian forts by assault. The writer goes on to say—"I see no prospect of a return of the Mission before the end of the year at the earliest period. The Frenceh mission has I hear been received at Ispahan with the greatest demonstrations of respect. No conclusion can be drawn from this of the likelihood of their being able to establish an intelligence in that Country".

13th May The Shah of Persia has issued a Firman at Ispahan to the Governors and authorities of Persa to protect the lives and property of the Servants of the British mission and to punish no one connected with the mission accused of any crime without the knowledge of the British Minister

13th Dec Her Majesty's charged' affairs at Erzroom reports the following items of intelligence —

1st. The Shah of Persia has reached Ispahan but his subse quent destination still continued concealed.

2nd Great number of Russian troops are collecting at Tiflis perhaps to engage in another campaign against the Lesghees.

3rd Of 32000 muskets ordered in France by Husain Khan. 8000 have been delivered in Persia.

4th. General Dumas has arrived at Erzroom with an officer whom he styles his Aid-de-Camp

5th. Persia is about to send an Embassador to France.

The Political Agent in Turkish Arabia reports a Persian Force to have advanced to Suleemana the Capital of lower Khurdistan and to have taken possession of that place together with a portion of the adjacent territory A force however is now in preparation to aid in the attainment of the rights of Mohamed, the Pacha of Sulemania, invaded by the Persians.

BAGDAD

3rd June A correspondent in Arabia notices the reported retirement of Khurshid and his force from Nejd and the resignation of all power into the hand of Shaik Khalid On information of a later date, however, he states that some cavalry still remained in Nejd, that Khursid had given the Government of Lasha to Shaikh Ahmed been Mobarak, and that he had determined to remain in Nejd for the present. The correspondant referred to further reports that three more officers of the Suite of the French Embassador for Persia are on their way to Bagdad to await the arrival of His Excellency at that city

ADEN

Private letters from Bombay mention the intention of the Bombay Government to reinforce the post at Aden by a detachment of 260 men from Her Majesty's Regiment The "Japtee" by later accounts has sailed with these.

SCINDE—LOWER

19th June The Political Agent reports that six men dressed like Turks left Hyderabad on the 17th instant for Khyrpore. These persons landed at Karachee from Muscat, were immediately fur nished with Camels by the Ameer's Government of that place and

came to Hyderabad where they stayed 3 days. It is not known whether they had any communication with the Ameer of Hyderabad. They were styled Emmissaries of Mohamed Shah of Persia but were most probably swindling adventurers.

22nd June: The Political Agent has obtained parwanas from the Ameers of Sind to their officers in the Lower part of the River to direct all Government officers to permit wood to be cut any where except in the Shikargahs (Hunting ground). By this measure the expense of the fuel contracts had been reduced by one-fifth, and this assistance is to be attributed to the interest the Ameers now take in the steamers, and promises immense advantages.

23rd June: The Political Agent reports the dispatch on board the Steam Vessels "Indus" and "Planey" of a Detachment of the 2nd Granedier Regiment to Sukkar consisting of 4 European Officers, 6 Native Officers and 232 Sepoys and followers with tents, luggage and arms and 60 rounds of ammunition. This is the first time the steamers on the Indus have been put to this use and fully show their vast advantages on that river.

China

From the public and private Letters dated Singapur from the 17th to 20th June, we learn: 1—that Admiral Elliot arrived there in H. M. Ship "Melville" with "the Blond" and the "Pylader" on the 16; 2—that they had sailed again for China on the 18th; 3—that H. M. Ships "Nimrad" "Blenheim" and "Modeste" were expected to be at Singapur in a few days; 4—and, that the "Enterprize" would accompany the Admiral to China under * Sail; 5—that every thing seemed to have been done that was necessary to ensure the expedition an ample supply of provision; 6—that the "Nushruth Shaw" was the only Transport that had not arrived; that the "Larne" had also left Singapur for China; 7—and that the "Clifton" with draughts of the 18th Royal Irish Regiment was detained at Singapur for a few necessary repairs; 8—that it is supposed that the fleet will have assembled off the Islands at the mouth of the Canton River on the 14th or 15th of June, and that 3 weeks after that, intelligence of the result of that assembly would reach Singapur; 9—that the Chinese at Singapur say that cattle may be procured in abundance at Chusan and on the Coast of the gulf of Peechee Loo and that beef can always be got on the Canton river.

Ava

3rd July: From Rangoon it is reported: 1—that the Burmese authorities had detained another Post office packet, but on representation being made to the effect that it contained bills of lading

* Note.—She will however return to Singapur on the "Nemesis" reaching the admiral and the there take that place of the "Diana" which must come up...... ......to Calcutta previous to her.

the packet was delivered apparently unopened, 2—that the coronation of H Majesty was to take place on the 8th June and that there was a discussion at Court as to who should be appointed Ain-thoe-main or heir apparent, the King wishing that His legitimate son, the Town Devain-gyoum, should hold the office to which his other and more powerful sons object, 3—that the insurrection noticed in the news-letter No 3, dated 20th June appears to have been suppressed and the *prisoners remaining in the Capital it is* said have been released, 4—that *muskets continue to be imported from Singapur, about 2000 having been dispatched to the Capital for the service of His Majesty

5th June A private letter from Moulmein dated as per margin says, 'Our frontier has been comparatively quiet. All reports agree that the attempt at counter revolution has failed for the present" One report says about 500 persons have lost their lives while another report states that 250 of the old Government servants have been cut off for plotting with the old Queen.

Cossyah Hills

10*th July* The Political Agent reports the construction of a road across the Cossyah Hills from Turreya Ghat on the confines of the Sylhet district on to Nawgong the boundary of Assam a distance of 57¾ miles This road as it now is, the Political Agent states to be perfectly practicable for every description of laden cattle.

Miscellaneous

The Political Agent in the N W Frontier has recommended M. Waues the acting Master H. C. Steam vessel "Comet" with reference to the success it has met with in steaming up to Loodhianah from Ferozepore, to proceed up the Sutlej to Rooper, in order to ascertain how far above Loodianah the Sutlej may be suited to such vessels as the Comet" at this season.

The Commissioner in the Tenasserim Provinces reports that the Steamer building at Moulmein for Government is in a state of forwardness.

J W BAYLEY,
Asstt Secretary to Government of India.

Fort William
The 22nd July 1840.

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*The muskets are ordered from Liverpool direct to Singapur for .. . . to Burmah by traders in the last named checked when found to be

No. 3.—From—J. W. BAYLEY, ASSISTANT SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

Fort William, the 1st August 1840.

North-West Frontier

26th to 29th June: The Lahore Akhbars of dates noted in the margin contain the following items of intelligence:—

1st. A detachment had been sent to escort the march of the British Convoy from Ferozepore towards Peshawar.

2nd. In consequence of the Senkoo Kheil robbers refusing to attend on him with all the plundered property of the merchants and travellers Capt. Mackeson marched to Peishblabe with his troops and those of the Afghans, when the Sinko Kheils despatched their vakeels to attend on Capt. Mackeson.

3rd. Rajah Dhyan Singh reported that Sirdar Sultan Mohammed Khan had crossed the Attock on his way to Lahore and General Avitabile was ordered to furnish Capt. Mackeson with whatever troops he may want for punishing the Khyberries.

4th and 5th July: The Lahore Akhbars of dates noted in the margin report:—

1st. Two Companies of the Nujjeeb Battalions were despatched, to escort the British Convoy from Kussoor to Peshawar and orders were issued to all the officers on the road to protect the convoy.

2nd. The Bhaees have suggested to the Kunwar to dismiss all the old garrisons and replace them by soldiers of his own raising hinting that those of the time of the late Maharaja are attached to Raja Dhyan Singh.

Hill intelligence

30th June and 1st and 8th July: The 100 Gurkha troops of Raja Balbir Sein are said to have deserted him and come over to be enlisted in General Ventura's service. The Rohillas part............................troops have sided with Meean Runjeet, and gone over to Kumlagarh.

2nd. Balbir Sein, Raja of Mundee has been apprehended by General Ventura and together with some of his Vakeels is kept in confinement. The district of Mundee is taken possession of by General Ventura.

PESHAWAR

11th, 12th, 18th and 19th June: The Peshawar Akhbars of the dates noted in the margin contain the following items of intelligence:—

1st. The Zekha Kheils are emigrating in number to Teerah some for the purpose of seeking their livelihood, or attending to their cultivation there, and others to graze their cattle so that the Khyber Pass is at present free from their depredations.

2nd. Sirdar Sultan Mohammed has marched to Lahore with all the Ghilzies. The Ghilizies are very fearful of the consequences of their journey to Lahore; there is a general lamentation in their houses and they apprehend that they will either be put to death or made over to the British Government.

3rd. Some of the Afreedee robbers plundered the property of Nehra Singh a merchant of Peshawar amounting to 12,000 Rupees and carried off his son prisoner.

4th. Sadat Khan Momund agreed to attend on Captain Mackeson at Peshawar or at any of its villages and promised to be loyal to the British Government in future.

AFGHANISTAN

27th June: The envoy and minister reports that tranquillity has been restored in the Ghilzie country and that the presence of the Detachment ordered out from Kabul will no longer be required in that quarter. The Envoy and minister adds that the only district in which any disposition exists to dispute the Shah's authority is that of Zoormat through which the force returning to Kabul is ordered to proceed. Intelligence has just been received of the Nawab Jabbar Khan having arrived with 600 followers at Bameean. Dost Mohammed and his two sons are the only persons of that family who have not surrendered.

SCINDE—UPPER

7th July: The Political Agent reports that the Murree tribe have abstained from making any attempts on our posts. Their chief Dadah Khan is greatly alarmed at the prospect of consequences which may result to him from the acts of his followers, and disowns all participation in them. Brigadier Stevenson has refrained for the present from employing the Kakur tribe against the Murrees.

9th July: The Political Agent states that no duty is levied by the Amirs of Khyrpore on merchandize while in transit on the Indus whether it be the property of their own subjects or of foreign traders. All merchandize when landed becomes liable to the usual duties levied in the Khyrpore States.

SCINDE—LOWER

25th June: Meer Sobdar Khan and Meer Mohammed have promised to grant permission, similar to that previously given by Meer Noor Mohammed, vide News letter No. 6, dated the 22nd June, directing their officers to assist our Wood-cutters in cutting wood for the purpose of fuel wherever their Estates border on the river, a measure by which the expense of fuel contracts will be Their Highnesses the Ameers of Scinde at a suggestion being made to that effect have engaged, with the concurrence of the Governor of Karachi, to repair and extend the Bunder at that place, as a measure which would conduce to the benefit of their own revenues as well as to the convenience and comfort of their subjects in the town and to the British Camp.

9th July: Lieutenant W. F. Gordon, Political Agent, arrived at Soonmeanee on the 6th June and was well received at that place. He expects in a short time to gain sufficient information regarding the state of trade at this port, to enable him to prepare and submit to Government a full report on the subject.

ADEN

8th July: The Political Agent states that Sultan Mohammed Hussain Fudthel has assumed the entire reins of Government from Sultan Hamid his son; and that on the 20th June the Abdollee Sultan sent a small picked party of Bedouins to flank the right field work and rob the tents when they were discovered by the British and driven back. The Political Agent further reports that the Fouthebe and Abdollee tribes to the amount of 6 or 7 thousand men are now assembled within 3 miles of British boundary line. He had reason to apprehend that the attack which this force contemplates making would be most serious and adds that to meet it both the Military and Naval Departments had made every preparation.

KELAT

12th June: The Assistant Political Agent states that Meer Shah Nawaz Khan had returned to Kelat, and had met with some success in the measures he had adopted for ensuring the safety of the road from Sonmeanee to Kelat. The Agent further reports, however that certain individuals of the Bezenjo Clan owing no allegiance, continued to plunder each on his own account, and to infest the road between Belo and Wuddo. The Khan had pledged himself to adopt such active measures as would put a stop to the predatory habits of these people.

24th June: In a communication dated as per margin the Political Agent in Quetta states that since the departure of the 1st troop of H. M.'s Horse Artillery and the reduction of the force at Kelat a bad feeling had been evinced by some Kakurs headed by Ghaffoor Khan, chief of the Paneezye tribe who for some time past had been collecting men for the purpose of attacking our cantonments at Quetta. We had good intelligence of the approach of the enemy, continues the Political Agent, and they came down in a body of about 700 men and attacked our left and rear. When they

had arrived within 150 yards of our position, the guns opened on them with considerable effect, when the enemy fled. In consequence of the disaffected state of this tribe of Kakurs the Political Agent had recommended Captain Greffin to remove the stores, treasure and troops into the town A reinforcement by the wing of the 1st Regiment from Kandhar was expected at Kelat and the Pol. Agent was endeavouring to raise some Belooch horse with a view to ward off any untoward event.

A private letter from Quetta says, up to the 25th June all alarm in our own account had subsided, but we fear for Kelat, against which place the Moonstang intrigue is now directed The letter also states that the young Khan son of Mehrab Khan had arrived at the Moonstong under his grandfather's name, Nusseer Khan, and *had been joined by the principal men of Murrow, Noormuch and* Nushky with their followers. No suspicion is entertained of any of the Bolan Rangers having joined in the attack by the Kakurs, on the morning of the 24th, they observed a neutrality from not wishing to come into open collision with their brother Kakurs. The writer of the private letter referred to further states that Shah Bozoorg the most influential Doomar Kakur mentioned that the Kakurs talk of nothing else but of their wonderful escape from the fire of our Artillery

EGYPT

17th June Accounts from Alexandria state that H. H. the Pasha was about to send an Envoy to the Sultan of Constantinople with his congratulations on the birth of a daughter and with a complimentary present to his Imperial Majesty of 2,000 Purses (£ 10,000) in consequence of that happy event. It is also stated that H. H. the Pasha was prepared to abide by his former promises and to restore the Turkish Squadron as soon as H. I. Majesty should please to express his pleasure whether his fleet should be sent to him upon command of the Viceroy's own son Syed Beg or of Pasha's Admiral Mutish Pasha. But it was not believed that the restitution of the Turkish fleet is likely to be entirely unconditional or to be effected without something like a certainty of corresponding advantage.

CAIRO

Much dissatisfaction is said to have manifested itself lately at Cairo Various attempts at Incandiarism had been made, and the new National General had shown many symptoms of discontent. Mehemet Ali had divided the city into *four districts*. He had likewise lately appointed two new Pashas to command the National Guard.

SYRIA

18th June A communication from His Majesty's Consul General in Egypt of date noted in the margin states—

1st That a serious revolt had broken out in Syria in consequence of the Egyptian authorities giving orders to disarm the Christians of Mount Lebanon

2nd. That the Sanatory Cordon of Saidax had been forced and the arms there in Depot carried off to the mountains.

3rd. That Saida was in a state of great agitation and was expecting to be attacked.

4th. That the utmost diligence prevailed in the whole line of the Syrian Coast, especially that of St. Jenn D'Acre which was to be rendered a Depot of all warlike stores.

5th. That the Garrison of Acre consisted of 12,000 men of all arms.

6th. That recent accounts represented Ibrahim Pasha at Meerash with a division of about 10,000 men, expecting to be reinforced by 5 Regiments.

7th. That Solimen was about to establish a competent force at every point of the coast where a disembarkation might be possible.

8th. That Emir Becher had declared for the Pasha's Government and has 800 Egyptians in and about his palace placed there by Ibrahim Pasha. The Viceroy entertained no apprehensions as to ultimately quelling those disturbances, but he seems to suspect that the sublime Porte or her allies may be induced by his present difficulties to make some attempt on his Syrian possessions. He has consequently completed for the protection of that Coast, two Naval divisions consisting together of—

38 Ships of the Line,
12 Frigates, and
1 Brig.

10th. Her Majesty's Counsel at Damascus writes that the Catholic had openly fomented discontent and espoused the cause of the revolters.

11th. Mehamet Ali evinced every desire to maintain an amicable understanding with Her Majesty's Consul General.

12th. No interruption was to be apprehended, to our overland communications, and the Pasha ever afforded every facility to the Consul's Agents along the line of route from Alexandria to.........................

13th. Maggium Beg continued at Orfa with a force consisting of—

3 Regt. of Infantry.
3 Dn. of Cavalry.
2 Batteries of Heavy Artillery.

He had besides 1,500 Bedowin or Hannadi Cavalry and a Corps of 700 Irregular troops.

14th. The district of Orfa was tranquil, the inhabitants being highly satisfied with the Maggiun Beg.

JAIPUR

6th June: The Political Agent reports the deputation of an individual from the Council of the Regency towards the Bekaner frontier for the purpose of finally settling several frontier questions long pending between the States of Jaipur and Bikaner.

MEWAR

24th June: Arrangements have been made by the Marwar Durbar to establish Thannahs in the Godewar district on the borders of Mewar and Sirohee for the suppression of marauders. It is hoped that similar measures will be adopted by the Mewar and Sirohee authorities within their respective provinces.

BURMAH

1st July: The Commissioner in the Tenasserim Provinces reports the cessation of all annoyance on the frontier by the Burmese authorities, and adds that it is reported that the present King is desirous of establishing friendly relations with the British Government. Private intelligence from Ava states that the Yaevoon expresses his regret that Captain Macleod was obliged to quit Rangoon in consequence of the foolish conduct of the Myowoon; that the King and Ministers at the capital were most anxious that Captain M. should return to Rangoon, and that His Majesty and Court deprecate a war with the English and wish to be on friendly terms with them.

CHINA

Letters from Singapore mention His Majesty's Blenheim and Columbus to have proceeded on to China—the Nimrod to be daily expected from England as also the Nusruth Shah from Calcutta.

MISCELLANEOUS

A private letter from Ferozepore states that the Comet of 40 Horse power reached Ludhiana about June, and the Meteor of 24 horse power started on her return to Sukkur about the same time. These steamers are said to have less draught than any other of the river ones, the former drawing 2 feet 8 inches and the latter 2 feet 4 inches.

1st July: Her Majesty's Brig "Childers" arrived at Moulmein on the 28th ultimo, with a view to refit and then proceed to the Straits.

9th July: The "Planet" Steamer arrived at Sukkur on the 4th June. During her voyage she was under steam 79 hours and proceeded up the river at the average of rather more than 3⅓ miles per hour against the strong current of the inundation.

13th July: The "Ariadne" and "Medusee" two new iron steamers for the Indus have arrived at Bombay and been ordered to Calcutta.

Fort William: J. W. BAYLEY,
The 1st August 1840. Asst. Secy. to the Govt. of India.

No. 4.—From—J. W. BAYLEY, ASSISTANT SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

Fort William, the 15th August 1840.

Intelligence

North West Frontier Agency.

3rd July: The Governor General's Agent in the N. W. Frontier in continuation of his letter of the 1st ultimo, reporting the departure of a Kafila from Ferozepore consisting of 266 camels states that another Cafila of 550 camels escorted by Seikh troops left the west bank of the Sutlej with stores as follows:—

Medical Stores for 2nd Regiment N. I. loaded on ..	1	camel.
Camp Equipage loaded on	32	camels.
Powder on	281	camels.
2,000 Muskets loaded on	84	camels.
Filate loaded on	24	camels.
Pawlins etc. loaded on	8	camels.
Pistols loaded on	2	camels.
Turn Keys etc. loaded on	2	camels.
Gomashtas Grain etc. loaded on	20	camels.
Officers' Supplies loaded on	10	camels.
Spare	86	camels.
Total ..	550	camels.

6th to 13th July: The Lahore Akhbar of dates noted on the margin contains the following items of intelligence:—

1st. Sirdar Sultan Mohamed Khan reported his arrival at the Jehllam and was ordered to make haste to Lahore.

2nd. A petition was received from General Avitabile requesting that since he had incurred the displeasure of the Durbar he might be allowed to retire.

3rd. Sirdar Sultan Mohamed Khan reported his arrival at Shadura with all Ghilzies.

4th. The Ghilzies had offered Bhaee Rattan Chand thousands of Rupees not to bring them from.........Assylum. A list of them was ordered to be sent to Mr. Clerk.

5th. Fakir Shahdeen reported that 10 Lacs of Rupees had arrived at Ferozpur in boats from Sinde.

6th. Fakir Shahdin reported from Ferozpur that Capt. Lawrence was engaged in strengthening the Fort and guns were being provided for it. The Sirdar suggested that it would be prudent to construct a Fort at Kussur. Fakir Azeezood-Din remarked that the British Government was one of strict good faith. Futteh Sing Maun replied that there was no doubt upon that subject, but that it behoves every wise Raj to avoid being taken unawares.

14th July The Governor General's Agent on the frontier has proposed the following plan for the better security of Trade, by the Khyber Pass, viz., that the Lahore Durbar's officer at Futteh-ghur should furnish every applicant going west with a guard, and that the latter should obtain a Certificate of safe delivery from a Post in the dominions of His Majesty Shah Shujah, that His Majesty should construct a redoubt at the mouth of the Khyber Pass with sufficient Sepoys stationed there to provide in like manner a guard to all applicants going Eastward and that such guard should obtain a certificate of safe delivery of the party at the Seikh post of Futtehgurh.

14th to 31st July First—Sultan Mohamed Khan has arrived at Lahore with the Ghilzies, 2nd—an order was issued to give something to General Matabar Singh of Nepal, 2 companies of Gurkhas have been enrolled and guards furnished from them at the Fort and on the Deoree, 3rd—General Golab Singh observed that there were large tracts of the Eusofzye country unoccupied and asked permission to regulate the administration of all the Eusofzye territory He was told that the subject would be considered hereafter, 4th—Bhai Ram Singh observed that General Ventura had formerly re presented to the late Maharajah that Sinde might without difficulty be conquered.

15th July The following is the substance of an agreement by Maharajah Khurruck Singh relative to the duties to be levied on the Sutlej by the Maharajah —

1st. Grain, wood and lime-stone will be free from duty

2nd. With exception to the above every commodity to pay duty according to the measurement of the boats.

3rd Duty on a boat not exceeding 250 maunds of freight proceeding to and from the foot of the hills and to and from other places will be Rupees 50

Duty on a boat above 250 maunds but not exceeding 500 maunds *to and from the other place will be Rupees 100*

Duty on all boats above 500 maunds will be Rupees 150.

4th Boats to be classed 1 2 or 3 and the same to be written on the boat and every boat to be registered.

5th. These duties on merchandize frequenting the Sutlej and other places are not to interfere with the duties on the banks of other rivers or with the established land custom houses, through out the Khalsa territory which will remain on their usual footing

PESHAWAR

26th June to 9th July Captain Mackson was about to coerce the Sinka Kheils but they were brought in to him. The Sinka Kheils had restored some plundered property and left 10 people on their part in the service of Captain Mackson. Mr Sternback's

battalion of the sikh army was generally disobedient and Captain Mackson was bringing into order the Khyberre robbers. General Avitabile was ordered to take every measure to please Captain Mackson and to punish Mr. Sternback's battalion.

15th July: Futtehdeen Khan has dispatched his Sowars with the British Khafila proceeding to Peshwar.

BAJORE

21st June: Lieutt. Mackeson, Political Agent at Peshawar, states that Kotki, Quala Yuayet and Qualano with the town of Bajore are still in the possession of Mir Allum Khan's people; that the Solarzao and Mohamed the originators, under Amir Khan, of the late disturbances at Bajore have disagreed amongst themselves and some of them are now making overtures to Mir Allum's son that a large convoy of stores and ammunition belonging to Amir Khan and probably sent from Peshawar had fallen into the hands of the Garrison at Kotki.

KASHMERE

16th June to 1st July: Vazier Zorwar Singh has now (taken possessions of) Iskardo and Rajah Ahmad Shah is in confinement. The Vazier is about to construct a fort at Iskardo. Rajah Jabbar Khan, ruler of the Jussura district, in consequence of the disturbances in Iskardo has applied for assistance to the Governor of Kashmere.

MUNDEE

15th July: In consequence of a descent made by the Sikh troops on the Mundee territory, the Rajah of Mundee made an application to the Lieutt. Governor for the N. W. Provinces for an asylum for himself and his family within the British territories. His Honour the Lieutt. Governor gave the Rajah the liberty to hire a house for himself and family within the British territories and observed that it was not advisable for any of our officer to receive them as political characters or give to their reception any resemblance of protection from any external power. The Rajah of Mundee has since his application been held in restraint by the Sikhs.

AFGHANISTAN-KANDAHAR

29th July: The military board state that the convoys to proceed with recruits and stores for the services of His Mejesty Shah Shoojah will be dispatched early in the month of November and December next.

KABUL

The Peshawar Ukhbars state that the British Officers had found a treasure in gold and silver in the vicinity of the Ghaznee fort while clearing it.*

*Note.—This alludes to some gold bricks that have been dug up in the neighbourhood mentioned............letters and symbols cut on them a........ ....they sent to the Asiatic Society.

30th June His Majesty Shah Shoojah-ul Mulk has as a special mark of his approbation of the gallant conduct of Capt. W Anderson in the late affairs in the Ghilzie country been pleased to confer upon that Officer the 3rd class of the order of the Doorani Empire.

7th July The Envoy and Minister reports the release of Wallo Khan Shimulzye, the rebel chieftain who had been treacherously put under restraint after a promise of pardon had been made to him.

BAJGAH

1st August The Major General Commanding the troops in Afghanistan reports that agreeably to the Envoy and Minister's proposal he has posted Shah Sujah's Gurkha battalion under Capt. Hay at Bajgah, a position about 60 miles north of Bameean situated in the valley of Khamard and commanding the late of the numerous and formidable difiles leading into Turkestan The Post of Bameean has been relieved by a detachment from Captain Hopkins' regiment four of the Shah's guns now in a forward state of preparation are intended to be fixed at the post and when this arrengement shall be accomplished it is the Major General's intention to withdraw the 4th troop, 3rd brigade horse artillery Capt. Hay reports favourably of the climate and resources of Bajgah, wood and forage are stated to be abundant in the neighbourhood. The valley produces the finest fruits and sheep are easily procurable though grain appears to be scarce.

KHYVA

9th July The Envoy to Herat reports an intention expressed by Lieut Shakespear, on special duty to Khyva of opening a correspondence with the Russian authorities in order to ascertain the demands of His Imperial Mejesty against the State of Khyva, and to arrange if possible their satisfactory adjustment. With a view therefore to strengthen as far as possible the ground of his proposed negotiation, Lieutt. S. wished to urge on the Khan Huzrut the expediency of at once releasing the whole of the Russians slaves or prisoners in His Mejesty's dominions, before the liberation by Russia of the Khyva captives is insisted on.

13th July Lieutenant Shakespear reported his arrival at Khyva on the 11th June. In an interview which took place between the Khan Huzrut and Lieutenant Shakespear His Majesty mentioned to that officer that if the Khyva caravan seized by the Russians were allowed to depart he had authorized Captain Abbott to promise that all Russian prisoners and slaves should be liberated His Mejesty stated that he had but 350 of the subjects of Russia in his dominions while the Russian Government detained 600 of Khyvan subjects. Lieutenant Shakespear reports that Captain Abbott while on his way towards the Russian camp and St. Petersburgh, fell into the hands of the Kuzzacks within one stage of Dush Kulla. It appears that a person by name Hussain Mahtoor who had been

appointed by the Khan Huzrut to accompany Captain Abbott to the Russian Camp as guide, was accessory to an attack made at night upon that officer by 50 Kuzzacks who speedily overpowered his small party. Captain Abbott was four times beaten to the ground. In defending himself from sabre cuts, he received a wound on his left hand and lost the four finger of his right hand, he had also a wound on his forehead. He was found in a dreadful state by Saleh Mohamed (who was dispatched by the Envoy to Herat with letters and money to Captain Abbott) 17 days after the attack, three of his servants had been distributed as slaves and he himself was deprived of his property. Saleh Mohamed and some of the Khan Huzrut's sowars alarmed the Kuzzacks and Captain Abbott was allowed to proceed. It is said that he has been kindly received by the Russian authorities at Dush Kulla who had placed him on board a ship which was to convey him across the Caspian. Captain Abbott in a private note addressed to the Envoy to Herat, bears ample testimony to the courage and attachment to his person of Saleh Mohamed. The Khan Huzrut has sent sowars to seize Hussain mahtoor and the parties who maltreated Captain Abbott.

Lieutenant Shakespear writes that the Khan Huzrut has of his own accord appealed to England for assistance against the Russians.

An Embassador from Kokan is at Khyva the object of whose mission is not ascertained. Lieutt. Shakespear has presented His Majesty with a copy of the Treaty which has been concluded between the British Government and Shah Kamran and also with a copy of the proclamation published by Government on the occasion of the assembly of the army of the Indus. Captain Abbott states on the testimony of a Russian officer who had been taken prisoner near Dush Kulla that at the Russian trenches near the Yen River there were 7,000 Russians and 40 guns.

Bokhara-Russia

15th June: Lieutt. Shakespear on special duty at Khyva reports that the Amir of Bokhara had despatched Mokim Jan on an Embassy to Russia, sending at the same time the Elephant presented to the Amir by Dost Mohamed Khan as a present to the Emperor of Russia. He also reports that Colonel Stoddart and Dost Mohamed Khan are both still in confinement at Bokhara.

Sinde—Upper

13th July: The Political Agent states both in official and private communications that he apprehends no disturbances in Lower Sinde of a nature to compromise us in any serious manner, although possibly the feuds between some of the Hyderabad Amirs and the Mirpur Chiefs may cause trifling internal commotions if he fails to induce the parties to settle their differences which he hopes to be able to do. The Political Agent is of opinion that nothing short of the most serious disasters to our troops in Upper Sinde and the neighbourhood would encourage the disaffected in Lower

Sinde to open attempts against our power, and such he thinks are not to be dreaded, and that our troops while on the defensive at Quetta are not likely to suffer defeat and that the disaffected tribes in Upper Sinde could never of themselves seriously oppose the contingent which may be sent against them With reference to the stoppage of our Daks at a Thannah belonging to Mir Sher Mohamed the Political Agent observes that that Chief is at present too anxious to obtain our support to have authorized such an aggression He conceives that it originated in the supposition of the Thanadar (probably himself a farmer of the customs) that the Dak packets contained merchandize or other articles on which duty should be paid The Agent has written to the Chief referred to and hopes that he will adopt such measures as will secure the Dak packets from detention in future.

20th July The Political Agent states that owing to the immense number of camels which were carried out of India last year it has become a matter of great difficulty to collect any this season, that Sinde and the Seikh states have already been almost entirely drained of them, and that there is difficulty in procuring a sufficient number for the force about to assemble for service in Upper Sinde, nearer than Rajputana the Gwalior territories and the neighbourhood of Agra He adds that not less than 1,500 additional camels will be required to enable a sufficient body of troops to take the field

24th July With reference to events which have lately occurred in Upper Sinde, and which render it probable that a reinforcement to the troops in that quarter may be speedily required the Lieutt. Governor for the N W Provinces has but anticipated the wishes of the supreme Government by giving orders to the Major General Commanding the Sirhind Division to hold one of the Regiments at Ferozepur in readiness for immediate embarkation on the requisition of the Political authorities in these Provinces. The Political Agent at Amballa has been instructed to prepare boats at Ferozpur for the embarkation of the troops if emergency arises to Upper Sinde and by very recent letters it appears that the "Comet" steamer will be rendered available for the transport of the troops referred to.

KELAT

8th July A private letter of date noted in the margin from Kandahar mentions that every means is being used to succour Captain Bean and his post. A party of 500 Afghan horsemen were about to start for Quetta under command of Lieutt. C. A. Jackson, Lieutt. Jackson was to go down in two days and nights or 75 miles and upwards a night. The rebels from all accounts amount to upwards of 4,000 men They are all foot men Lieutt. Jackson proposes (should be fail in his endeavours to disperse the rebels) *to throw the horsemen into Quetta and help in defending* the town.

QUETTA

2nd July: Intelligence from the above place has been received to this effect.

1st. That the Political Agent had sent out small parties of horse to watch the Kakurs.

2nd. That the Doomur tribe of Kakurs in the Boolan rangers are likely to prove very serviceable and are now employed watching the pass between Quetta and Moostang and that party has proceeded to the Marow country south of Moostang to cause a diversion.

3rd. The conduct of Mohammed Khan Naib of Moostang is condemned by all the Zamindars and peaceable inhabitants of that Valley but he being in force there, they are unable to act against him.

4th. The Kakur rebels in the district of Quetta have completely dispersed.

7th July: The Political Agent in Quetta has received a letter from Mohamed Khan, son of Mehrab Khan, stating that he was to be at Sir-i-ab on the 1st July with his army and declaring open hostility against the British Government, as there are not sufficient men at Quetta to enable Capt. Bean to attack the enemy till reinforced on the open plain, the Political Agent fears he would have had to act on the defensive under cover of the town of Quetta, till troops are sent from Kandahar.

15th July: The Major General Commanding the troops in Afghanistan has on this date with the concurrence of the Envoy and Minister moved the 2nd Regiment N. I. with 4 guns of H. M. Shah Shoojah's horse artillery under Captain Anderson, and Lieutt. Legeyt's Resalla to Kandahar in order that Major General Not may have it in his power in case of necessity, to detach a force efficient in all arms from that garrison for the reinforcement of the post of Quetta which is threatened by the son of the late Mehrab Khan of Kelat. The Major General further states that the present garrison of Quetta is reported to be well supplied with provisions and water, and that he entertains no doubt of their being able to maintain the post until succours, if necessary, shall reach them from Kandahar.

18th July: A private letter states Captain Bean's position at Quetta to be unassailable in the town by all the rebels that could be brought against it where nothing but treachery could discompose him, and that reinforcements from Kandahar would reach him long before he could be driven to any extremity. It was hoped that Lieutt. Nicolson in the Ghilzie country will be able to dispense with a considerable portion of the detachment employed against the Ghilzies for the relief of Captain Bean should there be any necessity for such aid.

31st July A private communication dated as per margin states that the Political Agent at Quetta had up to the 8th instant 650 fighting men having received a reinforcement of Achukzye horse and felt no anxiety as to the result of an attack by the son of Mehrab Khan if any such were made.

SUKKAR

9th July The assistant Political Agent in charge at Sukkar reports that five individuals (Persian or Arabs) mounted on camels arrived at that place from Hyderabad. They lived with Futteh Mohamed Ghoree and two of the party visited Mir Roostam Khan. The Political Agent further states that the party have disappeared and he believes their destination to be Nepal*

SINDE—LOWER

9th July With reference to a requisition by the authorities in Upper Sinde for H. Majesty's 40th Regiment for service in that place, the Political Agent stated that he had only partially complied with that requisition, viz, to the extent of half the Regiment. The Political Agent also stated that Lower Sinde is accessible from Guzerat but that he was not aware that any troops would at present be available thence in case of emergency except Cavalry and Artillery

LUSS

18th July The Political Agent, Lower Sinde, in a communication dated as per margin states that in consequence of the probability of disturbances at Beila the British Agent with his small escort of 13 men had been withdrawn from Soonmeanee and ordered to the neighbourhood of Lower Sinde.

18th July The Political Agent in Lower Sinde observes that this state is so petty, whether as regards its power to injure its neighbours or to protect itself and moreover that it is so accessible from the Sea through the port of Soonmeanee and immediately commanded by our troops at Karachee that the disaffection of its chief need excite no apprehension or alarm The Political Agent states that the defection of this Chief is owing to an intended sequestration of the Port Customs of Soonmeanee by the Kelat Government which Customs comprized nearly the whole revenue of that Chief It appears that tribute had not been exacted for some generations past and that the young chief has been driven to desparation on suddenly finding himself likely to be deprived of all resources. The proceedings in this matter had their origin in a temporary misapprehension, which the Supreme Government endeavoured to correct in March last Explanations have been called for of the circumstances under which the misconception has apparently been allowed so long to prevail.

PERSIA

18th July Affairs at Shiraz and the neighbouring districts are said to be tolerably quiet

*NOTE—This is here entered for the information and guidence of Political officers not as any item of important intelligence.

2nd June: It is reported that an Embassador from Ibrahim Pasha is now at Ispahan and that the Shah of Persia's movement from Tehran to Ispahan was only preparatory to his march upon Bagdad.

PERSIAN GULF

6th June: The Imam of Muscat has assured the Government that the whole or any part of his fleet was at their disposal for co-operating with the British Squadron in the Persian Gulf.

15th June: The Resident in the Persian Gulf reports the entrance of the new Government of Tars, Nasroolah Khan into Shiraz; and mentions the Shah's troops have taken possession of Soolemania and H. M. threatens to attack either Bagdad or Bussorah. The Native Agent at Shieaz reports that the horses destined for exportation to India have been seized for the Royal artillery in Ispahan and that the general impression in Shiraz and Bushire is that H. M. inclined to fix the seat of Government at Ispahan.

17th June: The Resident in the Persian Gulf reports having despatched on the 15th June the Honourable Company's Schooner "Royal Tiger" to Bahrein and Kateef, for the purpose of ascertaining the truth of the report of the Seaport of Lohat Kateef and Ageer having been evacuated by the Egyptian troops lately occupying those places.

11th July: The Government of Bombay have issued instructions to the Superintendent of the Indian Navy to send the Hon'ble Company's steamer "Sesostris" to the Persian Gulf on her return from Aden.

20th July: The Government of Bombay report that Sheik Khaleifa-bin-Shakhoot, the Benyes Chief who lately inflicted some damage upon and caused some loss to the Neam of Brymee, has satisfactorily adjusted his quarrel with the Sheikhs of Brymee so that no measures of coercion against that Chief appear to be necessary.

MUSCAT

18th June: A communication from the native Agent at Muscat states that on the 22nd June a vessel arrived from Juddah having on board Saleh Mokhanee who was sent by the Imam to Egypt. This individual was rumoured to be the bearer of letters from Mohamed Ali Pacha from Egypt.

KARRACK

18th May: Every thing is tranquil in this neighbourhood; supplies are plentiful and cheap and the health of the troops is unusually good. On the 18th instant a transport from Bombay with men and stores for the expedition on the rivers in Mesopotamia arrived at Karrack. She brought up a portion of the wing of the 15th Regiment N. I. Two other vessels were daily expected with the remainder of the rebels.

BAHREIN

19th May With reference to the movements of the Khoorseed Pasha a general impression exists on the coast that this officer was about to evacuate central Arabia and return to Egypt with his army This report has been confirmed by letters from Bahrein, which also mentioned that preparations were making by the Pasha's garrisons of Kateef and Lahsah to withdraw from those places and that a body of 300 horse attached to the special services of Amir Khaled came down to the coast to cover their retrograde march The native Agent at Bahrein writes that the whole of the Pasha's army was on its march and had mostly quitted Lassah on the 8th of June. It was not known in what direction they all proceeded from Juddah.

2nd June Esa ben-Tureef and the greater part of his followers have removed from Aboothobee, and settled in the Island of Keun. Sheikh Issa has given great indication of a wish to cruise against the trade of the Island of Bahruen and also to seize from the Sheikh of Dabaye, a Bateel formerly belonging to himself but confiscated subsequently to his secession.

KURNOOL

21st July The Secretary to Government reports that Gulam Rusool Khan, Ex Nawab of Kurnool, had been murdered by one of his followers on the 12th instant. The Right Hon'ble the Governor in Council of Fort St. George has called on the Commissioner at Kurnool to report what allowances should be made for the deceased's children and the other members of his family and the Government of India for a full and particular report of the circum stances that led to the event noted

LUCKNOW

24th July The Acting Resident in a communication dated as per margin states that H M. the King of Lucknow had on the 24th July installed the heir apparent in the office of Prime Minister and appointed Shurfood Dowlah his deputy At an interview the Resident had with the Prince previous to his installation, he endeavoured to impress on his mind a just sense of the onerous duties of the station to which his father had destined him.

RAMPUR

31st July A private letter of date noted in the margin states the Jagheer of Rampur in the N W Provinces, where, about the time of the Nawab's recent demise, some serious disturbances and the murder of an obnoxious Minister took place, was, under the arrangements of the joint Magistrate and Deputy Collector of Mooradabad, Mr Dick, restored to tranquillity and good order

BIKANEER

14th July It is reported that engagements have been inter changed between the states of Jodhpur and Bikaneer mutually annulling all claims on account of the loss of property through plunderers, releasing all prisoners of the one state confined by the

other and becoming responsible for all acts of aggressions that should be perpetrated by any refugee or outlaw. This is the first state with which the arrangements of Jodhpur for amicable adjustment have been concluded and the little delay that has taken place in this instance is a good test of the case with which the same desirable result may be obtained in regard to all other states, neighbouring Marwar.

NIPAUL

5th—18th July: The diary of the Nipaul Residency of dates noted on the margin reports:—

1st. On the 9th Kulraj Pandey was reappointed Pay Master of the forces in open defiance of the army and with pledge given by him that he would reduce it to obedience, punish the late rioters and enforce prospectively the reduced rate of pay. He had commenced to recruit with fresh men, the new Corack battalion in prosecution of his own purpose to break up the union of the soldiery and the Minister.

2nd. The Rani on some trivial pretence had quarrelled violently with the Raja and set off for Benares as she affirmed but which nobody believed. The Raja with part of his family and most of the Chiefs left the city to entreat the Rani's return, in consequence of which the palace and city were nearly emptied. All the people were cursing the frantic women who promised to be assuredly the ruin of the country.

3rd. Kulraj was spoken of for the Premiership. He relies for victory in his contest with the soldiery on the ground of their known loyalty which nothing but gross injustice could have led astray and that he means to eschew.

4th. It is rumoured that the Viceroy of Lassa is rousing himself and has told the Durbar to be in readiness and to expect an ample supply of money from him. Lately private accounts state that the Rani and court had returned to Katmandoo.

22nd July: The Collector of Sarun in a letter to the address of the Resident at Nipaul dated the 15th instant states that the Nepaulese appeared to be partially preparing to evacuate the lands seized by them in his district (Ramnagar Zamindari) retaining a part under some alleged pretext of a right or claim but of what nature it is not clear. The Resident reports that the Nipaulese were still up to the 19th instant in possession of the villages and country of the Terai road. Later letters mention a report of the Maharajah having on the remonstrance of the Resident sent off an express to recall his Goorkhas from Ramnagar. But the communication the Resident has received from the Durbar cannot be said to be satisfactory.

CHINA

13th July: A private communication from Singapur states that an American vessel saw the British squadron destined for China off Pulo Supathi on the 13th July.

17th July A tender of the ship "Minerva" of about 1,000 tons has been accepted by the Government of Fort St George for the conveyance of troops from Madras to China It is presumed that the above vessel with the 1,800 or 2,000 tons of shipping, expected from Calcutta will be sufficient for the Regiment of N I. proceeding on service, and if not found sufficient, there is reason to believe that more freight may be obtained without difficulty at Madras.

FINANCE

18th July The Governor General's Agent on the N W Frontier reports the arrival at Ferozepur from Hyderabad of 11 Lacs of Rupees forwarded by their Highnesses the Amirs on account of the balance due to H. M Shah Shooja ul Mulk.

22nd June The Resident Councillor at Singapur has submitted to Government a statement of cash disbursements, etc., made by him on account of the China expedition from the 7th February to the 20th instant amounting to Company's rupees 2,74,622 13 2

1st July Captain Bygrave's statement of cash balance shows that on the 1st of July 1840 cash in the military chest amounted to Rs. 23,73,343 2-9½

MISCELLANEOUS

The Government of India have with reference to the order of the Hon ble the Court of Directors that officers of the Company employed in the service of Native states should not be paid by the Company for such service, and that Native states which have the benefit of the service of such officers should reimburse the Government for the expense to which it is subjected, resolved that Government can make no claim upon the native Princes for the extra pay or subsistence which has heretofore been paid by the Hon'ble Company to its officers but for service in their (Native Princes) army The Government of India have also resolved that officers who are to be hereafter transfered to the service of Native Princes may be brought under the new rule ordered by the Hon'ble Court, *i.e.*, that they should receive in all cases only the pay and allowances of the rank in which they may be serving the subsistence or bare pay of their rank in the Company's service being paid by the British Government and refunded in account by the Native Princes The Government have further resolved that the subject of the case of incumbents drawing under previous rules, the double pay, be again referred to the Hon'ble Court by this mail

H M 21st Regiment of foot is about to proceed to Dinapur to relieve H M. 16th foot which is the first regiment for return to England

J W BAYLEY,
Assistt Secretary to the
Government of India.

Fort William
The 15th August 1840.

No. 5.—From—J. W. BAYLEY, ASSISTANT SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

Fort William, the 22nd August 1840.

North West Frontier Agency

22nd to 25th July: The Native Akhbar from the above frontier states as follows:—

1st. Sardar Peer Mohammed had made great complaints against General Avitabile.

2nd. Gul Mohammed the Ghilzie had fled from Kohat by the route of Banoo but had not taken his family with him.

Afganistan

13th July: The Envoy and Minister in reply to instructions from the Supreme Government to that effect states that he will assist Shah Shuja in establishing an effective national Government in his dominions, will persevere in his recommendation to H. M. for the appointment of a Minister, as far as he may see that those recommendations can be attended with the chance of an useful result, and will use vigorous measures in quelling the turbulent spirit of the Ghilzies and reconciling them to the Shah's Government.

Kabul

16th July: The Political Assistant at Kabul writes, that he has made over to Lieutenant Burnes all the family of Dost Mohammed Khan and their attendants (consisting in all about 132 persons) who came in with Nawab Jabbar Khan.

Kandhar

14th July: The Political Agent states that Sardar Ata Mohammed, whose case was referred to in a late news letter, and his two relations Shahbaz Khan and Jaifuddin Khan have been released by the Prince Futteh Jung and presented with dresses of honour.

Turkistan

A private letter from Bujgah contains the following paragraph:—

"The people in the frontiers of Turkistan were at first shy at our visit among them, but being subject to Uzbec oppression they now seem fully to appreciate our presence, and next year much land will in consequence be brought into cultivation which has been fallen for years."

KHYVA

14th June: The presents made to the Khan Huzrat by Lieutenant Shakespear have been highly appreciated by His Majesty. The Indian Government is said to be much respected at Khyva and partially from their alliance with and position in regard to the Afghans. If things go on satisfactorily in Herat and in the Russian Camp Lieutenant Shakespear hopes to effect the liberation of Colonel Stoddart and to obtain the promise of Khan Hazrat to forbid the purchase or capture of any new slaves from any country whatever. The Khan Hazrat is said to have ordered the emancipation of twenty-one slaves inhabitants of Herat.

20th June: A messenger from Khyva to Bokhara reports that the Army of Russia was encamped on the banks of the "Oreetee" but that the sudden arrival of the melancholy news of the death of the Emperor caused the camp to be broken up and to withdraw into their country. Some say that this move was caused by the death not of the Emperor, but the General in Chief (Hakim-i-Kulan) of the Army.

BOKHARA

The Native news writer at Bokhara states that Dost Mohammed Khan has lately been released and goes to visit the king every two or three days. Sultan Ahmad and the other sons of the Ameer are still confined. Dost Mohammed Khan says the writer is now persevering to get his leave from His Majesty and when he obtains it, he will undoubtedly go to Kabul, and throw himself on the British protection. The king of Bokhara is now said to be in greater alarm from the English than before, and has allowed Colonel Stoddart to go about the city accompanied by two Ozbeeks

27th July: A report has been received since the above was written stating that Dost Mohammed Khan had effected his escape from Bokhara on the 6th of July and fled to Shahar Subz, a small independent state lying South of Samarcund and between it and Khoolum. In his flight the ex-Ameer was accompanied only by his favourite son Akbar. His eldest son Afzal is also said to have reached Khoolum about the middle of July.

SCINDE UPPER

10th August: A private communication from Agra of date noted in the margin states, that Colonel Sutherland has procured 500 Camels to be sent from Neemuch and Nasirabad for service in Upper Scinde. The same communication further states that matters in Scinde were much better than was generally supposed some time since. No danger was apprehended from the son of the late Mehra Khan and his rebel crew and Lieutenant Loveday according to letters from himself dated 7th ultimo instead of being shut up in Kelat was about starting with a party of Kelatees thence to attack the rebellious chief and his followers.

Quetta

2nd July: Lieutenant Bosanquet, Commanding an Achikzye Horse, bears ample testimony to the soldier-like quality of that body of men and has recommended an increase to their pay from 15 to 20 Rupees per mensem which the Government have sanctioned.

13th July: The Envoy and Minister at the court of Shah Shuja reports that aid has been sent by Major Leech to Quetta with a view of affording effectual relief to Captain Bean's position. Should the next accounts from that place be unfavourable it is the intention of the Major General, Commanding the troops in Afganistan to order Major General Nott to send a reinforcement from Kandhar to Quetta and to order to the latter station the 2nd Regiment of Native Infantry which is now in the vicinity of Ghuznee.

10th July: From the private communication of the date noted in the margin it appears that Lieutenant Jackson with a body of 150 Afghan Horse left Kandhar on the 10th of July with a view to reinforce the garrison of Quetta. After a forced march of 60 miles he arrived at break of day close to the enemy's Camp and then made the men start off at a trot, and just as they passed the main camp and were making for the town, two detached parties of about 500 men discovered them and opened a heavy fire. They returned their fire and moved on at a quick walk towards the town, where they arrived with a loss of 9 men killed and a few horses wounded. The enemy it is said had upwards of 1,000 good cavalry, but the news of the arrival of Lieutenant Jackson and his party into the town had thrown the rebels into great consternation, and they in consequence had fled, and the valley was quite clear of them. From some prisoners who effected their emancipation it appears, the Belochee Sirdars had started off from Moostang, as also the rebel Camp. In their flight the enemy completely pillaged the valley of everything, and plundered every village in the neighbourhood.

Persia

5th July: Her Majesty's charge d'Affairs at Erzeroom in a late communication expresses his belief that the British mission will not return to Tehran for some months and mentions that the French Mission was about to quit Persia.

Muscat

2nd July: Captain A. Hamerton on Political duty at Muscat states that Khurshed Pacha and the Egyptian Army was up to the 19th May last still at Hajaz and Nejd.

Rampore

27th July In consequence of the demise of the Nawab of Rampore the Akoonzadeb has been nominated minister pro-temporary

Nepal

19th July to 1st August The Diary of the Nepal Residency contains the following items of intelligence —

1st. Kulraj is talked of for Minister in the place of Rana Jung in consequence of the mental imbecility of the latter

2nd. A great council was held at the Queen's garden to effect some settlement as to the Revenue of Terai.

3rd A Sikh chief has come to Benares to negotiate with Nepal.

4th A Council was held to consider what answer was to be made to the Resident's demand for atonement about Ramnagar A dilatory answer is said to be preparing

5th An insurrection is said to have broken out in Beni.

China

25th June The Governor of Prince of Wales island Singapore and Malacca has taken up the Bark "Clarissa" to proceed to China for the purpose of conveying some Camp followers who arrived on the island from Madras for the purpose of joining the detachment of the force from that Presidency serving with the expedition.

Miscellaneous

15th June The Commander of the Steam Flotilla on the Indus reports the arrival of the Snake steamer at Giary Bunder She left Bakhar on the 10th steamed down at the slowest possible rate and on the 12th reached Tatta, having been 29 hours under steam. The late voyages of the Snake from Mithenkote to Bukhar, and from thence to Tatta show that the downward navigation of the main steam is not difficult during the inundation, and that with proper precautions vessels may steam down it at that season of the year without danger

30th July The Governor General's Agent in the North West Frontier has instructed the Commander of the Steamer "Comet" to employ that vessel in conveying troops from Ferozepore to Sukkur

Fort William — J W BAYLEY,

The 22nd August 1840 — Asstt. Secy to the Govt. of India.

No. 6.—From—J. W. BAYLEY, ASSISTANT SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

Fort William, the 1st September 1840.

North West Frontier

24th to 27th July: The Lahore Akhbar contains the following items of intelligence:—

1st. Sirdar Sultan Mohammed appeared at the Durbar.

2nd. The Kunwar is desirous of going to Mundee.

3rd. Captain Mackeson it is reported is now quite satisfied with General Avitabile's mode of conducting business.

Hill intelligence

1st and 2nd July: The troops are about to occupy the Kooloo country.

Peshawar

18th to 23rd July: Orders have been received from the Lahore Government by General Avitabile, to confiscate all the Jagirs and free lands at Peshawar.

28th July to 2nd August: The Lahore Akhbar of dates noted in the margin had the following items of intelligence:—

1st. Sirdar Peer Mohammed Khan reported that he had assembled a body of Recruits according to orders, and was directed to send them to the Durbar with their matchlocks.

2nd. The Khareetahs from Nepal are for the Maharaja and the Kunwar, and are said to relate only to the Rajah's marriage, or his Child's or the birth of a child. But the Durbar seems afraid to receive them, and the Kharitas have not yet been opened. The Agents from Nepal were ordered to discontinue all correspondence with the Durbar, unless known to the British Government, and copies of this requisition were ordered to be forwarded to Mr. Clerk.

3rd. General Martabar Singh has sent off his confidential Agent to Mr. Clerk.

Mundee—The Sikhs

8th August: The Raja of Kooloo (a hill state, parts of which are situated on either side of the Sutlej who holds his territory on the left and right banks of that river under the supremacy of the British and the Lahore Governments respectively) has, it is reported, been threatened with invasion by the Sikh troops, for arrears of tribute, and he is disposed to retire from his Capital to his small domain on this side of the Sutlej, and under the protection of the British Government. In the event of any of the Lahore troops crossing over to plunder any district, or to seize or molest any part

to the South of the Sutlej, the Governor General's Agent in the North West Provinces has requested, in case his requisition for the instant recall of the Sikh troops be not obeyed by the Lahore Authorities, the Major General Commanding the Serhind Division to drive them back, and to prevent the passage of any more intruders across the Sutlej

BAHAWALPUR

14th August The following is the substance of a proposed scale of river rates of customs agreed to by the Nawab of Bahawalpore and approved by the Supreme Government —

1st. Grain, Wood, and Limestone, free as in the Lahore territory

2nd With the exception of the above three things, duties to be levied on all sorts of merchandize according to three sizes of Boats.

3rd. A Boat not capable of containing more that 250 Maunds of freight proceeding from Rajhan, or Kote Methan to the foot of the Hills, Raipur, Ludhiana, etc., or from Raipur or Ludhiana to Rajhan or Kote Mithan 10 Rupees.

A Boat above 250 Maunds and not exceedlng 500 maunds 20 Rupees.

A Boat above 500 maunds 40 Rupees

4th No 1, 2 or 3 to be written in large letters on the boat to show the class to which each Boat belongs.

AFGANISTAN

A communication has been received from the Envoy and Minister, stating that His Majesty has appointed Oosman Khan Suddozye, his brother-in law to the office of Minister under the title of Vizeer Ooduwlah

31st July The Major General Commanding in Afganistan reports the return to Head Quarters of the wing of the 35th Regiment N I, which was employed as escort to the family of Dost Mohammed Khan to Gazni, as also of the squadron of the 2nd Regiment of Light Cavalry and the 3 Guns of Native 6 Light Field Battery, which formed a part of Lieutenant Colonel Wallace's Detachment lately employed in the Ghilzie country

1st August Major T Mesherry reports that he has enlisted 564 Gurkhas for the service of H. M. Shah Shuja and states that *great progress has been made by the Gurkha recruits at Deyrah* under Captain Walsh.

4th August The Governor General's Agent in the N W F. has forwarded a communication to the Lahore Durbar demanding the delivery of the Ghilzie rebels now in its dominions to the British Government.

6th August: The Governor General's Agent in the N. W. F. has appointed Lieutenant Coulfield to escort Shah Zeman, and the family of Shah Shuja, from Ludhiana to Kabul.

KANDHAR

21st July: The Envoy and Minister reports that Major Leech has made over charge of the Political Agency of Kandhar to Major Rawlinson, and that the latter officer has received charge of the same.

KABUL

The Convoy of stores and clothing for the Corps noted in the margin* and for the troops of His Majesty Shah Shujaool-Moolk has safely reached Kabul.

5th August — *2nd Cavalry, 16 Regiment N. I., 27 Detachment N. I., 35 Regiment N. I., 37 Regiment N. I.

PUSHOOT

20th July: The Officiating Political Agent at Jellalabad reports his intention of leaving Kujjah for Pushoot at the instance of Meer Alum Khan's relations at Bajore, in order to negotiate with greater facility with Amir Khan, Sadat Khan, Syed Hashim and Syed Myaoodeen in furtherance of His Majesty Shah Shuja's wishes regarding these chiefs.

TURKISTAN

4th July: A detailed report on the passes leading into Turkistan has been prepared and submitted to Government by Captain Garbett.

HERAT

15th July: The Envoy to Herat reports the receipt of the ratified Herat Treaty, and its presentation by him, in person to His Majesty Shah Kamran.

BOKHARA

8th July: The Native News-writer at Bokhara confirms the report of the flight of Dost Mohammed Khan from that place as mentioned in News Letter No. 9 though he is not certain whether he has fled to Sahur Subz or elsewhere. The King of Bokhara has despatched about 1,500 Horse after the Ex-Ameer.

BUSSORA

27th June: The Political Agent in Turkish Arabia reports that in consequence of illnesses among the European Crew of the two steam vessels at Bussora, he had despatched the "Nimrod" from Euphrates boat, with a Surgeon to their aid, and to bring up the mails expected by the "Hugh Lindsay".

BAGHDAD

27th June: The Political Agent in Turkish Arabia states that every thing was quiet at Bagdad subsequent to the evacuation of Soolemaniah by the Persians. It is now currently reported that

Alee Shah is on his way thither by Nossel, to enter Persia by the side of Kermanshah. Khurshid Uasha is said to be still in Nejel (Nejd?).

SCINDE-UPPER

3rd August: The Accountant in the N. W. Ps. on the requisition of the Political Agent at Ambala, has directed a remittance of 3 Lakhs of Rupees from Ludhiana to Sukkur, for eventual dispatch to Kandhar.

16th August: Measures have been successfully adopted to provide Boats agreeably to the request of the Governor General's Agent in Upper Scinde, for the embarkation of a Regiment from Ferozepore to that place.

SCINDE-LOWER

27th July to 2nd August: The Political Diary of the Lower Scinde Agency of dates marginally noted stated, that Meer Noor Mohamed had offered his assistance to the British Government in troops, or in any other manner with a view to subdue the predatory tribes in Upper Scinde, and the Kelat rebels. He had also offered to lend his assistance in purchasing, or hiring camels to any extent required for our troops. The offer of troops was declined; of aid in procuring camels, accepted.

QUETTA

22nd July: Captain Macan's Detachment reached Quetta on the morning of the 30th instant accompanied by about 400 Achukie horse under Saloo Khan in aid of Captain Bean's position. Saloo Khan was to have started on the evening of the 22nd July, with the horse under his command, for Moustung. The Bangulzye and Khoord tribes of Belochees have already quitted the rebels and gone back to their countries.

4th August: The Government of Bombay have countermanded their orders for the transport of a Wing of the 20 Regt. N. I. from Bhooj to Karachi intended originally to support Captain Bean's position at Quetta when it was supposed to be in danger.

KELAT

The report of the fall of Kelat is true. Shah Nawaz Khan has succumbed to his successful rival, Nuseer Mohammed alias Nusseer Khan (the latter being his grand-father's title) and accepted a Jagir at Baghbana. The assault of the rebels was repelled in the first instance by the Havildar's party with Lieutenant Loveday but the people of Shah Nawaz Khan seem to have treacherously coalesced with, and delivered up Kelat to the rebels. Lieutenant Loveday was in safety and unmolested; awaiting further orders from his superior.

The steps that may be taken consequent on this event are matters for deliberation; in the mean time however a strong force will sometime since have been collected at Sukkur. The 4 Regiments of Bombay N. I. also originally destined for Sinde will shortly arrive in that country.

LUSS

The following is the substance of a report on the trade of the port of Soomeeanee, the seaport of the province of Luss, submitted to Government by Lieut. M. G. Gordon, British Agent at Soomeeanee. The trading boats belonging to this port, amount to twelve or fourteen averaging in....................about Eighty or a hundred Khandies each, but the number visiting it for commercial purposes during the open season (from September to June) is said to be between forty and fifty vessels. A considerable trade is carried on with Muscat, Karachi, Bombay, Calicut and other ports of less importance. The principal exports of the province of Luss are wool, ghee, and a gum called Gogur; also oils of different kinds with great quantities of fish, sharks, furs etc. Except about seven or eight hundred Khandies of Mung Dal no other grain is grown for exportation. The chief articles of commerce brought from Kabul, and the countries to the North West, to be exported at Soomeeanee, are madder, saffron, assafaetida, raisins, almond, and dried fruits of different kinds. Until last year horses were brought down in great numbers sometimes as many as 2,000 in the course of the season. The chief articles of import are English Broad cloth, Chintze, muslins, tin, iron, steel, pepper, sugar, candy, cocoanuts, ginger etc. These are from Bombay. Dates and slaves are introduced from Muscat and Karachi supplies a small quantity of Sinde rice. The most valuable part of the trade is in the hands of the Pathan merchants of Kabul who annually visit Bombay.

KARACHI

3rd August: Instructions have been issued for stationing another Regiment of Native Infantry at Karachi.

11th August: A private letter of date noted in the margin states that the arrangements of the Bombay Government for sending reinforcements to Karachi are in a state of forwardness. A sailing vessel (the Banares) was to have left Bombay on the 15th August with tents and baggage of a Regiment of N. I. and as many men as she can accommodate, and 2 steamers with 250 men each, were to have followed about the 20th.

PERSIA

It is reported that His Majesty, Mohammed Shah left Ispahan for the plain of Keheez on the 6th of Rubee-a-awal, 9th May. The intelligence of the approach of the Zil-e-Sultan towards Arabian Iraq has thrown Iran into commotion, it is said to have hastened the movement of the Shah.

The French Envoy to the Court of Tehran, has reached Kermanshah, and is about to leave it shortly for Baghdad.

NEPAL

20th July: A private communication from the above place states that the Court returned to Katmandoo on the evening of the 20th July, and that all was quiet in the city.

1st to 13th August: The Nepal diary has the following items:—

1st. It is said that when Resident's note was delivered, His Highness instantly gave some private orders about the intrusive party in Ramnaggar. The Raja consulted several chiefs on the subject of Resident's refusal of Duhbar's note in answer to Government demands of satisfaction. His Highness said "it is clear we must give in" others said, "Not yet, nor all at once, as required, we must qualify and give time." The Raja pleaded ignorance of facts as to the aggression, and the Chiefs replied, "the heads of it had been 6 weeks in durance in the capital, had they not been examined, and what had they said?" The Raja hung his head, and after a pause said, "I sent away the Durga bx, puttee (½ Company) many years ago to seize the aggressors, and afterwards a puttee of the New Gorak, yet I have no news from the spot."

2nd. Lachminath was very angry with the Rani, because (as some say) she proposed to him to aid her scheme for procuring the Rajah's abdication in favour of her son.

3rd. The magazines are very busy and it is said a Kazi and Battalion are ordered in the Terye.

4th. The Raja spoke of the Minister's imbecility and of the ticklish state of affairs, and proposed a Ministry of four.

5th. The Misr Goroo said, that to make the deposit about Ramnagar at once in the Resident's hands, would dishonour the Durbar, and that the deposit should be in the hands of a third party.

BURMAH

16th July: The Commissioner in the Tenasserium Provinces reports having received 2 letters from Burmese authorities neighbouring the Provinces. One of these letters is from the Governor of Bilong, which contains a voluntary offer of his cordial assistance towards keeping up friendly relations with the British Provinces. The second is from the Governor of Rangoon, informing the Commissioner of orders having been sent by him to this frontier, by direction of the Ministers to prevent the recurrence of such matters, as the seizure of some people in the island of Kan-u-mut by Nga-pay-ta-l. and others, on which the Commissioner had occasion to address the Governor in April last.

1st. Another private letter of date noted states, that the coronation took place at the time appointed.

2nd. The Woonduck it was reported had positively been made Head Woonjee and would come to Rangoon.

3rd. It is reported that before the coronation, His Majesty caused all the ammunition and arms of which they had a large store, to be taken from the Princes of Prome and Pokhain.

4th. No further news about the insurrection.

5th. One thousand seven hundred and six houses are reported to have been burnt down outside of the town, it is believed from accident.

12th August: The Governor of Rangoon is reported to be dead. The Woonduck has influence, but not office. The king refused to give him an appointment on the application of the prince of Prome. It is said that His Majesty has a situation for him in view. No heir apparent appointed and the matter is forbidden to be mentioned. The Woonduck thinks we shall command the coast of China or take a portion of it, and make a settlement like Moulmein. The king talks of visiting Rangoon in two months.

Other private communications from Rangoon state:

1st. The Court of Ava is apprehensive that our China Army may attack Burma on its return from the expedition but no preparations are making with a view to ward off this contemplated attack and every warlike symptom which hitherto conveyed an indirect threat of adopting aggressive measures towards our Government, has vanished.

2nd. The Prince of Prome's men who are in office speak most vauntingly of the Prince's power.

3rd. The Woonduck is yet in power and the general report is that the legitimate son will be nominated heir apparent.

4th. It is said that Moon Shooy Mien, is to be re-appointed to Martaban.

China

29th July: The Governor of Prince of Wales' island, etc., has taken up the ships "Fountain" of 428.12 tons and "Asia" of 324 tons for two months certain, for the purpose of conveying store to China at the rate of 10 Rupees per month, or for so much longer as they may be required.

17th August: The Military Board state that the ship "Moira" is to be the last vessel they will dispatch with provisions for the expedition this season, and that four months sea provisions have been forwarded for the Madras N. I. Regiment independent of that already forwarded for the expedition, noticed in News Letter No. 3.

FINANCE

1st August: Captain Gygrane's statement of cash balance shows that up to the 1st of August, cash in the Military Chest amounted to Co R. 18,99,200-13-10½.

MISCELLANEOUS

8th July· Captain Carless reports the arrival of the "Meteor" steam vessel at Bukkur on the 4th July from Ferozepur. Her voyage to Methencote was performed in 10 days, or at the rate of 33 miles per day, but during that time she was frequently delayed by strong winds and the obscurity of the atmosphere. In the main river her velocity increased to nearly 11 miles per hour and she made the distance between the entrance of the Sutlej and Bukkur (179 miles) in 15½ hours.

11th August· A private communication from Bombay states that the steamers on the Indus are performing good service at this juncture of affairs in Upper Scinde.

Fort William. J. W. BAYLEY,
The 1st Sept. 1840. Asstt. Secy. to the Govt. of India.

No 7—FROM—J W BAYLEY, ASSISTANT SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

Fort William, the 10th September 1840.

NORTH WEST FRONTIER

3rd to 7th August The Lahore Akhbars of dates marginally noted have the following items —

1st. Much Military preparations in the *Punjab*.

2nd General Ventura reported that the Hill people in a body of 2,000 threatened to oppose the Sikh troops. He was instructed to proceed with the business very prudently

3rd. It was remarked that should the Russians create any disturbance, the friendship of the British and Khalsa Governments would become manifest.

4th. The Courtiers observed that the prosperity of the *Khalsa* was increasing, for that in a little more than a twelve months 100 New Guns had been cast.

5th. Orders were issued to General Meean Singh to send some articles soon to the Queen of England, and Sardar Ajit Singh was told to be prepared to take them It was remarked, however, that he would probably take advantage of such a mission.

6th. Sardar Sultan Mohammed Khan attended the Durbar and was presented with a Ring.

7th to 12th August: 1st. An order for 3,000 Rupees was drawn out for General Matabar Singh.

2nd. It was reported that the Maharaja had presented a Khillat of an Elephant, Elephant clothes, and jewels to Sardar Sultan Mohammed Khan.

13th and 14th August: 1st. Further Military preparation was going on in the Punjab.

2nd. General Matabar Singh was asked what he intended to do, and was told that if he wished to serve the British Government, he might do so, or if he would take service with the Lahore Durbar he would be provided for. Matabar Singh replied, that he was greatly harrassed by the Nepal Raja.

3rd. Kunwar Nawa Nihal Singh on wishing to go to Mundee was dissuaded from doing so singly and was advised to send thither some troops. The Kunwar is much occupied in Military preparations.

20th August: A communication from the Governor-General's Agent at Ludhiana states that Matabar Singh continues to receive occasional pecuniary support from the Durbar but not service, and that the Sikhs having discovered that the capture of the fort of Kumlehgarh in the Mundee territory would not be practicable by their troops now in Mundee are endeavouring to gain possession of it by bringing its defenders. The Governor-General's Agent observed that the preparations of a Military nature making on account of the ensuing Dussera festival (as will be perceived from the items of Lahore intelligence quoted in the present News Letter) are of an unusual extent particularly as to the stores of ammunition. It seems to be generally supposed that this activity is induced by apprehensions arising out of the preparations of a similar kind, which our journals in an exaggerating tone represent as being made in our cantonments in Upper India, and upon which the Raja Dhian Singh is reported to have remarked, that the English seem to be posing a great store, with the intention of letting it fall upon the Punjab. It has, however, since been reported by Mr. Clerk that as the differences between the Nepal and British Governments have become more apparent such apprehensions have subsided. The Kunwar Nao Nihal Singh is said simply to have asked "whether the Raja of Nepal was mad" when it was intimated to him that he was seeking a quarrel with the English.

Hill intelligence

4th August: The Ranis of the captive Raja in the Kamlagarh fort are prepared to pay tribute if General Ventura will release the Raja and retire with his Army, otherwise they have declared their determination to fight, even if he should cut their Raja into pieces. The Kulloo Raja is with about 2,000 Armed peasantry at Sultanpur, and is resolved to retire over the Sutlej, if the Mundee Chief is not restored.

PESHAWAR

29th and 30th July Captain Mc Gressor is now about to take some measures to reconcile the Bajore tribes with Meer Allum Khan. Ameer Khan Noakee was quite disconcerted on hearing of the arrival of the British troops near Doonhie, in the Koonur district, under Khyroola Khan.

The Road through the Khybar Pass has now been properly made, and is well guarded. Azmat Khan, brother of Sehut Khan Ghilzie, who is now at Lahore with Sultan Mohd. Khan, crossed the Attock in his way from his native country to Lahore.

BAJORE

24th July It appears from an account of the state of affairs in Bajore that Meer Allum Khan's party are gaining strength while those who have rebelled are not disposed to submit to Amir Khan or any other ruler

Captain Macgressor the Political Agent having allowed an Afghan Sardar with some Afghans to make a demonstration in the direction of a fort in the occupation of the rebels, at the same time lent the party a small Gun, and gave positive instructions that they should on no account cross a particular river that lay between them and the fort. The rash Afghan Sardar, however, did so, and being overwhelmed by a superior force suffered severely in his retreat leaving the gun behind

AFGANISTAN

No date Lieutenant Nicolson, in Political charge of the Ghilziee country reports that Sultan Mohammed Khan Baruckzye the Jagirdar of Kelat, a tributary of the Sikhs had afforded an assylum and protection to several individuals, acknowledged rebels, and traitors, to Shah Shuja. He also reports that "Khillats" for the said rebels were forwarded from the Court of Lahore, further that they had actually been conferred on them and means afforded them for their subsistence.

13th August Captain Marshall at Hawalbagh reports that the Gurkah recruits under his charge intended for the Shah Shuja's service have been making rapid and satisfactory progress in their military duties generally

KHYVA—THE RUSSIANS

26th May It is reported on good authority that the proposed expedition against the Khan of Khyva is given up for this year at least by the Russian Government and may be so altogether

KHYVA-BOKHARA

29th June: Lieutenant Shakespear reports that the Khan Hazrat is anxious to attack Bokhara. This ill feeling towards Bokhara is of long standing and has been much exasperated by an insulting letter which it is said the Amir wrote to the Khan Hazrat during the late Russian Advance. As it regards our relations with Khyva, the Khan Hazrat has at length been convinced that our mediation with Russia is a substantial benefit and proof of friendship.

SCINDE UPPER

11th August: From private letters we learn that by the aid in carriage which would have been received from the Political authorities in Gwalior, Ajmer and Neemuch, the Political Agent in Upper Sinde expected to be able to march from Sukkur in force before the 1st of October. He expected that 500 camels would have reached Sukkur from Rajwara on the 25th September. Other letters state that the Head Quarters and great portion of the 2nd Grenadier Regiment under the command of Major Cubbon with two field pieces would commence their march on the morning of the 12th August towards Sehrie with a view to strengthen the post of Kan.

SCINDE LOWER

3rd August: The Political Agent in Lower Sinde reports the success of the new dak line from Bhooj to Hyderabad and states that the average rate on the new line has been 4 days 6½ hours.

INDUS STEAM NAVIGATION

11th July: The Commander of the Steam Flotilla on the Indus reported the arrival of the steam vessels "Planet" and "Indus" at Bukkur from Tatta with part of the 2nd Grenadier Regiment, the former on the 3rd and the latter on the 5th instant. At the time these vessels ascended the river, it had risen to within 2 feet of the greatest height attained last year, and as the velocity of the current is reported to have been as great for several days as it even is during the inundation their voyages may be taken as a fair specimen of both the upwards and downward navigation at that season of the year. At Tatta the Indus received on board 91 men and followers of the 3rd Grenadier Regiment and about 10 tons of baggage, her draught being then 3 feet 6 inches aft. and 3 feet 4 inches forward. The "Planet" left Tatta on the 22nd June with a detachment consisting of 5 officers 121 Sepoys and 15 followers, and about 15 tons of baggage which brought her draught to 2 feet 11 inches aft. and 2 feet and 8 inches forward. The "Planet" and "Indus" have brought to Bukkur a detachment consisting of 4 Europeans and 6 Native officers, 200 Sepoys, and 22 followers with the tents and parts of the baggage of the officers and tents, arms, ammunition, four days provisions and all the baggage of the men. There was ample accommodation in the steamers for the whole of the officers and men mentioned.

KELAT

5th August By a letter from Kandhar of date noted in the margin, it would appear that the treachery by which Kelat was ceded to the rebel Nusseer Khan was both contemplated and arranged before the rebels left Moostang in prosecution of their intentions upon Kelat.

GWALIOR

6th to 19th July As Umrao Singh of Talelore was ill plundering and committing other depredations, the Mamma Sahib expressed his intention of sending Thakur Essree Singh with a Detachment of horse and foot to endeavour to capture the freebooter

BURMAH

12th August It is reported that "Toum Devaingyaun" has been made Prince of Shooagdoum, a Title hitherto only held by the Heir apparent, to which rank Tharrawaddie has thought of appointing him, but this arrangement is strongly objected to by at least the Prince of Pakhan if not also by the Prince of Prome, and the settlement of the question may cause Tharrawaddie some uneasiness.

BAGDAD

24th August The Political Agent in Turkish Arabia reports that the Oriental question still remains unsettled, but that it was more likely than before to be arranged without Euro[illegible]erference. The rebellion of the Houran is entirely repre[illegible]d The Shah of Persia is at Hamadan, and will in all probability return to Tehran without advancing against the Paschalie of Bagdad, which is under preparation of defence aided by the forces from Diarbilcer, Moosul Curdistan Khurshid Pasha is still at Thermader in Nejd, but the Egyptian forces are moving away from that province.

ADEN

9th July The Bombay Government report the attack of Aden by a large body of Arabs and their defeat with great slaughter No casualty has occurred on the part of the British.

ZEILAH

It appears from the French News Paper, the 'Journal des Debats" of May 23rd 1840 that an expedition has been sent from the port of Bordeaux for Zeilah on the Eastern Coast of Africa, opposite to Aden

RAMPUR

20th August The Agent to the Governor reports that the Nawab Mohammand Syeed Khan was on the 30th August installed as Chief of Rampur amidst the general acclamations of his subjects

A memo. was first signed by the Nawab binding him to continue the customary stipends to the members of the family and to the Pathans in general, and to make certain specific allowances to the family of the late Nawab, the Chief appears to entertain the kindest feelings to the family of his predecessors.

CHINA

7th September : With reference to the construction to be put upon the order of Her Majesty in Council regarding the treatment of Chinese Vessels during the present state of British relating with the Chinese Government, the Governor-General of India does not by any means consider the order in question to give authority to the serveral Commanders of each of Her Majesty's vessels of war to detain all ships belonging to Chinese subjects in every sea, but is of opinion that the construction to be put upon the said order must rest upon the instructions which the Commanders of H. M. Ships of war may from time to time receive from His Excellency the Naval Commander-in-chief. Pending the receipt of such instructions the Governor-General of India deems it would most conduce to the good of the public service that none of the Vessels belonging to Chinese subjects, which may be found sailing in prosecution of commercial or other voyages with no other than peaceable intentions or objects, should on any account be detained or otherwise hostilly interfered with by reason of the said order in Council. An information to this effect has been given to the Commanders of Her Majesty's ships in the Bay of Bengal and in the Straits.

The further news from China by the late arrival, having appeared in the public prints repetition in this place is unnecessary.

Fort William: J. W. BAYLEY,
The 10th Sept. 1840. Asstt. Secy. to Govt. of India.

No. 8.—FROM—J. W. BAYLEY, ASSISTANT SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

Fort William, the 20th September 1840.

The Governor-General's Agent reports that the Sikh Durbar continues to manifast the same unhesitating consent to compel the attendance of their Barakzye Surdars at Lahore, and to deliver up the Ghilzie refugees to the British Government or through the medium of a British officer to the Government of Shah Shoojah. Col. Moolk, yet its measures in this respect are very dilatory and the conduct of the Barakzies is evasive.

PESHAWAR

25th July: Dr. Reid has been appointed to act as officiating assistant to Lieut. Macson Governor-General's Agent at Peshawar in the room of Lieut. Caul-fiield, the latter having proceeded to Kabul on account of ill health.

ISKARDO

18th July: With reference to the account noticed in news letter No. 8 under date the 15 ultimo of the possession by Vizeer Zorawar Singh of Iskardo, the Capital of little Thibet and the confinement of Rajah Ahmed Shah the Governor of that place, the Political Agent at Peshawar writes that it is now reported the Vizeer Zorawar Singh has restored Ahemd Shah Guelpho to the Government of Iskardo after fixing on him a tribute of 7,000 Rs. per annum and sending off one of the Guelpho's sons to Jummoo to reside there in order to secure his father's allegiance.

YARKAND

29th August: Vazeer Zorawar Singh, the agent of Rajah Golab Singh had, it is reported, addressed a letter to the ruler of Yarkand a dependency of China to owe allegiance to the Khalsa Government and to pay it an annual tribute. The latter Chief has repelled the proposal with indignation.

KHOOLUM

1st August: The Envoy and Minister at the Court of Shah Shoojah reports that it is the intention of His Majesty to send out a body of 500 Afghans for the occupation of Khoolum and it is probable that the first crops of Jawbalzes will be selected for the duty.

Four 6 pounder guns will also accompany, the remaining wing of Capt. Hopkin's Regiment, and it is suggested that 2 of these should be stationed at Bameean and 2 at Bajgah. The guns and the wing it was stated would be ready to start by the 10th September.

UPPER SCINDE

7th August: The Accountant-General at the Residency of Bombay has been authorized by the Bombay Government to make arrangements for the immediate consignent to the Political Agent in Upper Sinde of ten lacs of Rupees and for the eventual supply of a further remittance to the same extent.

8th August: At the requisition of the Political Agent at Lower Sinde an advance party as noted in margin from five companies of Her Majesty's 40th Regiment has proceeded from Karachi to Upper Sinde on field service.

1. Captain
1. Lieutenant
1. Ensign
6. Sergeants
8. Corporals
4. Drummers
114. Privates

8th August: The Deputy Accountant-General at Agra reports the despatch *via* Jaipur to Upper Sinde of 250 Camels with gear complete for the service of the troops there. We have reason to belive 2,500 have altogether been collected for service in Upper Sinde.

Quetta

22nd August: A private letter from the above place of date noted in the margin states that every thing was in train there and that the 43rd was expected every day. Intelligence had been received of a large body of Brahoes having marched from Kelat towards Shawl but it was believed they would have turned back on hearing of the re-inforcement noticed, and probably attempted to enter Cutchee by the Moolak Ghaut for the purpose of procuring supplies. The Political Agent in Upper Sinde has sent an express to Sukkur with a request that a detachment may be sent by Water to Larkhana and thence marched to Gundava to check any, inroad on the part of the enemy in that quarter.

Lower Scinde

12th August: With a reference to the boundary dispute between the Amir Noor Mohamed of Hyderabad and Sher Mohamed of Mirpur, the Political Agent states that it had been at length agreed to refer the matter to arbitration provided an Umpire was appointed on the part of the British Government. The Governor-General has accordingly sanctioned the deputation of S. K. Whitelock for the purpose contemplated.

Indus Steam Navigation

25th August: With reference to the proposition of the Political Agent of Lower Sinde for completing the line of steam Packets and for securing safe communication between the sea and river boats by the aid of the "Indus" steamer the Government of Bombay report the detention on the River Indus of the said vessel for the purpose contemplated.

Muscat

The Imam of Muscat by the permission of Her Mejesty has made over to the Company the Yacht Prince Regent presented to His Highness by His late Majesty William IV. The vessel is now to be applied to the service of the Government of Bombay.

15th July: Capt. Hammerton on a mission to Muscat reports that His Highness the Imam intends to depart, for Zanzibar in November next. Capt. Hammerton will remain at Muscat during the Imam's absence.

Nepal

12th August: The joint Magistrate of Champarun reports that the Goorkhas left the Ramnagar villages on the 11th August in consequence of orders they had received to that effect from the Nepal Durbar. It was not then certain whether the fort of Someshar had or had not been vacated also. It contained but a short time before 25 Goorkha sepoys and 2 officers.

16th August: The Resident states that the Goorkha Durbar seemed determined to violate its formal pledge made to him with respect to the Surrender of Mangul Singh's gang of refugee Oudh dacoits who have found protection in Nepal.

21st December: The Resident in Nepal reports that secret agents from the Nepal Durbar are abroad in the plains and especially in Rajputana with purposes it is understood hostile to the British Government. The persons employed in this way are confidential dependants of that Nepalese Minister, Ran Jang Pande, and are ostensibly soldiers attached to some of the Regiments, serving in the Western Provinces of Nepal. The Resident intends adopting effectual measures for securing any such agents who may appear at those Courts were we have not a Resident Political Officer.

25th August: The Governor-General's Agent at Loodhiana reports that he has ascertained from several sources that Prem Narain Rajput who recently bought Kharreetahs from Nepal, announced to the Durbar that the Nepalese hope that the courts of Lahore and Gwalior will make common cause with them against the British Government. The Agent states that there is no discrepancy in the several accounts which he has as yet received of the delivery of this message. "These accounts" proceeds the agent "exhibit both Koonwar Nao Nehal Singh and Rajah Dhian Singh" as evincing no satisfaction at the proposal and enquiring of the messenger if the "Rajah of Nepal was in his senses in proposing it".

14th—27th August: The diary of the Nepal residency contains the following items of intelligence:—

1st. Ramdul, the Governor of Palpa, had written to say that he was hasty in alleging the dacoits to be allies of the English whom they really hate and he, therefore, recomends that the dacoits should be protected.

2nd. The departure of the new Goorkha battalion has been put off by the refusal of the men to serve on Rs. 50 per annum.

3rd. Several secret emissaries are preparing for the plains.

4th. The Rajah and Rani are alarmed about the Resident's demands and each accuses the other as the cause of all the evils. Kulraj Punde vehemently opposes concession on but no one else. It has been secretly reported to the Raja that compliance with the treaty and boundary demarcation will cost the Durbar, 2 villages, long held by Nepal (Goberdhan and Jorapanee) and 92 recently acquired. The Rajah is anxious and disposed to yield, but the Rani insists on procrastination.

30th August: In reply to the demands of the British Government to a preliminary deposit for damages sustained by it from this violation of our district of Ramnagar and the levying of contributions within the British Territory, the Nepal Durbar offered

the sum of Rs. 16 as the deposit for the injury sustained (calculated according to their judgment) in one case acknowledged by them to have been trespass upon our rights. They tendered at the same time to deposit certain sums from time to time as each case might be proved reserving, however, the whole adjudication in their own hands. The deposit has been rejected by the Resident.

5th September: The Resident in a letter dated as per margin reports that the Durbar had now tendered to the British Government the sum of Rs. 5,000 as a deposit for damages consequent on the usurpation of Ramnagar. But as this money was offered to the Resident with the document which consisted of a recitation only without expressed acceptance of the Governor-General's demands, and as it moreover, laid claims on the Durbar's part to certain unspecified lands south of Someshar, the Resident refused accepting the deposit or the document.

Darjeeling

With reference to the state of our relations with Nepal and as the Sikkim and Bhuteah frontiers are in a disturbed condition from the inability of the respective Government, to maintain their due authority over malcontents and as such a state of things require the Government to look to the propriety of furnishing every security and protection to the property embarked at the new settlement of Darjeeling it will be considered in the military Department whether any and what re-inforcement may be most conveniently afforded in the quarter indicated.

J. W. BAYLEY,
Asst. Secretary to the
Government of India.

Fort William:
The 20th September 1840.

No. 9.—From—J. W. BAYLEY, ASSISTANT SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

Fort William, the 1st October 1840.

The Agent to the Lieut. Governor of the N. W. Provinces states that intelligence has reached Bussahir of the assembly of an army of 2,000 fighting men at the fort of Garow, in Chinese Tartary, for the purpose of checking the further advance of the Sikh troops in that quarter, and that the Vizeer Kooppooroo had made an offer to the Sikh General to conduct his troops by a short and easy route to the heart of Yarkund. It is also stated that General Ventura is continuing the line of road to Trans-Sutlej through the hill districts in the direction of Chinese Tartary, and the Raja of Bussahir is naturally anxious for the security of his Trans-Sutlej dominions which lie in the direct line of road in the above mentioned country.

The Governor-General's Agent is preparing a direct road connecting Kurnaul with Ferozepore with bungalows at night distances, so as to admit of officers crossing by Dak at all seasons without inconvenience.

The Agent reports that Fakeer Azeezoodeen has arrived on this side of the Sutlej, and that the Ghilzies are with him. The Agent reports to have an interview with the Fakeer, when he will point out to him the propriety of sending the Ghilzies with their families to Lahore.

20th August: The following items of intelligence are extracted from the Lahore Akhbar.

1st. General Mahatar Singh stated to the Durbar that Bhopal Singh Thappa disguised as a Fakeer was sent out with letters from Nepal *via* Deotee and the hills to effect an exchange of Turbans with the Kunwar.

2nd. General Avitabile reported that according to the orders of the Durbar, he had long since discontinued making . . . .

24th August: The Agent to the Lieut. Governor of N. W. Provinces reports that the Sikhs have sent troops towards Chinese Tartary, and that the Kooloo Raja, fearing the invasion of his territories by this movement, has expressed a wish to be taken under the protection of the British Government. The Governor-General in reply has observed that when the Raja shall once have established himself under the British protection, he must wholly renounce all covert or open aggressive acts against any nation with which the British Government is at amity, the penalty of a neglect of this warning being a total forfeiture of the protection of this Government, by whose orders he will be in that case removed from the frontier to the immediate surveillance of the Political Agent.

3rd September: The following items of intelligence are extracted from the Lahore Akhbar.

1st. The Afreedees had raised some disturbances at the village of Meereezaee, killed 2 and wounded 2.

2nd. General Avitabile is about to march against the Asafzies in December next.

3rd. Raja Dhyan Singh has issued orders to summon all the families of the Ghilzies and all the Ghilzies who might be still at Peshawar, and then present differences between the two Governments.

4th. The Khalsa troops are every where in the Kamlagarh forts harrassed by the insurgents.

7th September: On Mr. Clerk adverting, in conversation with Rao Kishan Chand, to the impropriety of the Lahore Durbar's receiving secret emissaries and communications from the Nepal, the Native Agent observed that the Durbar was ignorant whether the last messenger from Nepal was still at Lahore, and that it wished to be advised in what way it should signify to Nepal its desire that these missions unknown to the British Government should be discountenanced. To this the Governor-General's Agent replied that no communication should be received from Nepal, without such being previously fully made known to the British Resident.

The following items of news are extracted from the Lahore Akhbar.

1st. A well equipped contingent of horsemen is to be dispatched to Dera Ismail Khan and Memkeira towads the beginning of October with other troops of the Missildars.

2nd. The Ministers said that as the late Maharaja had for 30 years preserved his alliance with the British Government by a faithful adherence to treaties, so would they ever be true to their treaties old and new.

12th September: Sardar Ajit Singh Sundhumwalla is entrusted with the conduct of subjugating the Rajputs of Mundee in supercession of General Ventura and Ghulam Mohiuddin.

Hill Intelligence

22nd August: General Ventura is endeavouring to effect the evacuation of the Kamlagarh fort, which still holds out.

Afghanistan

15th August: The envoy and Minister reports that he had authorised Dr. Sord, Political Assistant at Bameean, to offer to Dost Mohamed Khan, in the event of his accepting an assylum within the British territories in India, a stipend of not less than one Lakh of Rupees per annum for the support of himself and family.

24th August: The envoy and Minister has addressed a communication to Lieut. Burnes, Political Assistant at Ghazni, enjoining vigilance in his quarter, and desiring that Dost Mohammed's family with their followers may be ordered to confine themselves to their dwellings at present, pending the doubtful position of the Ex-Amir.

1st September: The Governor-General's Agent in the N. W. Frontier, at the suggestion of the envoy and minister has deputed Lieutenant Colvin Mckenzie, now at Agra, to repair to Ludhiana in order to proceed thence as soon as practicable in charge of Shah Zeman and the family of Shah Shuja to Kabul.

The Governor General has been pleased to sanction the employment of the Madras Officers named in the Margin in the force of His Majesty Shah Shujaul mulk.

Lieut.	W. A. Lukin 14th	Regt. N. I.	
"	R. Moorcroft 19th	"	"
"	W. Brid "	"	"
"	S. G. G. Orr "	"	"
Ens.	F. Cunningham	"	"
Lieut.	R. A. Bruere 33rd	"	"
"	G. Agilay 35th	"	"
Ens.	A. C. Macartney 38th	"	"
Lieut.	P. O. Gardner 50th	"	"

10th September :—The Governor General's Agent at Ludhiana reports the arrival of the second Kafila of Arms, ammunition and stores despatched from Ferozepore. It was about to be despatched by Lieutent Mackeson on the following day towards Kabul.

Late accounts from Afganistan state that owing to a threatened attack by Dost Mohammed, the frontier force had been concentrated at Bameean, and Lieutenant Colonel Dennie with the 35 N. I. sent from Kabul as a reinforcement.

KOONDOD (OR KOONDUZ)

10th August: Peer Morad Beg has offered the British a post in his territories, and has deputed his Chief Minister, Atma Ram Dewan Bejee, to obtain such terms as Shah Shuja will grant him.

Agreeably to these overtures, a treaty has been concluded between Murad Beg and Shah Shuja, of which the following is the substance.

1st. The king agrees not to cast a covetous eye on the possessions of the Meer.

2nd. The Meer in return promises to join the king against all foreign enemies, and to supply the king's troops at Bajgah, Khoolum, etc., with grain and other necessaries, receiving payment for the same.

3rd. Kohmurd and Lyghan as of old, to belong to the Kabul monarchy.

4th. The Uzbecks to abstain from dealing in slaves in the king's dominions.

5th. Afghans who may be in Turkistan are at liberty, if they please, to return to Kabul.

6th. The sons of Killiah Ali Beg are not to be molested.

7th. The Kafila taxes on the road from Khoolum *via* Bajgah to belong to the king.

8th. This treaty to be sealed by Mulla Shakur as plenipotentiary of His Majesty Shah Shujaul Mulk, and Atma Ram Dewan Begee as Agent for Meer Mohmmed Murad Beg.

Khoolum

30th August: A private letter states that Hybuck had fallen, that the Wullee had arrived at Lurbagh, and was shortly expected at Bajgah; a son of Dost Mohammed's with 500 horse and some footmen having attacked Captain Codrington and Lieutenant Rattray's post at Bajgah were repulsed with loss. The fight it is stated, began in the following manner. The hills all around our men were first of all occupied by the Jesailuchees, and the valley immediately after filled with horsemen, Gholam Beg Mohammed, Ufzal Motiah, Wallee Shah and Saleah Beg, being in the field. The enemy's Cavalry drew up in the valley about one mile from the position of our men, and commenced curvetting about. Lieutenant Rattray with the sowars then went down and charging them twice, succeeded in driving them away to the Saleen Bagh. In this action Captain Cadrington took many prisoners and some horses from the enemy.

Kudjah

22nd August: The Major General Commanding the troops in Afganistan reports the attack on, and punishment of, a refractory chief and his followers in this neighbourhood. The Chief, named Wuzeree Vally, had fired on Captain Mac Gregor and Lieutenant Colonel Wheeler, whilst making a reconnaissance. Both these officers marched against him and captured 3 forts, the enemy flying in great disorder and consternation. These forts have been delivered over to the charge of the Governor of Jellahlabad, Mirza Aga Jaun. The Major General concludes by stating that the men, both European and Native, conducted themselves in this affair with admirable steadiness and bravery.

Sinde Upper

The Political Agent in Lower Sinde reports that he will be able to equip two Regiments on the carriage to Karachi, with which to proceed the whole way to support Sinde, and at once to take the field by marching to any spot the officer commanding in that province may direct.

From a private communication containing a description of the action of the 31st August, between Major Clibbome's party and the Baluchies, it appears that the enemy were fairly beat off in their desperate attack, and the stout attitude assumed by our troops deterred them from again attempting to molest them. As an instance of the suffering of the sepoys from thirst, it is said that the last gun was fired by two European officers, the Golandauze being so prostrated from exhaustion as to be unable to rise. The private letter goes on to say that the want of water was the only cause of the retreat of our men. The men and officers wounded in the engagement, are reported to be doing well.

Another private communication states that since the above affair, no Beloochees had as yet shown themselves in the plains, and the latest report from the outposts mention that all is quiet in their neighbourhood. The country between Sukkur and Shikarpur is at present deep in water and totally impassable.

A private communication from the N. W. Provinces to the address of the Governor-General, states, on alluding to the loss of the 1,040 camels, with Major Clibbome's force we will do our best to make up for this, and as we have arranged for exactly that number in excess of the 2,000 required by Mr. Ross Bell, I hope the inconvenience from that cause will be only temporary. The Lieut. Governor has written to the Governor-General's Agent at Ajmer to increase his exertions to get camels within his range for Upper Sinde and will keep urging the Civil authorities and Commissariat to collect them for the Convoys. A thousand sets of Camel gear are going down by water from Ferozepore, and the Lieut. Governor will endeavour to dispatch another supply of the same as soon as practicable.

The number of camels in Upper Sindo....	1333
Expected..............................	1700
Total	3035

8th August: The Governor-General's Agent in the N. W. Provinces in a private communication states that if reinforcements were required in Upper Sinde from Ferozepore he would not feel any difficulty in getting down by land a few weeks hence, 10 Regiments with grain enough for 6 months consumption and Bunjarreh Bullocks to convey the same.

20th August: The Bombay Government ordered the embarkation on the 28th August for Karachi of the left wing of the 25th Regiment, Bombay Native Infantry, under the command of Captain Rebenick, strength as per margin.

1 Captain.
2 Lieutenants
3 Ensigns.
8 Native Officers.
20 Havildars.
10 Drummers and pipers.
460 Rank and file.

SINDE LOWER

25th September: The following was the state of the Sindh Irregular Horse on the 1st September 1840:—

Commandant	1
2nd in Command	1
Adjutant	1
Assistant Surgeon	1
Risaldar	1
Jemadars	4
Naib Duffedars	18
Trumpeters	2
Sowars	438
Horses	461

QUETTA

22nd August: In consequence of certain intelligence from the Political Agent in Shawl, Major General Nott, in communication with the Political Agent at Kandhar ordered from the garrison on the 15th instant, 2 guns of Captain Anderson's Horse Artillery, a party of Chusties Horse (both of the Shah's service) and the 43 Regiment of Bengal Native Infantry towards Quetta; directing at the same time the return of Captain Woodburne's detachment of the Shah's troops from the Ghilzie country to Kandhar.

SHIKARPUR

12th September: The detachment at the above place has been increased to 250 men and a gun.

KELAT

26th July: The Political Agent at Quetta reports that Meer Nusseer Khan, the usurper of the musnud of Kelat, has expressed an earnest desire to effect an amicable arrangement with Shah Shuja, for which purpose he has deputed a Vakeel to Quetta with letters to his Majesty and to Captain Bean. The Vakeel mentioned that his master had caused that distress by his own acts, and that if he studied his own interests he would immediately dismiss his troops and write an humble petition to His Majesty Shah Shuja stating the particulars of his case.

17th to 23rd August: Intelligence from Hyderabad is as follows:—

The Chiefs of the Clans before Kelat had advised Mohammed Hussain (*alias* Nasir Khan, son of Mehrab Khan) to treat Mr. Loveday with every respect, and attention, and to place Shah Nawaz in possession of the lands his father had been deprived of by Merab Khan, and to meet the British Army attended with an Escort of 100 men at Kunda, near Bagh, and there to petition the English to allow him to retain possession of the country of his father.

BEILA

26th August: The British Agent at Soomeanee states that Jam of Beila had observed a strict neutrality during the late disturbances in Belochistan.

SUKKUR

19th September: The Government of Bombay announced the arrival at Sukkur on the 6th August of the Head Quarters of the 2nd Grenadier Regiment Bombay Native Infantry.

1 Major, 2 Lieutenants, 1 Assistant Surgeon, 3 Native officers, 12 Havildars, 6 Drummers and Pipers, 188 Rank and File, 4 Boys and 2 Bhisties.

KARACHI

11th September: The Quarter Master-General of the Bombay Army reports the embarkation for the above place on the 29th August of the Headquarters of the 25th Regiment Bombay N. I.

1 Lt. Colonel, 2 Captains, 3 Subalterns, 4 Native officers, 11 Havildars, 9 Drummers and pipers, 2 Buglers, 250 Rank and File, 22 Boys and Bhisties.

12th September: The Head Quarters of the 25th Regiment it was expected would leave Karachi on the 10th instant, and march the whole way by land, as the river will then have subsided sufficiently to enable them to do so.

EGYPT

From a communication from the Austrian Agent at Khene to the Austrian Consul-General at Alexandria it appears that the troops of the Viceroy of Egypt had evacuated the Yemen, and arrived at Gedda with their arms and baggage. Ahmed Pasha is reported to have arrived at Mecca from Assir, and a number of ships and cargo had already left and several were under weigh for Suez. Ahmed Pasha issued orders for the said ships with troops to be detained at Yambo until further orders for continuing on their voyage to Suez or waiting at Gedda.

PERSIA

8th June: It is reported in a letter from the Envoy at Erzeroom that the Persian troops which had proceeded to Sooleymaniah in Turkish Koordistan have been ordered to retire to Bana, a town in the Persian territory. M. De Savalette, the Secretary to the French Legation in Persia, had arrived at Tabriez with four attaches of the mission who were returning to France by the route of Russia.

The Seraskier Pasha was to have left Erzeroom with about 1,000 Infantry and seven guns for the purpose of bringing under subjection a refractory Saz Chief named Koor Hossim Beg who resides in the district situated between Kars and Tribizonde, distant about eighty miles from Erzeroom. The country is believed to be strong, and not favourable for the operations of regular troops with artillery being covered with forests and mountains. Koor Hossim Beg is said to be able to collect, when seconded by the whole of his tribe (in which, however, there appears to be at present a division) a body of four or five thousand irregulars riflemen, who are stated to be efficient troops when engaged in the mode of warfare for which their own country is adapted. The Pasha it was understood would be joined by other troops to be dispatched from Kars.

11th August: A short time ago it was generally believed that the King had left Ispahan with the intention of returning by way of Hamadan to Tehran, thence to proceed to Mished, the death of His Majesty's mother, and the disturbed state of the province of Khorasan as well as suspicions entertained of the loyalty of the Governor, Alla Yar Khan, being assigned as reasons for the return of His Majesty to his capital, and of his threatened descent on the Paschallie of Begdal being postponed. It is reported that the Exiled Persian Princes (uncles and cousins of the king) have advanced pretensions to the throne of Persia, and meditate an attack on His Majesty. A person who visited the King's Camp states that confusion and disturbance prevail everywhere and that wherever the camp moves, it carried destruction in its path.

The South of Persia, however, is said to be at present in a quieter stater than it has lately been.

Aden

The Government of Bombay have prepared a plan for an expedition to Aden for the purpose of attacking Lahedge, the capital of the Abdalees, a tribe of hostile and treacherous Arabs, should an absolute necessity arise for such a measure, which will, however, apparently not be the case.

29th August: The Bombay Government report that a further hostile attempt on the part of the Abdalee and Fauthelie tribes of Arabs had been made to attack Aden, and had been gallently repulsed and that the Naval and Military forces had behaved with great gallantry in defending the place.

Tajoura and Zeilah

It is reported that the French Government have a desire to extend their influence to, and establish a position on some points of the Arabian Coast opposite to Aden. Their object is, it is believed, in the first instance, to have a post in the bay of Tejjorna and at Zeila, and thence to extend a commercial and Political influence in the direction of Zanzibars and Mocha. Some French vessels partially equipped as men of war, have been already in the neighbourhood of the Arabian Coast opposite to Aden and to Aden itself. These vessels are said to have taken to one or two points on the Arabian Coast opposite to Aden large quantities of stores and general munitions of war. It may be mentioned in this place that a British Cruizer of the Indian Navy has lately visited Tajjorna and by good management and concilatory tact the Commander purchased, for a small amount of German Crowns two Islands in the Bay of that place, and thus established some connection with it. The Sesostus steamer has likewise been in the neighbourhood indicated.

BUSHIRE

11th August: No one has yet been nominated to the Government of Bushire, but a person named Abdulla Khan who lately arrived there with sixty men for the protection of the place appears to be vested with general authority over the low country.

KARRACK

6th August: The Acting Assistant Resident in the Persian Gulf states that much sickness prevails among the European portion of the field force at Karrack.

MOCHA AND HODERDAH

The Government of Bombay states that a not very friendly disposition had been evinced towards the British Government by Sheriff Hussain, the Governor of Mocha and Hoderdah, subsequently to the evacuation of those places by the troops of the Pasha of Egypt.

CUTCH

4th August: The Bombay Government report the prevalence of female infanticide in Cutch, and bear testimony to the laudable exertions made by His Highness the Row of that place for suppressing this crime in his dominions.

RAMPORE

21st August: The Nawab of Rampore has solicited the permission of the British Government to be allowed to raise a corps of 600 men from among the inhabitants of his Jagir to be commanded by a British Officer, with a view to maintain order and tranquillity in the said Jagheer. The Governor-General has taken occasion to point out to the Nawab that further acquaintance with the resources of his territory will be requisite to form a mature opinion on the subject of the Nawab's liberal and zealous proposition.

RAJPUTANA

11th September: The Governor General's Agent reports that rain had fallen throughout Rajputana with interruption in such quantity as has not been known for some years past, and in consequence wheat at Jodhpore now sells at 12 seers per rupee, the rate before the rain being at 6. The people rejoice at this present comparative plenty and the prospect of a more abundant harvest, and are grateful to providence for the blessing.

12th September : The Governor General's Agent at Ajmer in a private letter writes as follows. Our conduct to all these Rajputana states during the last year has been of a character to inspire universal confidence. We are strong enough in every quarter. He adds that at Jaipore and Jodhpur we have troops sufficient to maintain peace in those countries and that the Rajputana states may be depended on more than almost any other states, or perhaps any people in India.

Nepal

The Resident in Nepal has addressed communications to the Magistrate of Gorukpur and to the authorities of Lucknow, Kumaon, Ambala and Benaras requesting them to raise every feasible measure for the arrest of a party furnished with five Khmutahs, two letters and a (separate) draft of a proposed treaty between Lahore and Nepal. This party left Katmandu for Palpa on the 6th September enroute to Gaya or Benares, and thence to Lahore.

4th September: The Collector of Saurun writes that the Nepalese have again visited our territories, and had congregated to the number of 210 persons in the villages of Bankattoon and Lachmipore Pooreyna.

The Political Agent at Subathoo, reports a small party of Gurkhas to be moving in the direction of Balhersir, towards Chinese territory.

The latest accounts from Imphal state that on the 21st September the Agents of the Court of Khatmandu waited upon the Resident with the Durbar's submission to the Right Hon'ble the Governor General's demands. The Resident accepted the documents tendered together with the deposit required by and yielded to, the Governor General; the whole proceedings being conditional on His Lordship's approval and confirmation.

Burmah

The last accounts from Rangoon mention that every thing is favourable to the British interests in the capital. There is a rumour of an embassy being on its way from Imphal to Ava.

24th August: The Commissioner in the Tenasserium Provinces states that everything continues perfectly quiet on the frontiers and that no reports have reached him in any way indicative of the slightest desire to disturb our present relations with the Burmese. He mentions however, that information had reached him from various sources, that a succession of bodies of troops have been marched from the capital of Ava in a northerly direction, the object of which appears to be utterly unknown and to have excited considerable curiosity among the people.

26th August: Orders have been issued to the Commissioner in the Tenasserium Provinces to relieve His Majestye's 62 Regiment now in the Provinces by a Battalion of Madras Native Infantry. The Tenasserium local authorities however seem to doubt the necessity for any further force even on the withdrawal of the 62nd.

27th August: The Commissioner in the Tenasserium provinces reports that owing to an unprecedented rise in the water of the rivers (a rise that has prevailed throughout all the rivers on the coast) and to the very inadequate means at command for keeping

the Merqui coal mine free from water the work has been very much impeded The mine was full of water during the month of July, and it was not till the 8th August, that Lieut. Hutchinson was enabled to recommence bringing out the coal

10th September The death of the Myawoon of Rangoon has been reported. The brother in-law of the late Myawoon, the Woon of Padawoon had been nominated his successor and was expected to arrive at Rangoon in a few days.

CHINA

22nd June The Deputy Commissary General on the Eastern Expedition reports that the Commissariat supplies of provisions to the troops on board, had been found unexceptionable.

FINANCE

8th September The Governor General's Agent in the North West Frontier reports having remitted seven (7) Lakhs of Rupees to Kandhar on the 2nd instant.

Fort William J W BAYLEY,
1st October 1840 Asstt. Secretary to the Govt. of India.

No 10—FROM—J W BAYLEY ASSISTANT SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

Fort William, 10th October 1840

NORTH WEST FRONTIER

Late letters from the Punjab contain the following items of news —

1st. The Governor General's agent has received from the Sikh Durbar eight rebel Ghilzie Chiefs demanded by the British Government from it. They have been placed in custody in the fort of Loodhiana, and are allowed each a private servant to have access to them from sun rise to sun set. No stranger, however, is to have such indulgence, in other respects their surveillance is to be conducted in such a manner as to afford them every comfort compatible with their security

2nd Sultan Peer Mohamed has arrived at Amritsar

3rd Sardar Mohamed Khan has arrived in the immediate neighbourhood of Loodhiana.

4th The stoppage put upon business by the Dassarah and other circumstances having rendered the measure expedient, the Governor General's Agent has intimated to Fakir Azizudin who was deputed from the Court of Lahore to wait upon Mr Clerk at Loodhiana, that he (the Fakir) was at liberty to return to the Durbar

5th. Should the demands of the British Government upon the Lahore Durbar be in any way impeded, Mr. Clerk has resolved immediately to proceed to the Head Quaters of the Durbar.

6th. Maharaja Khurruck Singh's health is failing, and he is in a delicate state.

7th. Suwan Mull the Governor of Mooltan has received orders to repair and store 7 forts within his jurisdiction.

Another private letter mentions that small bodies of Goorkhas were moving in the direction of the frontiers of Chinese territory.

AFGHANISTAN

August 31st: The Political Agent at Bameean states that all the accounts he had received of the intentions of Mir Walee and Dost Mohamed were to the effect that they intended advancing through Kohistan.

September 3rd: The Envoy and Minister has forwarded an order from His Majesty Shah Shoojah-ool-Moolak to the Political Agent at Kandahar for 7,000 Kharwars of grain (2,000 being as Mehmanee or as an offering to the British Government) for which he has advanced to the Shah one lakh of rupees.

September 5th: The Major General Commanding the troops in Afghanistan reports that a combination of the Chiefs of Turkistan in favour of Dost Mohamed Khan has been brought to light, and that the valley of Kamard and Dushti Sutaid was occupied by Mohamed Ufzul Khan, the Mir Walle of Khoolum and his Minister, whilst Dost Mohamed himself was stated to be at Stybuck and the Chief of Koondooz to be advancing by the route of Ghoree with 2,000 men. Under these circumstances the authorities on the frontier resolved to concentrate their forces at Bameean, and at the repeated request of the Envoy and Minister, the Major General ordered the 35th N. I. with a Resallah of the Shah's horse to move from Kabul to their support. The Major General also directed Brigadier Dennie to proceed with this detachment and assume the Command of the whole of the troops on the Frontier.

Just as the present news letter was closing, accounts were received, express, from Kabul, from Sir Willoughby Cotton, announcing a most brilliant action on the 18th September at Bameean between a portion of the troops under Colonel Dennie stationed there, consisting of about 500 infantry with two guns and some cavalry on the one hand with 2 or 300 of the Shah's first Hindustani, and Afghan Ian Buz, Horse, and a combined and very superior force of the enemy, said to have been 6,000 in number under the Ex-Amir, Dost Mohamed and the Wullee of Khoolum on the other. The report of the action has been before the public in an extra Gazette, but one may here repeat that the discomfiture was most complete, 500 of the enemy were killed. Dost Mohamed was severely wounded, every tent, all the luggage,

stores, ammunition, etc., were taken and the only one gun (16 pr.) that Dost Mohamed brought into the action, was captured. All the troops engaged on our side, viz., a detachment of the 35th N. I. some of Captain Colly's escort, and the Afghan cavalry, who fought on our side behaved most gallantly. Capt. Hart and Lieutt. Legeyt are mentioned as having been wounded.

September 11th: The Envoy and Minister has come to the possession of an intercepted letter, purporting to be from Sultan Mohamed Khan son of Allahdad Khan to Dost Mohamed.

September 13th: Major M. Sherry reports having inspected the Goorkha levies of His Majesty Shah Shoojah under Captain Marshall's care at Hawal Baugh, and states that great progress had been made by the men in their drill, through the attention and efforts of Capt. Marshall and that he found the corps likely to do every credit to the service, on which, they may hereafter be engaged.

Private letters from Jellalabad mention that it was not considered advisable to send it to Kabul as was intended (vide news letter of 1st October).

The Envoy and Minister deems it unsafe to attempt any military operations in Bajore without the aid of another Brigade from Hindoostan.

The Envoy and Minister at the court of Shah Shoojah reports the pacification of the Ghilzie country and the circumstances of there being no longer any necessity for the maintenance of the troops stationed there.

KHOOLUM

30th August: In a private letter from Kabul, it is stated that Dost Mohamed Khan stopped the caravan from Kabul and caused it to pay him three tillas on each load on pretence that he was going on a religious war, that he did the same in regard to sixty loads of silk coming from Bokhara which belonged to the Lahanee and Punjabi merchants; that the Walee of Khoolum had also raised money for Dost Mohamed by the capitation tax, which when collected Dost Mohamed distributed among the new men. The letter goes on to say that the Wallee had visited the celebrated Priest of Morad Beg named Khwajah Qasim Jan, and asked him to assist Dost Mohamed, and that the latter answered that when they were really going to a religious war he would give them money. It is also said that the Agents from Kabul going to Bokhara, were plundered by Dost Mohamed, as well as some of the pilgrims from Bokhara, and that the King of Bokhara talked of sending troops to Khulum. The Wallee, it is further stated, had collected about 6 or 700 men and sent a circular throughout the country that he was going with Dost Mohamed on the religious war (Jehad).

HERAT

August 5th: The Envoy at Herat states the following regarding Yar Mohamed Khan, viz., that the oppurtunity of greatly distinguishing himself had lately presented itself to him. An enterprize, viz., the capture of Ghorian which he has ever professed himself ardently desirous of achieving and in the success of which, he might have been supposed to be deeply interested was entrusted to him by Shah Kamran his master. There appeared to be a fair and reasonable hope that success would crown the attempt. On the eve of the undertaking, Yar Mohamed Khan influenced by unmanly fears on his own part, or by groundless suspicions and apprehensions, evinced disinclination to perform the part he had chosen; endeavoured to palliate his vacillation of purpose by the most paltry excuses and finally abandoned the enterprize.

August 5th: Her Britannic Majesty's Charge d' Affairs at Erzroom had lately forwarded to the Envoy at Herat copy of an old letter addressed by Sah Kamran to the Shah of Persia, professing the greatest anxiety to throw off, what he termed, the yoke of the English, and to ally himself with Persia.

August 5th: The Envoy at Herat writes that the harvest at Herat has been reaped, but in consequence of partial blight the crops have not been so abundant as might reasonably have been expected from their fine appearence some months ago, and in some parts of the country, they entirely failed. Up to the 5th August, the price of wheat at Herat was about 10½ Bengal seers per Company's rupee, the usual rate in former years having been generally upwards of 40.

The Envoy at Herat is continuing the repair of the Herat fortifications.

SINDE

August 16th: The Colonel Commanding in Lower Sinde reports that 7 boats were ready at the mouth of the Indus up to the 16th August for the conveyance of troops expected from Bombay and that he had given the most particular instructions to see the preparations of others expedited, and that in 6 or 7 days 20 at least would have been ready for the purpose specified. By the end of August last the officer referred to, hoped to be able to purchase or hire camels in sufficient number for the conveyance as far as Sehwan of one Regiment at a time.

September 18th: The Bombay Government report the march from Kurachee to Sukkar via Sehwan on the 4th of September of the left wing 25th Regiment N. I. under the command of Capt. Rebeneck.

Mr. Ross Bell had arrived at Sukkar with the 38th N. I. after a very rapid voyage from Ferozepur.

The Political Agent in Lower Sinde reports, that Mir Noor Mohamed, who had been very seriously ill, has been restored to comparative health and strength

The Lower Sinde diaries show the Hyderabad Government generally and Amir Noor Mohamed particularly, to be giving every aid in facilitating the passage of the British troops from Lower Sinde to Upper Sinde.*

KELAT

September 3rd The Envoy and Minister and the Major General Commanding the troops in Afgnanistan have jointly instructed Major General Nott, Commanding at Kandahar, immediately to proceed towards Quetta with the 18 pounder now in Kandahar and a sufficient escort, to aid in such service against the Kelat Usurper, as might be necessary, and to assume the command of the expedition for the recapture of that place if he should be instructed eventually to adopt that measure.

ADEN

22nd June With a view to secure Aden the admiralty intend ordering a man-of war to that place.

PERSIA

June 22nd The Resident in the Persian Gulf states that reports are again current regarding the intention of the Shah to march upon Sheraz in a short time. As extensive supplies for the use of his troops will, in this case have to be collected from all quarters, and as there will be much difficulty in procuring from the Persian coast as usual, the provender required for the numerous public cattle on the Island of Karrak the Resident has taken every precaution to lay in a supply of provender for the period of a twelve month

INDUS STEAM NAVIGATION

August 7th The Commander of the steam Flotilla on the Indus reports the arrival of the "Meteor' steam vessel at Bukkar on the 3rd inst, with a detachment of His Majesty's 40th Regiment The "Meteor" was despatched from Bukkar on the 7th ultimo and reached Tatta on the 12th having been detained two days and a half at Hyderabad to receive on board three Lacs of rupees for the latter place, which brought her draught to 2 feet 5 inches aft, and 2 feet 2 inches forward She steamed down at

*Major General Brook of the Bombay Army has been selected by Government for the Command of the forces in Upper Sinde.

§Major Outram will serve as an extra Aide-de-Camp to the Major General, leaving the Hyderabad Residency in charge of one of his assistants, who will conduct its duties in direct communication with Major Outram. Should Mr Ross Bell's health fail, Major Outram will take upon himself the Political charge of Upper Sinde.

appointed by the Khan Huzrut to accompany Captain Abbott to the Russian Camp as guide, was accessory to an attack made at night upon that officer by 50 Kuzzacks who speedily overpowered his small party. Captain Abbott was four times beaten to the ground. In defending himself from sabre cuts, he received a wound on his left hand and lost the four finger of his right hand, he had also a wound on his forehead. He was found in a dreadful state by Saleh Mohamed (who was dispatched by the Envoy to Herat with letters and money to Captain Abbott) 17 days after the attack, three of his servants had been distributed as slaves and he himself was deprived of his property. Saleh Mohamed and some of the Khan Huzrut's sowars alarmed the Kuzzacks and Captain Abbott was allowed to proceed. It is said that he has been kindly received by the Russian authorities at Dush Kulla who had placed him on board a ship which was to convey him across the Caspian. Captain Abbott in a private note addressed to the Envoy to Herat, bears ample testimony to the courage and attachment to his person of Saleh Mohamed. The Khan Huzrut has sent sowars to seize Hussain mahtoor and the parties who maltreated Captain Abbott.

Lieutenant Shakespear writes that the Khan Huzrut has of his own accord appealed to England for assistance against the Russians.

An Embassador from Kokan is at Khyva the object of whose mission is not ascertained. Lieutt. Shakespear has presented His Majesty with a copy of the Treaty which has been concluded between the British Government and Shah Kamran and also with a copy of the proclamation published by Government on the occasion of the assembly of the army of the Indus. Captain Abbott states on the testimony of a Russian officer who had been taken prisoner near Dush Kulla that at the Russian trenches near the Yen River there were 7,000 Russians and 40 guns.

Bokhara-Russia

15th June: Lieutt. Shakespear on special duty at Khyva reports that the Amir of Bokhara had despatched Mokim Jan on an Embassy to Russia, sending at the same time the Elephant presented to the Amir by Dost Mohamed Khan as a present to the Emperor of Russia. He also reports that Colonel Stoddart and Dost Mohamed Khan are both still in confinement at Bokhara.

Sinde—Upper

13th July: The Political Agent states both in official and private communications that he apprehends no disturbances in Lower Sinde of a nature to compromise us in any serious manner, although possibly the feuds between some of the Hyderabad Amirs and the Mirpur Chiefs may cause trifling internal commotions if he fails to induce the parties to settle their differences which he hopes to be able to do. The Political Agent is of opinion that nothing short of the most serious disasters to our troops in Upper Sinde and the neighbourhood would encourage the disaffected in Lower

Sinde to open attempts against our power, and such he thinks are not to be dreaded, and that our troops while on the defensive at Quetta are not likely to suffer defeat and that the disaffected tribes in Upper Sinde could never of themselves seriously oppose the contingent which may be sent against them With reference to the stoppage of our Daks at a Thannah belonging to Mir Sher Mohamed the Political Agent observes that that Chief is at present too anxious to obtain our support to have authorized such an aggression He conceives that it originated in the supposition of the Thanadar (probably himself a farmer of the customs) that the Dak packets contained merchandize or other articles on which duty should be paid The Agent has written to the Chief referred to and hopes that he will adopt such measures as will secure the Dak packets from detention in future.

20th July The Political Agent states that owing to the immense number of camels which were carried out of India last year it has become a matter of great difficulty to collect any this season, that Sinde and the Seikh states have already been almost entirely drained of them, and that there is difficulty in procuring a sufficient number for the force about to assemble for service in Upper Sinde, nearer than Rajputana the Gwalior territories and the neighbourhood of Agra He adds that not less than 1,500 additional camels will be required to enable a sufficient body of troops to take the field

24th July With reference to events which have lately occurred in Upper Sinde, and which render it probable that a reinforcement to the troops in that quarter may be speedily required the Lieutt. Governor for the N W Provinces has but anticipated the wishes of the supreme Government by giving orders to the Major General Commanding the Sirhind Division to hold one of the Regiments at Ferozepur in readiness for immediate embarkation on the requisition of the Political authorities in these Provinces. The Political Agent at Amballa has been instructed to prepare boats at Ferozpur for the embarkation of the troops, if emergency arises to Upper Sinde and by very recent letters it appears that the "Comet" steamer will be rendered available for the transport of the troops referred to

KELAT

8th July A private letter of date noted in the margin from Kandahar mentions that every means is being used to succour Captain Bean and his post A party of 500 Afghan horsemen were about to start for Quetta under command of Lieutt. C. A Jackson, Lieutt. Jackson was to go down in two days and nights or 75 miles and upwards a night. The rebels from all accounts amount to upwards of 4,000 men They are all foot men Lieutt. Jackson proposes (should be fail in his endeavours to disperse the rebels) to throw the horsemen into Quetta and help in defending the town

Quetta

2nd July: Intelligence from the above place has been received to this effect.

1st. That the Political Agent had sent out small parties of horse to watch the Kakurs.

2nd. That the Doomur tribe of Kakurs in the Boolan rangers are likely to prove very serviceable and are now employed watching the pass between Quetta and Moostang and that party has proceeded to the Marow country south of Moostang to cause a diversion.

3rd. The conduct of Mohammed Khan Naib of Moostang is condemned by all the Zamindars and peaceable inhabitants of that Valley but he being in force there, they are unable to act against him.

4th. The Kakur rebels in the district of Quetta have completely dispersed.

7th July: The Political Agent in Quetta has received a letter from Mohamed Khan, son of Mehrab Khan, stating that he was to be at Sir-i-ab on the 1st July with his army and declaring open hostility against the British Government, as there are not sufficient men at Quetta to enable Capt. Bean to attack the enemy till reinforced on the open plain, the Political Agent fears he would have had to act on the defensive under cover of the town of Quetta, till troops are sent from Kandahar.

15th July: The Major General Commanding the troops in Afghanistan has on this date with the concurrence of the Envoy and Minister moved the 2nd Regiment N. I. with 4 guns of H. M. Shah Shoojah's horse artillery under Captain Anderson, and Lieutt. Legeyt's Resalla to Kandahar in order that Major General Not may have it in his power in case of necessity, to detach a force efficient in all arms from that garrison for the reinforcement of the post of Quetta which is threatened by the son of the late Mehrab Khan of Kelat. The Major General further states that the present garrison of Quetta is reported to be well supplied with provisions and water, and that he entertains no doubt of their being able to maintain the post until succours, if necessary, shall reach them from Kandahar.

18th July: A private letter states Captain Bean's position at Quetta to be unassailable in the town by all the rebels that could be brought against it where nothing but treachery could discompose him, and that reinforcements from Kandahar would reach him long before he could be driven to any extremity. It was hoped that Lieutt. Nicolson in the Ghilzie country will be able to dispense with a considerable portion of the detachment employed against the Ghilzies for the relief of Captain Bean should there be any necessity for such aid.

31st July A private communication dated as per margin states that the Political Agent at Quetta had up to the 8th instant 650 fighting men having received a reinforcement of Achukzye horse and felt no anxiety as to the result of an attack by the son of Mehrab Khan if any such were made.

SUKKAR

9th July The assistant Political Agent in charge at Sukkar reports that five individuals (Persian or Arabs) mounted on camels arrived at that place from Hyderabad They lived with Futteh Mohamed Ghoree and two of the party visited Mir Roostam Khan The Political Agent further states that the party have disappeared and he believes their destination to be Nepal*

SINDE—LOWER

9th July With reference to a requisition by the authorities in Upper Sinde for H. Majesty's 40th Regiment for service in that place, the Political Agent stated that he had only partially complied with that requisition, *viz*, to the extent of half the Regiment. The Political Agent also stated that Lower Sinde is accessible from Guzerat but that he was not aware that any troops would at present be available thence in case of emergency except Cavalry and Artillery

LUSS

18th July The Political Agent, Lower Sinde, in a communication dated as per margin states that in consequence of the probability of disturbances at Beila the British Agent with his small escort of 13 men had been withdrawn from Soonmeanee and ordered to the neighbourhood of Lower Sinde.

18th July The Political Agent in Lower Sinde observes that this state is so petty, whether as regards its power to injure its neighbours or to protect itself and moreover that it is so accessible from the Sea through the port of Soonmeanee and immediately commanded by our troops at Karachee that the disaffection of its chief need excite no apprehension or alarm The Political Agent states that the defection of this Chief is owing to an intended sequestration of the Port Customs of Soonmeanee by the Kelat Government which Customs comprized nearly the whole revenue of that Chief It appears that tribute had not been exacted for some generations past and that the young chief has been driven to desparation on suddenly finding himself likely to be deprived of all resources. The proceedings in this matter had their origin in a temporary misapprehension, which the Supreme Government endeavoured to correct in March last Explanations have been called for of the circumstances under which the misconception has apparently been allowed so long to prevail

PERSIA

18th July Affairs at Shiraz and the neighbouring districts are said to be tolerably quiet

*NOTE—This is here entered for the information and guidance of Political officers not as any item of important intelligence.

2nd June: It is reported that an Embassador from Ibrahim Pasha is now at Ispahan and that the Shah of Persia's movement from Tehran to Ispahan was only preparatory to his march upon Bagdad.

PERSIAN GULF

6th June: The Imam of Muscat has assured the Government that the whole or any part of his fleet was at their disposal for co-operating with the British Squadron in the Persian Gulf.

15th June: The Resident in the Persian Gulf reports the entrance of the new Government of Tars, Nasroolah Khan into Shiraz; and mentions the Shah's troops have taken possession of Soolemania and H. M. threatens to attack either Bagdad or Bussorah. The Native Agent at Shicaz reports that the horses destined for exportation to India have been seized for the Royal artillery in Ispahan and that the general impression in Shiraz and Bushire is that H. M. inclined to fix the seat of Government at Ispahan.

17th June: The Resident in the Persian Gulf reports having despatched on the 15th June the Honourable Company's Schooner "Royal Tiger" to Bahrein and Kateef, for the purpose of ascertaining the truth of the report of the Seaport of Lohat Kateef and Ageer having been evacuated by the Egyptian troops lately occupying those places.

11th July: The Government of Bombay have issued instructions to the Superintendent of the Indian Navy to send the Hon'ble Company's steamer "Sesostris" to the Persian Gulf on her return from Aden.

20th July: The Government of Bombay report that Sheik Khaleifa-bin-Shakhoot, the Benyes Chief who lately inflicted some damage upon and caused some loss to the Neam of Brymee, has satisfactorily adjusted his quarrel with the Sheikhs of Brymee so that no measures of coercion against that Chief appear to be necessary.

MUSCAT

18th June: A communication from the native Agent at Muscat states that on the 22nd June a vessel arrived from Juddah having on board Saleh Mokhanee who was sent by the Imam to Egypt. This individual was rumoured to be the bearer of letters from Mohamed Ali Pacha from Egypt.

KARRACK

18th May: Every thing is tranquil in this neighbourhood; supplies are plentiful and cheap and the health of the troops is unusually good. On the 18th instant a transport from Bombay with men and stores for the expedition on the rivers in Mesopotamia arrived at Karrack. She brought up a portion of the wing of the 15th Regiment N. I. Two other vessels were daily expected with the remainder of the rebels.

BAHREIN

19th May With reference to the movements of the Khoorseed Pasha a general impression exists on the coast that this officer was about to evacuate central Arabia and return to Egypt with his army This report has been confirmed by letters from Bahrein, which also mentioned that preparations were making by the Pasha's garrisons of Kateef and Lahsah to withdraw from those places and that a body of 300 horse attached to the special services of Amir Khaled came down to the coast to cover their retrograde march The native Agent at Bahrein writes that the whole of the Pasha's army was on its march and had mostly quitted Lassah on the 5th of June. It was not known in what direction they all proceeded from Juddah.

2nd June Esa ben-Tureef and the greater part of his followers have removed from Aboothobee, and settled in the Island of Keun. Sheikh Issa has given great indication of a wish to cruise against the trade of the Island of Bahruen and also to seize from the Sheikh of Dabaye, a Bateel formerly belonging to himself but confiscated subsequently to his secession.

KURMOOL

21st July The Secretary to Government reports that Gulam Rusool Khan, Ex Nawab of Kurnool, had been murdered by one of his followers on the 12th instant. The Right Hon'ble the Governor in Council of Fort St. George has called on the Commissioner at Kurnool to report what allowances should be made for the deceased's children and the other members of his family and the Government of India for a full and particular report of the circumstances that led to the event noted

LUCKNOW

24th July The Acting Resident in a communication dated as per margin states that H M the King of Lucknow had on the 24th July installed the heir apparent in the office of Prime Minister and appointed Shurfood Dowlah his deputy At an interview the Resident had with the Prince previous to his installation, he endeavoured to impress on his mind a just sense of the onerous duties of the station to which his father had destined him.

RAMPUR

31st July A private letter of date noted in the margin states the Jagheer of Rampur in the N W Provinces, where, about the time of the Nawab's recent demise, some serious disturbances and the murder of an obnoxious Minister took place, was, under the arrangements of the joint Magistrate and Deputy Collector of Mooradabad, Mr Dick, restored to tranquillity and good order

BIKANEER

14th July It is reported that engagements have been interchanged between the states of Jodhpur and Bikaneer mutually annulling all claims on account of the loss of property through plunderers, releasing all prisoners of the one state confined by the

other and becoming responsible for all acts of aggressions that should be perpetrated by any refugee or outlaw. This is the first state with which the arrangements of Jodhpur for amicable adjustment have been concluded and the little delay that has taken place in this instance is a good test of the case with which the same desirable result may be obtained in regard to all other states, neighbouring Marwar.

NIPAUL

5th—18th July: The diary of the Nipaul Residency of dates noted on the margin reports:—

1st. On the 9th Kulraj Pandey was reappointed Pay Master of the forces in open defiance of the army and with pledge given by him that he would reduce it to obedience, punish the late rioters and enforce prospectively the reduced rate of pay. He had commenced to recruit with fresh men, the new Corack battalion in prosecution of his own purpose to break up the union of the soldiery and the Minister.

2nd. The Rani on some trivial pretence had quarrelled violently with the Raja and set off for Benares as she affirmed but which nobody believed. The Raja with part of his family and most of the Chiefs left the city to entreat the Rani's return, in consequence of which the palace and city were nearly emptied. All the people were cursing the frantic women who promised to be assuredly the ruin of the country.

3rd. Kulraj was spoken of for the Premiership. He relies for victory in his contest with the soldiery on the ground of their known loyalty which nothing but gross injustice could have led astray and that he means to eschew.

4th. It is rumoured that the Viceroy of Lassa is rousing himself and has told the Durbar to be in readiness and to expect an ample supply of money from him. Lately private accounts state that the Rani and court had returned to Katmandoo.

22nd July: The Collector of Sarun in a letter to the address of the Resident at Nipaul dated the 15th instant states that the Nepaulese appeared to be partially preparing to evacuate the lands seized by them in his district (Ramnagar Zamindari) retaining a part under some alleged pretext of a right or claim but of what nature it is not clear. The Resident reports that the Nipaulese were still up to the 19th instant in possession of the villages and country of the Terai road. Later letters mention a report of the Maharajah having on the remonstrance of the Resident sent off an express to recall his Goorkhas from Ramnagar. But the communication the Resident has received from the Durbar cannot be said to be satisfactory.

CHINA

13th July: A private communication from Singapur states that an American vessel saw the British squadron destined for China off Pulo Supathi on the 13th July.

17th July A tender of the ship "Minerva' of about 1 000 tons has been accepted by the Government of Fort St George for the conveyance of troops from Madras to China It is presumed that the above vessel with the 1 800 or 2,000 tons of shipping expected from Calcutta will be sufficient for the Regiment of N I proceed ing on service, and if not found sufficient, there is reason to believe that more freight may be obtained without difficulty at Madras.

FINANCE

18th July The Governor General's Agent on the N W Frontier reports the arrival at Ferozepur from Hyderabad of 11 Lacs of Rupees forwarded by their Highnesses the Amirs on account of the balance due to H M Shah Shooja ul Mulk.

22nd June The Resident Councillor at Singapur has submitted to Government a statement of cash disbursements, etc., made by him on account of the China expedition from the 7th February to the 20th instant amounting to Company's rupees 2,74,622 13 2

1st July Captain Bygrave's statement of cash balance shows that on the 1st of July 1840 cash in the military chest amounted to Rs. 23 73 343 2-9½

MISCELLANEOUS

The Government of India have with reference to the order of the Hon ble the Court of Directors that officers of the Company employed in the service of Native states should not be paid by the Company for such service, and that Native states which have the benefit of the service of such officers should reimburse the Govern ment for the expense to which it is subjected resolved that Government can make no claim upon the native Princes for the extra pay or subsistence which has heretofore been paid by the Hon'ble Com pany to its officers but for service in their (Native Princes) army The Government of India have also resolved that officers who are to be hereafter transfered to the service of Native Princes may be brought under the new rule ordered by the Hon'ble Court, *i.e.*, that they should receive in all cases only the pay and allowances of the rank in which they may be serving the subsistence or bare pay of their rank in the Company's service being paid by the British Government and refunded in account by the Native Princes The Government have further resolved that the subject of the case of incumbents drawing under previous rules, the double pay, be again referred to the Hon'ble Court by this mail

H M 21st Regiment of foot is about to proceed to Dinapur to relieve H M. 16th foot which is the first regiment for return to England

J W BAYLEY,
Assistt Secretary to the
Government of India

Fort William
The 15th August 1840

No. 5.—From—J. W. BAYLEY, ASSISTANT SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

Fort William, the 22nd August 1840.

North West Frontier Agency

22nd to 25th July: The Native Akhbar from the above frontier states as follows:—

1st. Sardar Peer Mohammed had made great complaints against General Avitabile.

2nd. Gul Mohammed the Ghilzie had fled from Kohat by the route of Banoo but had not taken his family with him.

Afganistan

13th July: The Envoy and Minister in reply to instructions from the Supreme Government to that effect states that he will assist Shah Shuja in establishing an effective national Government in his dominions, will persevere in his recommendation to H. M. for the appointment of a Minister, as far as he may see that those recommendations can be attended with the chance of an useful result, and will use vigorous measures in quelling the turbulent spirit of the Ghilzies and reconciling them to the Shah's Government.

Kabul

16th July: The Political Assistant at Kabul writes, that he has made over to Lieutenant Burnes all the family of Dost Mohammed Khan and their attendants (consisting in all about 132 persons) who came in with Nawab Jabbar Khan.

Kandhar

14th July: The Political Agent states that Sardar Ata Mohammed, whose case was referred to in a late news letter, and his two relations Shahbaz Khan and Jaifuddin Khan have been released by the Prince Futteh Jung and presented with dresses of honour.

Turkistan

A private letter from Bujgah contains the following paragraph:—

> "The people in the frontiers of Turkistan were at first shy at our visit among them, but being subject to Uzbec oppression they now seem fully to appreciate our presence, and next year much land will in consequence be brought into cultivation which has been fallen for years."

KHYVA

14th June: The presents made to the Khan Huzrat by Lieutenant Shakespear have been highly appreciated by His Majesty. The Indian Government is said to be much respected at Khyva and partially from their alliance with and position in regard to the Afghans. If things go on satisfactorily in Herat and in the Russian Camp Lieutenant Shakespear hopes to effect the liberation of Colonel Stoddart and to obtain the promise of Khan Hazrat to forbid the purchase or capture of any new slaves from any country whatever. The Khan Hazrat is said to have ordered the emancipation of twenty-one slaves inhabitants of Herat.

20th June: A messenger from Khyva to Bokhara reports that the Army of Russia was encamped on the banks of the "Oreetee" but that the sudden arrival of the melancholy news of the death of the Emperor caused the camp to be broken up and to withdraw into their country. Some say that this move was caused by the death not of the Emperor, but the General in Chief (Hakim-i-Kulan) of the Army.

BOKHARA

The Native news writer at Bokhara states that Dost Mohammed Khan has lately been released and goes to visit the king every two or three days. Sultan Ahmad and the other sons of the Ameer are still confined. Dost Mohammed Khan says the writer is now persevering to get his leave from His Majesty and when he obtains it, he will undoubtedly go to Kabul, and throw himself on the British protection. The king of Bokhara is now said to be in greater alarm from the English than before, and has allowed Colonel Stoddart to go about the city accompanied by two Ozbeeks

27th July: A report has been received since the above was written stating that Dost Mohammed Khan had effected his escape from Bokhara on the 6th of July and fled to Shahar Subz, a small independent state lying South of Samarcund and between it and Khoolum. In his flight the ex-Ameer was accompanied only by his favourite son Akbar. His eldest son Afzal is also said to have reached Khoolum about the middle of July.

SCINDE UPPER

10th August: A private communication from Agra of date noted in the margin states, that Colonel Sutherland has procured 500 Camels to be sent from Neemuch and Nasirabad for service in Upper Scinde. The same communication further states that matters in Scinde were much better than was generally supposed some time since. No danger was apprehended from the son of the late Mehra Khan and his rebel crew and Lieutenant Loveday according to letters from himself dated 7th ultimo instead of being shut up in Kelat was about starting with a party of Kelatees thence to attack the rebellious chief and his followers.

Quetta

2nd July: Lieutenant Bosanquet, Commanding an Achikzye Horse, bears ample testimony to the soldier-like quality of that body of men and has recommended an increase to their pay from 15 to 20 Rupees per mensem which the Government have sanctioned.

13th July: The Envoy and Minister at the court of Shah Shuja reports that aid has been sent by Major Leech to Quetta with a view of affording effectual relief to Captain Bean's position. Should the next accounts from that place be unfavourable it is the intention of the Major General, Commanding the troops in Afganistan to order Major General Nott to send a reinforcement from Kandhar to Quetta and to order to the latter station the 2nd Regiment of Native Infantry which is now in the vicinity of Ghuznee.

10th July: From the private communication of the date noted in the margin it appears that Lieutenant Jackson with a body of 150 Afghan Horse left Kandhar on the 10th of July with a view to reinforce the garrison of Quetta. After a forced march of 60 miles he arrived at break of day close to the enemy's Camp and then made the men start off at a trot, and just as they passed the main camp and were making for the town, two detached parties of about 500 men discovered them and opened a heavy fire. They returned their fire and moved on at a quick walk towards the town, where they arrived with a loss of 9 men killed and a few horses wounded. The enemy it is said had upwards of 1,000 good cavalry, but the news of the arrival of Lieutenant Jackson and his party into the town had thrown the rebels into great consternation, and they in consequence had fled, and the valley was quite clear of them. From some prisoners who effected their emancipation it appears, the Belochee Sirdars had started off from Moostang, as also the rebel Camp. In their flight the enemy completely pillaged the valley of everything, and plundered every village in the neighbourhood.

Persia

5th July: Her Majesty's charge d'Affairs at Erzeroom in a late communication expresses his belief that the British mission will not return to Tehran for some months and mentions that the French Mission was about to quit Persia.

Muscat

2nd July: Captain A. Hamerton on Political duty at Muscat states that Khurshed Pacha and the Egyptian Army was up to the 19th May last still at Hajaz and Nejd.

RAMPORE

27th July In consequence of the demise of the Nawab of Rampore the Akoonzadeb has been nominated minister pro-temporary

NEPAL

19th July to 1st August The Diary of the Nepal Residency contains the following items of intelligence —

1st. Kulraj is talked of for Minister in the place of Rana Jung in consequence of the mental imbecility of the latter

2nd. A great council was held at the Queen's garden to effect some settlement as to the Revenue of Terai.

3rd. A Sikh chief has come to Benares to negotiate with Nepal

4th. A Council was held to consider what answer was to be made to the Resident's demand for atonement about Ramnagar A dilatory answer is said to be preparing

5th. An insurrection is said to have broken out in Beni.

CHINA

25th June The Governor of Prince of Wales island Singapore and Malacca has taken up the Bark "Clarissa" to proceed to China for the purpose of conveying some Camp followers who arrived on the island from Madras for the purpose of joining the detachment of the force from that Presidency serving with the expedition.

MISCELLANEOUS

15th June The Commander of the Steam Flotilla on the Indus reports the arrival of the Snake steamer at Gisry Bunder She left Bakhar on the 10th steamed down at the slowest possible rate and on the 12th reached Tatta, having been 29 hours under steam. The late voyages of the Snake from Mithenkote to Bukhar, and from thence to Tatta show that the downward navigation of the main steam is not difficult during the inundation, and that with proper precautions vessels may steam down it at that season of the year without danger

30th July The Governor General's Agent in the North West Frontier has instructed the Commander of the Steamer "Comet" to employ that vessel in conveying troops from Ferozepore to Sukkur

Fort William J W BAYLEY,

The 22nd August 1840 Asstt. Secy to the Govt. of India.

No. 6.—From—J. W. BAYLEY, ASSISTANT SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

Fort William, the 1st September 1840.

North West Frontier

24th to 27th July: The Lahore Akhbar contains the following items of intelligence:—

1st. Sirdar Sultan Mohammed appeared at the Durbar.

2nd. The Kunwar is desirous of going to Mundee.

3rd. Captain Mackeson it is reported is now quite satisfied with General Avitabile's mode of conducting business.

Hill intelligence

1st and 2nd July: The troops are about to occupy the Kooloo country.

Peshawar

18th to 23rd July: Orders have been received from the Lahore Government by General Avitabile. to confiscate all the Jagirs and free lands at Peshawar.

28th July to 2nd August: The Lahore Akhbar of dates noted in the margin had the following items of intelligence:—

1st. Sirdar Peer Mohammed Khan reported that he had assembled a body of Recruits according to orders, and was directed to send them to the Durbar with their matchlocks.

2nd. The Khareetahs from Nepal are for the Maharaja and the Kunwar, and are said to relate only to the Rajah's marriage, or his Child's or the birth of a child. But the Durbar seems afraid to receive them, and the Kharitas have not yet been opened. The Agents from Nepal were ordered to discontinue all correspondence with the Durbar, unless known to the British Government, and copies of this requisition were ordered to be forwarded to Mr. Clerk.

3rd. General Martabar Singh has sent off his confidential Agent to Mr. Clerk.

Mundee—The Sikhs

8th August: The Raja of Kooloo (a hill state, parts of which are situated on either side of the Sutlej who holds his territory on the left and right banks of that river under the supremacy of the British and the Lahore Governments respectively) has, it is reported, been threatened with invasion by the Sikh troops, for arrears of tribute, and he is disposed to retire from his Capital to his small domain on this side of the Sutlej, and under the protection of the British Government. In the event of any of the Lahore troops crossing over to plunder any district, or to seize or molest any part

to the South of the Sutlej, the Governor General's Agent in the North West Provinces has requested, in case his requisition for the instant recall of the Sikh troops be not obeyed by the Lahore Authorities, the Major General Commanding the Serhind Division to drive them back, and to prevent the passage of any more intruders across the Sutlej

BAHAWALPUR

14th August The following is the substance of a proposed scale of river rates of customs agreed to by the Nawab of Bahawalpore and approved by the Supreme Government —

1st. Grain, Wood, and Limestone, free as in the Lahore territory

2nd With the exception of the above three things, duties to be levied on all sorts of merchandize according to three sizes of Boats.

3rd. A Boat not capable of containing more that 250 Maunds of freight proceeding from Rajhan, or Kote Methan to the foot of the Hills, Raipur, Ludhiana, etc., or from Raipur or Ludhiana to Rajhan or Kote Mithan 10 Rupees.

A Boat above 250 Maunds and not exceeding 500 maunds 20 Rupees.

A Boat above 500 maunds 40 Rupees

4th No 1, 2 or 3 to be written in large letters on the boat to show the class to which each Boat belongs.

AFGANISTAN

A communication has been received from the Envoy and Minister stating that His Majesty has appointed Oosman Khan Suddozye, his brother-in law to the office of Minister under the title of Vizeer Ooduwlah

31st July The Major General Commanding in Afganistan reports the return to Head Quarters of the wing of the 35th Regiment N I which was employed as escort to the family of Dost Mohammed Khan to Gazni as also of the squadron of the 2nd Regiment of Light Cavalry and the 3 Guns of Native 6 Light Field Battery, which formed a part of Lieutenant Colonel Wallace's Detachment lately employed in the Ghilzie country

1st August Major T Mesherry reports that he has enlisted 564 Gurkhas for the service of H. M. Shah Shuja and states that great progress has been made by the Gurkha recruits at Deyrah under Captain Walsh.

4th August The Governor General's Agent in the N W F has forwarded a communication to the Lahore Durbar demanding the delivery of the Ghilzie rebels now in its dominions to the British Government.

6th August: The Governor General's Agent in the N. W. F. has appointed Lieutenant Coulfield to escort Shah Zeman, and the family of Shah Shuja, from Ludhiana to Kabul.

KANDHAR

21st July: The Envoy and Minister reports that Major Leech has made over charge of the Political Agency of Kandhar to Major Rawlinson, and that the latter officer has received charge of the same.

KABUL

5th August: The Convoy of stores and clothing for the Corps noted in the margin* and for the troops of His Majesty Shah Shujaool-Moolk has safely reached Kabul.

*2nd Cavalry
16 Regiment N. I.
27 Detachment N. I.
35 Regiment N. I.
37 Regiment N. I.

PUSHOOT

20th July: The Officiating Political Agent at Jellalabad reports his intention of leaving Kujjah for Pushoot at the instance of Meer Alum Khan's relations at Bajore, in order to negotiate with greater facility with Amir Khan, Sadat Khan, Syed Hashim and Syed Myaoodeen in furtherance of His Majesty Shah Shuja's wishes regarding these chiefs.

TURKISTAN

4th July: A detailed report on the passes leading into Turkistan has been prepared and submitted to Government by Captain Garbett.

HERAT

15th July: The Envoy to Herat reports the receipt of the ratified Herat Treaty, and its presentation by him, in person to His Majesty Shah Kamran.

BOKHARA

8th July: The Native News-writer at Bokhara confirms the report of the flight of Dost Mohammed Khan from that place as mentioned in News Letter No. 9 though he is not certain whether he has fled to Sahur Subz or elsewhere. The King of Bokhara has despatched about 1,500 Horse after the Ex-Ameer.

BUSSORA

27th June: The Political Agent in Turkish Arābia reports that in consequence of illnesses among the European Crew of the two steam vessels at Bussora, he had despatched the "Nimrod" from Euphrates boat, with a Surgeon to their aid, and to bring up the mails expected by the "Hugh Lindsay".

BAGHDAD

27th June: The Political Agent in Turkish Arabia stātes that every thing was quiet at Bagdad subsequent to the evacuation of Soolemaniah by the Persians. It is now currently reported that

Alee Shah is on his way thither by Nossel, to enter Persia by the side of Kermanshah. Khurshid Uasha is said to be still in Nejel (Nejd?).

SCINDE-UPPER

3rd August: The Accountant in the N. W. Ps. on the requisition of the Political Agent at Ambala, has directed a remittance of 3 Lakhs of Rupees from Ludhiana to Sukkur, for eventual dispatch to Kandhar.

16th August: Measures have been successfully adopted to provide Boats agreeably to the request of the Governor General's Agent in Upper Scinde, for the embarkation of a Regiment from Ferozepore to that place.

SCINDE-LOWER

27th July to 2nd August: The Political Diary of the Lower Scinde Agency of dates marginally noted stated, that Meer Noor Mohamed had offered his assistance to the British Government in troops, or in any other manner with a view to subdue the predatory tribes in Upper Scinde, and the Kelat rebels. He had also offered to lend his assistance in purchasing, or hiring camels to any extent required for our troops. The offer of troops was declined; of aid in procuring camels, accepted.

QUETTA

22nd July: Captain Macan's Detachment reached Quetta on the morning of the 30th instant accompanied by about 400 Achukie horse under Saloo Khan in aid of Captain Bean's position. Saloo Khan was to have started on the evening of the 22nd July, with the horse under his command, for Moustung. The Bangulzye and Khoord tribes of Belochees have already quitted the rebels and gone back to their countries.

4th August: The Government of Bombay have countermanded their orders for the transport of a Wing of the 20 Regt. N. I. from Bhooj to Karachi intended originally to support Captain Bean's position at Quetta when it was supposed to be in danger.

KELAT

The report of the fall of Kelat is true. Shah Nawaz Khan has succumbed to his successful rival, Nuseer Mohammed alias Nusseer Khan (the latter being his grand-father's title) and accepted a Jagir at Baghbana. The assault of the rebels was repelled in the first instance by the Havildar's party with Lieutenant Loveday but the people of Shah Nawaz Khan seem to have treacherously coalesced with, and delivered up Kelat to the rebels. Lieutenant Loveday was in safety and unmolested; awaiting further orders from his superior.

The steps that may be taken consequent on this event are matters for deliberation; in the mean time however a strong force will sometime since have been collected at Sukkur. The 4 Regiments of Bombay N. I. also originally destined for Sinde will shortly arrive in that country.

Luss

The following is the substance of a report on the trade of the port of Soomeeanee, the seaport of the province of Luss, submitted to Government by Lieut. M. G. Gordon, British Agent at Soomeeanee. The trading boats belonging to this port, amount to twelve or fourteen averaging in....................about Eighty or a hundred Khandies each, but the number visiting it for commercial purposes during the open season (from September to June) is said to be between forty and fifty vessels. A considerable trade is carried on with Muscat, Karachi, Bombay, Calicut and other ports of less importance. The principal exports of the province of Luss are wool, ghee, and a gum called Gogur; also oils of different kinds with great quantities of fish, sharks, furs etc. Except about seven or eight hundred Khandies of Mung Dal no other grain is grown for exportation. The chief articles of commerce brought from Kabul, and the countries to the North West, to be exported at Soomeeanee, are madder, saffron, assafaetida, raisins, almond, and dried fruits of different kinds. Until last year horses were brought down in great numbers sometimes as many as 2,000 in the course of the season. The chief articles of import are English Broad cloth, Chintze, muslins, tin, iron, steel, pepper, sugar, candy, cocoanuts, ginger etc. These are from Bombay. Dates and slaves are introduced from Muscat and Karachi supplies a small quantity of Sinde rice. The most valuable part of the trade is in the hands of the Pathan merchants of Kabul who annually visit Bombay.

Karachi

3rd August: Instructions have been issued for stationing another Regiment of Native Infantry at Karachi.

11th August: A private letter of date noted in the margin states that the arrangements of the Bombay Government for sending reinforcements to Karachi are in a state of forwardness. A sailing vessel (the Banares) was to have left Bombay on the 15th August with tents and baggage of a Regiment of N. I. and as many men as she can accommodate, and 2 steamers with 250 men each, were to have followed about the 20th.

Persia

It is reported that His Majesty, Mohammed Shah left Ispahan for the plain of Keheez on the 6th of Rubee-a-awal, 9th May. The intelligence of the approach of the Zil-e-Sultan towards Arabian Iraq has thrown Iran into commotion, it is said to have hastened the movement of the Shah.

The French Envoy to the Court of Tehran, has reached Kermanshah, and is about to leave it shortly for Baghdad.

NEPAL

20th July: A private communication from the above place states that the Court returned to Katmandoo on the evening of the 20th July, and that all was quiet in the city.

1st to 13th August: The Nepal diary has the following items:—

1st. It is said that when Resident's note was delivered, His Highness instantly gave some private orders about the intrusive party in Ramnaggar. The Raja consulted several chiefs on the subject of Resident's refusal of Duhbar's note in answer to Government demands of satisfaction. His Highness said "it is clear we must give in" others said, "Not yet, nor all at once, as required, we must qualify and give time." The Raja pleaded ignorance of facts as to the aggression, and the Chiefs replied, "the heads of it had been 6 weeks in durance in the capital, had they not been examined, and what had they said?" The Raja hung his head, and after a pause said, "I sent away the Durga bā, puttee (¼ Company) many years ago to seize the aggressors, and afterwards a puttee of the New Gorak, yet I have no news from the spot."

2nd. Lachminath was very angry with the Rani, because (as some say) she proposed to him to aid her scheme for procuring the Rajah's abdication in favour of her son.

3rd. The magazines are very busy and it is said a Kazi and Battalion are ordered in the Terye.

4th. The Raja spoke of the Minister's imbecility and of the ticklish state of affairs, and proposed a Ministry of four.

5th. The Misr Goroo said, that to make the deposit about Ramnagar at once in the Resident's hands, would dishonour the Durbar, and that the deposit should be in the hands of a third party.

BURMAH

16th July: The Commissioner in the Tenasserium Provinces reports having received 2 letters from Burmese authorities neighbouring the Provinces. One of these letters is from the Governor of Bilong, which contains a voluntary offer of his cordial assistance towards keeping up friendly relations with the British Provinces. The second is from the Governor of Rangoon, informing the Commissioner of orders having been sent by him to this frontier, by direction of the Ministers to prevent the recurrence of such matters, as the seizure of some people in the island of Kan-u-mut by Ngapay-ta-l.. and others, on which the Commissioner had occasion to address the Governor in April last.

1st. Another private letter of date noted states, that the coronation took place at the time appointed.

2nd. The Woonduck it was reported had positively been made Head Woonjee and would come to Rangoon.

3rd. It is reported that before the coronation, His Majesty caused all the ammunition and arms of which they had a large store, to be taken from the Princes of Prome and Pokhain.

4th. No further news about the insurrection.

5th. One thousand seven hundred and six houses are reported to have been burnt down outside of the town, it is believed from accident.

12th August: The Governor of Rangoon is reported to be dead. The Woonduck has influence, but not office. The king refused to give him an appointment on the application of the prince of Prome. It is said that His Majesty has a situation for him in view. No heir apparent appointed and the matter is forbidden to be mentioned. The Woonduck thinks we shall command the coast of China or take a portion of it, and make a settlement like Moulmein. The king talks of visiting Rangoon in two months.

Other private communications from Rangoon state:

1st. The Court of Ava is apprehensive that our China Army may attack Burma on its return from the expedition but no preparations are making with a view to ward off this contemplated attack and every warlike symptom which hitherto conveyed an indirect threat of adopting aggressive measures towards our Government, has vanished.

2nd. The Prince of Prome's men who are in office speak most vauntingly of the Prince's power.

3rd. The Woonduck is yet in power and the general report is that the legitimate son will be nominated heir apparent.

4th. It is said that Moon Shooy Mien, is to be re-appointed to Martaban.

China

29th July: The Governor of Prince of Wales' island, etc., has taken up the ships "Fountain" of 428.12 tons and "Asia" of 324 tons for two months certain, for the purpose of conveying store to China at the rate of 10 Rupees per month, or for so much longer as they may be required.

17th August: The Military Board state that the ship "Moira" is to be the last vessel they will dispatch with provisions for the expedition this season, and that four months sea provisions have been forwarded for the Madras N. I. Regiment independent of that already forwarded for the expedition, noticed in News Letter No. 3.

FINANCE

1st August Captain Gygrane's statement of cash balance shows that up to the 1st of August, cash in the Military Chest amounted to Co R. 18 99 200-13 10½

MISCELLANEOUS

8th July Captain Carless reports the arrival of the "Meteor" steam vessel at Bukkur on the 4th July from Ferozepur Her voyage to Methencote was performed in 10 days, or at the rate of 33 miles per day, but during that time she was frequently delayed by strong winds and the obscurity of the atmosphere. In the main river her velocity increased to nearly 11 miles per hour and she made the distance between the entrance of the Sutlej and Bukkur (170 miles) in 15½ hours

11th August A private communication from Bombay states that the steamers on the Indus are performing good service at this juncture of affairs in Upper Scinde.

Fort William J W BAYLEY,
The 1st Sept. 1840 Asstt. Secy to the Govt. of India.

No 7—FROM—J W BAYLEY, ASSISTANT SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

Fort William, the 10th September 1840.

NORTH WEST FRONTIER

3rd to 7th August The Lahore Akhbars of dates marginally noted have the following items —

1st. Much Military preparations in the Punjab

2nd General Ventura reported that the Hill people in a body of 2,000 threatened to oppose the Sikh troops He was instructed to proceed with the business very prudently

3rd. It was remarked that should the Russians create any disturbance the friendship of the British and Khalsa Governments would become manifest.

4th. The Courtiers observed that the prosperity of the Khalsa was increasing, for that in a little more than a twelve months 100 New Guns had been cast.

5th Orders were issued to General Meean Singh to send some articles soon to the Queen of England, and Sardar Ajit Singh was told to be prepared to take them It was remarked, however, that He would probably take advantage of such a mission

6th. Sardar Sultan Mohammed Khan attended the Durbar and was presented with a Ring

7th to 12th August: 1st. An order for 3,000 Rupees was drawn out for General Matabar Singh.

2nd. It was reported that the Maharaja had presented a Khillat of an Elephant, Elephant clothes, and jewels to Sardar Sultan Mohammed Khan.

13th and 14th August: 1st. Further Military preparation was going on in the Punjab.

2nd. General Matabar Singh was asked what he intended to do, and was told that if he wished to serve the British Government, he might do so, or if he would take service with the Lahore Durbar he would be provided for. Matabar Singh replied, that he was greatly harrassed by the Nepal Raja.

3rd. Kunwar Nawa Nihal Singh on wishing to go to Mundee was dissuaded from doing so singly and was advised to send thither some troops. The Kunwar is much occupied in Military preparations.

20th August: A communication from the Governor-General's Agent at Ludhiana states that Matabar Singh continues to receive occasional pecuniary support from the Durbar but not service, and that the Sikhs having discovered that the capture of the fort of Kumlehgarh in the Mundee territory would not be practicable by their troops now in Mundee are endeavouring to gain possession of it by bringing its defenders. The Governor-General's Agent observed that the preparations of a Military nature making on account of the ensuing Dussera festival (as will be perceived from the items of Lahore intelligence quoted in the present News Letter) are of an unusual extent particularly as to the stores of ammunition. It seems to be generally supposed that this activity is induced by apprehensions arising out of the preparations of a similar kind, which our journals in an exaggerating tone represent as being made in our cantonments in Upper India, and upon which the Raja Dhian Singh is reported to have remarked, that the English seem to be posing a great store, with the intention of letting it fall upon the Punjab. It has, however, since been reported by Mr. Clerk that as the differences between the Nepal and British Governments have become more apparent such apprehensions have subsided. The Kunwar Nao Nihal Singh is said simply to have asked "whether the Raja of Nepal was mad" when it was intimated to him that he was seeking a quarrel with the English.

HILL INTELLIGENCE

4th August: The Ranis of the captive Raja in the Kamlagarh fort are prepared to pay tribute if General Ventura will release the Raja and retire with his Army, otherwise they have declared their determination to fight, even if he should cut their Raja into pieces. The Kulloo Raja is with about 2,000 Armed peasantry at Sultanpur, and is resolved to retire over the Sutlej, if the Mundee Chief is not restored.

PESHAWAR

29th and 30th July Captain Mc Gressor is now about to take some measures to reconcile the Bajore tribes with Meer Allum Khan Ameer Khan Noakee was quite disconcerted on hearing of the arrival of the British troops near Doonhie, in the Koonur district, under Khyroola Khan.

The Road through the Khybar Pass has now been properly made, and is well guarded. Azmat Khan, brother of Sehut Khan Ghilzie, who is now at Lahore with Sultan Mohd. Khan, crossed the Attock in his way from his native country to Lahore.

BAJORE

24th July It appears from an account of the state of affairs in Bajore that Meer Allum Khan's party are gaining strength while those who have rebelled are not disposed to submit to Amir Khan or any other ruler

Captain Macgressor the Political Agent having allowed an Afghan Sardar with some Afghans to make a demonstration in the direction of a fort in the occupation of the rebels, at the same time lent the party a small Gun, and gave positive instructions that they should on no account cross a particular river that lay between them and the fort. The rash Afghan Sardar, however, did so, and being overwhelmed by a superior force suffered severely in his retreat leaving the gun behind.

AFGANISTAN

No date Lieutenant Nicolson, in Political charge of the Ghilziee country reports that Sultan Mohammed Khan Baruckzye the Jagirdar of Kelat, a tributary of the Sikhs had afforded an assylum and protection to several individuals, acknowledged rebels, and traitors, to Shah Shuja He also reports that "Khillats" for the said rebels were forwarded from the Court of Lahore, further that they had actually been conferred on them and means afforded them for their subsistence.

13th August Captain Marshall at Hawalbagh reports that the Gurkah recruits under his charge intended for the Shah Shuja's service have been making rapid and satisfactory progress in their military duties generally

KHYVA—THE RUSSIANS

26th May It is reported on good authority that the proposed expedition against the Khan of Khyva is given up for this year at least by the Russian Government and may be so altogether

KHYVA-BOKHARA

29th June: Lieutenant Shakespear reports that the Khan Hazrat is anxious to attack Bokhara. This ill feeling towards Bokhara is of long standing and has been much exasperated by an insulting letter which it is said the Amir wrote to the Khan Hazrat during the late Russian Advance. As it regards our relations with Khyva, the Khan Hazrat has at length been convinced that our mediation with Russia is a substantial benefit and proof of friendship.

SCINDE UPPER

11th August: From private letters we learn that by the aid in carriage which would have been received from the Political authorities in Gwalior, Ajmer and Neemuch, the Political Agent in Upper Sinde expected to be able to march from Sukkur in force before the 1st of October. He expected that 500 camels would have reached Sukkur from Rajwara on the 25th September. Other letters state that the Head Quarters and great portion of the 2nd Grenadier Regiment under the command of Major Cubbon with two field pieces would commence their march on the morning of the 12th August towards Sehrie with a view to strengthen the post of Kan.

SCINDE LOWER

3rd August: The Political Agent in Lower Sinde reports the success of the new dak line from Bhooj to Hyderabad and states that the average rate on the new line has been 4 days 6½ hours.

INDUS STEAM NAVIGATION

11th July: The Commander of the Steam Flotilla on the Indus reported the arrival of the steam vessels "Planet" and "Indus" at Bukkur from Tatta with part of the 2nd Grenadier Regiment, the former on the 3rd and the latter on the 5th instant. At the time these vessels ascended the river, it had risen to within 2 feet of the greatest height attained last year, and as the velocity of the current is reported to have been as great for several days as it even is during the inundation their voyages may be taken as a fair specimen of both the upwards and downward navigation at that season of the year. At Tatta the Indus received on board 91 men and followers of the 3rd Grenadier Regiment and about 10 tons of baggage, her draught being then 3 feet 6 inches aft. and 3 feet 4 inches forward. The "Planet" left Tatta on the 22nd June with a detachment consisting of 5 officers 121 Sepoys and 15 followers, and about 15 tons of baggage which brought her draught to 2 feet 11 inches aft. and 2 feet and 8 inches forward. The "Planet" and "Indus" have brought to Bukkur a detachment consisting of 4 Europeans and 6 Native officers, 200 Sepoys, and 22 followers with the tents and parts of the baggage of the officers and tents, arms, ammunition. four days provisions and all the baggage of the men. There was ample accommodation in the steamers for the whole of the officers and men mentioned.

Kelat

5th August By a letter from Kandhar of date noted in the margin, it would appear that the treachery by which Kelat was ceded to the rebel Nusseer Khan was both contemplated and arranged before the rebels left Moostang in prosecution of their intentions upon Kelat.

Gwalior

6th to 19th July As Umrao Singh of Talelore was ill plundering and committing other depredations, the Mamma Sahib expressed his intention of sending Thakur Essree Singh with a Detachment of horse and foot to endeavour to capture the free-booter

Burmah

12th August It is reported that "Toum Devamgyaun" has been made Prince of Shooagdoum, a Title hitherto only held by the Heir apparent, to which rank Tharrawaddie has thought of appointing him, but this arrangement is strongly objected to by at least the Prince of Pakhan if not also by the Prince of Prome, and the settlement of the question may cause Tharrawaddie some uneasiness

Bagdad

24th August The Political Agent in Turkish Arabia reports that the Oriental question still remains unsettled, but that it was more likely than before to be arranged without Euro[illegible]-ference. The rebellion of the Houran is entirely repre[illegible]d The Shah of Persia is at Hamadan, and will in all probability return to Tehran without advancing against the Paschalie of Bagdad, which is under preparation of defence aided by the forces from Diarbilcer, Moosul Curdistan Khurshid Pasha is still at Thermader in Nejd, but the Egyptian forces are moving away from that province.

Aden

9th July The Bombay Government report the attack of Aden by a large body of Arabs and their defeat with great slaughter No casualty has occurred on the part of the British.

Zeilah

It appears from the French News Paper, the 'Journal des Debats" of May 23rd 1840, that an expedition has been sent from the port of Bordeaux for Zeilah on the Eastern Coast of Africa, opposite to Aden

Rampur

20th August The Agent to the Governor reports that the Nawab Mohammand Syeed Khan was on the 30th August installed as Chief of Rampur amidst the general acclamations of his subjects

A memo. was first signed by the Nawab binding him to continue the customary stipends to the members of the family and to the Pathans in general, and to make certain specific allowances to the family of the late Nawab, the Chief appears to entertain the kindest feelings to the family of his predecessors.

CHINA

7th September : With reference to the construction to be put upon the order of Her Majesty in Council regarding the treatment of Chinese Vessels during the present state of British relating with the Chinese Government, the Governor-General of India does not by any means consider the order in question to give authority to the serveral Commanders of each of Her Majesty's vessels of war to detain all ships belonging to Chinese subjects in every sea, but is of opinion that the construction to be put upon the said order must rest upon the instructions which the Commanders of H. M. Ships of war may from time to time receive from His Excellency the Naval Commander-in-chief. Pending the receipt of such instructions the Governor-General of India deems it would most conduce to the good of the public service that none of the Vessels belonging to Chinese subjects, which may be found sailing in prosecution of commercial or other voyages with no other than peaceable intentions or objects, should on any account be detained or otherwise hostilly interfered with by reason of the said order in Council. An information to this effect has been given to the Commanders of Her Majesty's ships in the Bay of Bengal and in the Straits.

The further news from China by the late arrival, having appeared in the public prints repetition in this place is unnecessary.

Fort William: J. W. BAYLEY,
The 10th Sept. 1840. Asstt. Secy. to Govt. of India.

No. 8.—FROM—J. W. BAYLEY, ASSISTANT SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

Fort William, the 20th September 1840.

The Governor-General's Agent reports that the Sikh Durbar continues to manifast the same unhesitating consent to compel the attendance of their Barakzye Surdars at Lahore, and to deliver up the Ghilzie refugees to the British Government or through the medium of a British officer to the Government of Shah Shoojah. Col. Moolk, yet its measures in this respect are very dilatory and the conduct of the Barakzies is evasive.

PESHAWAR

25th July: Dr. Reid has been appointed to act as officiating assistant to Lieut. Macson Governor-General's Agent at Peshawar in the room of Lieut. Caul-fiield, the latter having proceeded to Kabul on account of ill health.

ISKARDO

18th July: With reference to the account noticed in news letter No. 8 under date the 15 ultimo of the possession by Vizeer Zorawar Singh of Iskardo, the Capital of little Thibet and the confinement of Rajah Ahmed Shah the Governor of that place, the Political Agent at Peshawar writes that it is now reported the Vizeer Zorawar Singh has restored Ahemd Shah Guelpho to the Government of Iskardo after fixing on him a tribute of 7,000 Rs. per annum and sending off one of the Guelpho's sons to Jummoo to reside there in order to secure his father's allegiance.

YARKAND

29th August: Vazeer Zorawar Singh, the agent of Rajah Golab Singh had, it is reported, addressed a letter to the ruler of Yarkand a dependency of China to owe allegiance to the Khalsa Government and to pay it an annual tribute. The latter Chief has repelled the proposal with indignation.

KHOOLUM

1st August: The Envoy and Minister at the Court of Shah Shoojah reports that it is the intention of His Majesty to send out a body of 500 Afghans for the occupation of Khoolum and it is probable that the first crops of Jawbalzes will be selected for the duty.

Four 6 pounder guns will also accompany, the remaining wing of Capt. Hopkin's Regiment, and it is suggested that 2 of these should be stationed at Bameean and 2 at Bajgah. The guns and the wing it was stated would be ready to start by the 10th September.

UPPER SCINDE

7th August: The Accountant-General at the Residency of Bombay has been authorized by the Bombay Government to make arrangements for the immediate consignent to the Political Agent in Upper Sinde of ten lacs of Rupees and for the eventual supply of a further remittance to the same extent.

8th August: At the requisition of the Political Agent at Lower Sinde an advance party as noted in margin from five companies of Her Majesty's 40th Regiment has proceeded from Karachi to Upper Sinde on field service.

1. Captain
1. Lieutenant
1. Ensign
6. Sergeants
8. Corporals
4. Drummers
114. Privates

8th August: The Deputy Accountant-General at Agra reports the despatch *via* Jaipur to Upper Sinde of 250 Camels with gear complete for the service of the troops there. We have reason to belive 2,500 have altogether been collected for service in Upper Sinde.

Quetta

22nd August: A private letter from the above place of date noted in the margin states that every thing was in train there and that the 43rd was expected every day. Intelligence had been received of a large body of Brahoes having marched from Kelat towards Shawl but it was believed they would have turned back on hearing of the re-inforcement noticed, and probably attempted to enter Cutchee by the Moolak Ghaut for the purpose of procuring supplies. The Political Agent in Upper Sinde has sent an express to Sukkur with a request that a detachment may be sent by Water to Larkhana and thence marched to Gundava to check any, inroad on the part of the enemy in that quarter.

Lower Scinde

12th August: With a reference to the boundary dispute between the Amir Noor Mohamed of Hyderabad and Sher Mohamed of Mirpur, the Political Agent states that it had been at length agreed to refer the matter to arbitration provided an Umpire was appointed on the part of the British Government. The Governor-General has accordingly sanctioned the deputation of S. K. Whitelock for the purpose contemplated.

Indus Steam Navigation

25th August: With reference to the proposition of the Political Agent of Lower Sinde for completing the line of steam Packets and for securing safe communication between the sea and river boats by the aid of the "Indus" steamer the Government of Bombay report the detention on the River Indus of the said vessel for the purpose contemplated.

Muscat

The Imam of Muscat by the permission of Her Mejesty has made over to the Company the Yacht Prince Regent presented to His Highness by His late Majesty William IV. The vessel is now to be applied to the service of the Government of Bombay.

15th July: Capt. Hammerton on a mission to Muscat reports that His Highness the Imam intends to depart, for Zanzibar in November next. Capt. Hammerton will remain at Muscat during the Imam's absence.

Nepal

12th August: The joint Magistrate of Champarun reports that the Goorkhas left the Ramnagar villages on the 11th August in consequence of orders they had received to that effect from the Nepal Durbar. It was not then certain whether the fort of Someshar had or had not been vacated also. It contained but a short time before 25 Goorkha sepoys and 2 officers.

16th August: The Resident states that the Goorkha Durbar seemed determined to violate its formal pledge made to him with respect to the Surrender of Mangul Singh's gang of refugee Oudh dacoits who have found protection in Nepal.

21st December: The Resident in Nepal reports that secret agents from the Nepal Durbar are abroad in the plains and especially in Rajputana with purposes it is understood hostile to the British Government. The persons employed in this way are confidential dependants of that Nepalese Minister, Ran Jang Pande, and are ostensibly soldiers attached to some of the Regiments, serving in the Western Provinces of Nepal. The Resident intends adopting effectual measures for securing any such agents who may appear at those Courts were we have not a Resident Political Officer.

25th August: The Governor-General's Agent at Loodhiana reports that he has ascertained from several sources that Prem Narain Rajput who recently bought Kharreetahs from Nepal, announced to the Durbar that the Nepalese hope that the courts of Lahore and Gwalior will make common cause with them against the British Government. The Agent states that there is no discrepancy in the several accounts which he has as yet received of the delivery of this message. "These accounts" proceeds the agent "exhibit both Koonwar Nao Nehal Singh and Rajah Dhian Singh" as evincing no satisfaction at the proposal and enquiring of the messenger if the "Rajah of Nepal was in his senses in proposing it".

14th—27th August: The diary of the Nepal residency contains the following items of intelligence:—

1st. Ramdul, the Governor of Palpa, had written to say that he was hasty in alleging the dacoits to be allies of the English whom they really hate and he, therefore, recomends that the dacoits should be protected.

2nd. The deparature of the new Goorkha battalion has been put off by the refusal of the men to serve on Rs. 50 per annum.

3rd. Several secret emissaries are preparing for the plains.

4th. The Rajah and Rani are alarmed about the Resident's demands and each accuses the other as the cause of all the evils. Kulraj Punde vehemently opposes concession on but no one else. It has been secretly reported to the Raja that compliance with the treaty and boundary demarcation will cost the Durbar, 2 villages, long held by Nepal (Goberdhan and Jorapanee) and 92 recently acquired. The Rajah is anxious and disposed to yield, but the Rani insists on procrastination.

30th August: In reply to the demands of the British Government to a preliminary deposit for damages sustained by it from this violation of our district of Ramnagar and the levying of contributions within the British Territory, the Nepal Durbar offered

the sum of Rs. 16 as the deposit for the injury sustained (calculated according to their judgment) in one case acknowledged by them to have been trespass upon our rights. They tendered at the same time to deposit certain sums from time to time as each case might be proved reserving, however, the whole adjudication in their own hands. The deposit has been rejected by the Resident.

5th September: The Resident in a letter dated as per margin reports that the Durbar had now tendered to the British Government the sum of Rs. 5,000 as a deposit for damages consequent on the usurpation of Ramnagar. But as this money was offered to the Resident with the document which consisted of a recitation only without expressed acceptance of the Governor-General's demands, and as it moreover, laid claims on the Durbar's part to certain unspecified lands south of Someshar, the Resident refused accepting the deposit or the document.

DARJEELING

With reference to the state of our relations with Nepal and as the Sikkim and Bhuteah frontiers are in a disturbed condition from the inability of the respective Government, to maintain their due authority over malcontents and as such a state of things require the Government to look to the propriety of furnishing every security and protection to the property embarked at the new settlement of Darjeeling it will be considered in the military Department whether any and what re-inforcement may be most conveniently afforded in the quarter indicated.

J. W. BAYLEY,
Asst. Secretary to the
Government of India.

Fort William:
The 20th September 1840.

No. 9.—FROM—J. W. BAYLEY, ASSISTANT SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

Fort William, the 1st October 1840.

The Agent to the Lieut. Governor of the N. W. Provinces states that intelligence has reached Bussahir of the assembly of an army of 2,000 fighting men at the fort of Garow, in Chinese Tartary, for the purpose of checking the further advance of the Sikh troops in that quarter, and that the Vizeer Kooppooroo had made an offer to the Sikh General to conduct his troops by a short and easy route to the heart of Yarkund. It is also stated that General Ventura is continuing the line of road to Trans-Sutlej through the hill districts in the direction of Chinese Tartary, and the Raja of Bussahir is naturally anxious for the security of his Trans-Sutlej dominions which lie in the direct line of road in the above mentioned country.

The Governor-General's Agent is preparing a direct road connecting Kurnaul with Ferozepore with bungalows at night distances, so as to admit of officers crossing by Dak at all seasons without inconvenience.

The Agent reports that Fakeer Azeezoodeen has arrived on this side of the Sutlej, and that the Ghilzies are with him. The Agent reports to have an interview with the Fakeer, when he will point out to him the propriety of sending the Ghilzies with their families to Lahore.

20th August: The following items of intelligence are extracted from the Lahore Akhbar.

1st. General Mahatar Singh stated to the Durbar that Bhopal Singh Thappa disguised as a Fakeer was sent out with letters from Nepal *via* Deotee and the hills to effect an exchange of Turbans with the Kunwar.

2nd. General Avitabile reported that according to the orders of the Durbar, he had long since discontinued making . . . .

24th August: The Agent to the Lieut. Governor of N. W. Provinces reports that the Sikhs have sent troops towards Chinese Tartary, and that the Kooloo Raja, fearing the invasion of his territories by this movement, has expressed a wish to be taken under the protection of the British Government. The Governor-General in reply has observed that when the Raja shall once have established himself under the British protection, he must wholly renounce all covert or open aggressive acts against any nation with which the British Government is at amity, the penalty of a neglect of this warning being a total forfeiture of the protection of this Government, by whose orders he will be in that case removed from the frontier to the immediate surveillance of the Political Agent.

3rd September: The following items of intelligence are extracted from the Lahore Akhbar.

1st. The Afreedees had raised some disturbances at the village of Meereezaee, killed 2 and wounded 2.

2nd. General Avitabile is about to march against the Asafzies in December next.

3rd. Raja Dhyan Singh has issued orders to summon all the families of the Ghilzies and all the Ghilzies who might be still at Peshawar, and then present differences between the two Governments.

4th. The Khalsa troops are every where in the Kamlagarh forts harrassed by the insurgents.

7th September: On Mr. Clerk adverting, in conversation with Rao Kishan Chand, to the impropriety of the Lahore Durbar's receiving secret emissaries and communications from the Nepal, the Native Agent observed that the Durbar was ignorant whether the last messenger from Nepal was still at Lahore, and that it wished to be advised in what way it should signify to Nepal its desire that these missions unknown to the British Government should be discountenanced. To this the Governor-General's Agent replied that no communication should be received from Nepal, without such being previously fully made known to the British Resident.

The following items of news are extracted from the Lahore Akhbar.

1st. A well equipped contingent of horsemen is to be dispatched to Dera Ismail Khan and Memkeira towads the beginning of October with other troops of the Missildars.

2nd. The Ministers said that as the late Maharaja had for 30 years preserved his alliance with the British Government by a faithful adherence to treaties, so would they ever be true to their treaties old and new.

12th September: Sardar Ajit Singh Sundhumwalla is entrusted with the conduct of subjugating the Rajputs of Mundee in supercession of General Ventura and Ghulam Mohiuddin.

Hill Intelligence

22nd August: General Ventura is endeavouring to effect the evacuation of the Kamlagarh fort, which still holds out.

Afghanistan

15th August: The envoy and Minister reports that he had authorised Dr. Sord, Political Assistant at Bameean, to offer to Dost Mohamed Khan, in the event of his accepting an assylum within the British territories in India, a stipend of not less than one Lakh of Rupees per annum for the support of himself and family.

24th August: The envoy and Minister has addressed a communication to Lieut. Burnes, Political Assistant at Ghazni, enjoining vigilance in his quarter, and desiring that Dost Mohammed's family with their followers may be ordered to confine themselves to their dwellings at present, pending the doubtful position of the Ex-Amir.

1st September: The Governor-General's Agent in the N. W. Frontier, at the suggestion of the envoy and minister has deputed Lieutenant Colvin Mckenzie, now at Agra, to repair to Ludhiana in order to proceed thence as soon as practicable in charge of Shah Zeman and the family of Shah Shuja to Kabul.

The Governor General has been pleased to sanction the employment of the Madras Officers named in the Margin in the force of His Majesty Shah Shujaul mulk.

Lieut.	W. A. Lukin 14th	Regt.	N. I.
„	R. Moorcroft 19th	„	„
„	W. Brd „	„	„
„	S. G. G. Orr „	„	„
Ens.	F. Cunningham	„	„
Lieut.	R. A. Bruere 33rd	„	„
„	G. Agilay 35th	„	„
Ens.	A. C. Macartney 38th	„	„
Lieut.	P. O. Gardner 50th	„	„

10th September:—The Governor General's Agent at Ludhiana reports the arrival of the second Kafila of Arms, ammunition and stores despatched from Ferozepore. It was about to be despatched by Lieutent Mackeson on the following day towards Kabul.

Late accounts from Afganistan state that owing to a threatened attack by Dost Mohammed, the frontier force had been concentrated at Bameean, and Lieutenant Colonel Dennie with the 35 N. I. sent from Kabul as a reinforcement.

KOONDOD (OR KOONDUZ)

10th August: Peer Morad Beg has offered the British a post in his territories, and has deputed his Chief Minister, Atma Ram Dewan Bejee, to obtain such terms as Shah Shuja will grant him.

Agreeably to these overtures, a treaty has been concluded between Murad Beg and Shah Shuja, of which the following is the substance.

1st. The king agrees not to cast a covetous eye on the possessions of the Meer.

2nd. The Meer in return promises to join the king against all foreign enemies, and to supply the king's troops at Bajgah, Khoolum, etc., with grain and other necessaries, receiving payment for the same.

3rd. Kohmurd and Lyghan as of old, to belong to the Kabul monarchy.

4th. The Uzbecks to abstain from dealing in slaves in the king's dominions.

5th. Afghans who may be in Turkistan are at liberty, if they please, to return to Kabul.

6th. The sons of Killiah Ali Beg are not to be molested.

7th. The Kafila taxes on the road from Khoolum *via* Bajgah to belong to the king.

8th. This treaty to be sealed by Mulla Shakur as plenipotentiary of His Majesty Shah Shujaul Mulk, and Atma Ram Dewan Begee as Agent for Meer Mohmmed Murad Beg.

KHOOLUM

30th August: A private letter states that Hybuck had fallen, that the Wullee had arrived at Lurbagh, and was shortly expected at Bajgah; a son of Dost Mohammed's with 500 horse and some footmen having attacked Captain Codrington and Lieutenant Rattray's post at Bajgah were repulsed with loss. The fight it is stated, began in the following manner. The hills all around our men were first of all occupied by the Jesailuchees, and the valley immediately after filled with horsemen, Gholam Beg Mohammed, Ufzal Motiah, Wallee Shah and Saleah Beg, being in the field. The enemy's Cavalry drew up in the valley about one mile from the position of our men, and commenced curvetting about. Lieutenant Rattray with the sowars then went down and charging them twice, succeeded in driving them away to the Saleen Bagh. In this action Captain Cadrington took many prisoners and some horses from the enemy.

KUDJAH

22nd August: The Major General Commanding the troops in Afganistan reports the attack on, and punishment of, a refractory chief and his followers in this neighbourhood. The Chief, named Wuzeree Vally, had fired on Captain Mac Gregor and Lieutenant Colonel Wheeler, whilst making a reconnaissance. Both these officers marched against him and captured 3 forts, the enemy flying in great disorder and consternation. These forts have been delivered over to the charge of the Governor of Jellahlabad, Mirza Aga Jaun. The Major General concludes by stating that the men, both European and Native, conducted themselves in this affair with admirable steadiness and bravery.

SINDE UPPER

The Political Agent in Lower Sinde reports that he will be able to equip two Regiments on the carriage to Karachi, with which to proceed the whole way to support Sinde, and at once to take the field by marching to any spot the officer commanding in that province may direct.

From a private communication containing a description of the action of the 31st August, between Major Clibbome's party and the Baluchies, it appears that the enemy were fairly beat off in their desperate attack, and the stout attitude assumed by our troops deterred them from again attempting to molest them. As an instance of the suffering of the sepoys from thirst, it is said that the last gun was fired by two European officers, the Golandauze being so prostrated from exhaustion as to be unable to rise. The private letter goes on to say that the want of water was the only cause of the retreat of our men. The men and officers wounded in the engagement, are reported to be doing well.

Another private communication states that since the above affair, no Beloochees had as yet shown themselves in the plains, and the latest report from the outposts mention that all is quiet in their neighbourhood. The country between Sukkur and Shikarpur is at present deep in water and totally impassable.

A private communication from the N W Provinces to the address of the Governor-General states on alluding to the loss of the 1,040 camels with Major Clibbome's force we will do our best to make up for this, and as we have arranged for exactly that num ber in excess of the 2 000 required by Mr Ross Bell, I hope the inconvenience from that cause will be only temporary The Lieut. Governor has written to the Governor-General s Agent at Ajmer to increase his exertions to get camels within his range for Upper Sinde and will keep urging the Civil authorities and Commissariat to collect them for the Convoys A thousand sets of Camel gear are going down by water from Ferozepore, and the Lieut. Governor will endeavour to dispatch another supply of the same as soon as practicable.

The number of camels in Upper Sinde	1333
Expected	1700
Total	3035

8th August The Governor-General s Agent in the N W Provinces in a private communication states that if reinforcements were required in Upper Sinde from Ferozepore he would not feel any difficulty in getting down by land a few weeks hence, 10 Regi ments with grain enough for 6 months consumption and Bunjarreh Bullocks to convey the same.

20th August The Bombay Government ordered the embarkation on the 28th August for Karachi of the left wing of the 25th Regiment, Bombay Native Infantry, under the command of Captain Rebenick, strength as per margin

1 Captain.
2 Lieutenants
3 Ensigns.
8 Native Officers.
20 Havildars.
10 Drummers and pipers
460 Rank and file.

SINDE LOWER

25th September The following was the state of the Sindh Irregular Horse on the 1st September 1840 —

Commandant	1
2nd in Command	1
Adjutant	1
Assistant Surgeon	1
Russaldar	1
Jemadars	4
Naib Duffedars	18
Trumpeters	2
Sowars	438
Horses	461

QUETTA

22nd August: In consequence of certain intelligence from the Political Agent in Shawl, Major General Nott, in communication with the Political Agent at Kandhar ordered from the garrison on the 15th instant, 2 guns of Captain Anderson's Horse Artillery, a party of Chusties Horse (both of the Shah's service) and the 43 Regiment of Bengal Native Infantry towards Quetta; directing at the same time the return of Captain Woodburne's detachment of the Shah's troops from the Ghilzie country to Kandhar.

SHIKARPUR

12th September: The detachment at the above place has been increased to 250 men and a gun.

KELAT

26th July: The Political Agent at Quetta reports that Meer Nusseer Khan, the usurper of the musnud of Kelat, has expressed an earnest desire to effect an amicable arrangement with Shah Shuja, for which purpose he has deputed a Vakeel to Quetta with letters to his Majesty and to Captain Bean. The Vakeel mentioned that his master had caused that distress by his own acts, and that if he studied his own interests he would immediately dismiss his troops and write an humble petition to His Majesty Shah Shuja stating the particulars of his case.

17th to 23rd August: Intelligence from Hyderabad is as follows:—

The Chiefs of the Clans before Kelat had advised Mohammed Hussain (*alias* Nasir Khan, son of Mehrab Khan) to treat Mr. Loveday with every respect, and attention, and to place Shah Nawaz in possession of the lands his father had been deprived of by Merab Khan, and to meet the British Army attended with an Escort of 100 men at Kunda, near Bagh, and there to petition the English to allow him to retain possession of the country of his father.

BEILA

26th August: The British Agent at Soomeanee states that Jam of Beila had observed a strict neutrality during the late disturbances in Belochistan.

SUKKUR

19th September: The Government of Bombay announced the arrival at Sukkur on the 6th August of the Head Quarters of the 2nd Grenadier Regiment Bombay Native Infantry.

1 Major, 2 Lieutenants, 1 Assistant Surgeon, 3 Native officers, 12 Havildars, 6 Drummers and Pipers, 188 Rank and File, 4 Boys and 2 Bhisties.

KARACHI

11th September: The Quarter Master-General of the Bombay Army reports the embarkation for the above place on the 29th August of the Headquarters of the 25th Regiment Bombay N. I.

> 1 Lt. Colonel, 2 Captains, 3 Subalterns, 4 Native officers, 11 Havildars, 9 Drummers and pipers, 2 Buglers, 250 Rank and File, 22 Boys and Bhisties.

12th September: The Head Quarters of the 25th Regiment it was expected would leave Karachi on the 10th instant, and march the whole way by land, as the river will then have subsided sufficiently to enable them to do so.

EGYPT

From a communication from the Austrian Agent at Khene to the Austrian Consul-General at Alexandria it appears that the troops of the Viceroy of Egypt had evacuated the Yemen, and arrived at Gedda with their arms and baggage. Ahmed Pasha is reported to have arrived at Mecca from Assur, and a number of ships and cargo had already left and several were under weigh for Suez. Ahmed Pasha issued orders for the said ships with troops to be detained at Yambo until further orders for continuing on their voyage to Suez or waiting at Gedda.

PERSIA

8th June: It is reported in a letter from the Envoy at Erzeroom that the Persian troops which had proceeded to Sooleymaniah in Turkish Koordistan have been ordered to retire to Bana, a town in the Persian territory. M. De Savalette, the Secretary to the French Legation in Persia, had arrived at Tabriez with four attaches of the mission who were returning to France by the route of Russia.

The Seraskier Pasha was to have left Erzeroom with about 1,000 Infantry and seven guns for the purpose of bringing under subjection a refractory Saz Chief named Koor Hossim Beg who resides in the district situated between Kars and Tribizonde, distant about eighty miles from Erzeroom. The country is believed to be strong, and not favourable for the operations of regular troops with artillery being covered with forests and mountains. Koor Hossim Beg is said to be able to collect, when seconded by the whole of his tribe (in which, however, there appears to be at present a division) a body of four or five thousand irregulars riflemen, who are stated to be efficient troops when engaged in the mode of warfare for which their own country is adapted. The Pasha it was understood would be joined by other troops to be dispatched from Kars.

11th August: A short time ago it was generally believed that the King had left Ispahan with the intention of returning by way of Hamadan to Tehran, thence to proceed to Mished, the death of His Majesty's mother, and the disturbed state of the province of Khorasan as well as suspicions entertained of the loyalty of the Governor, Alla Yar Khan, being assigned as reasons for the return of His Majesty to his capital, and of his threatened descent on the Paschallie of Begdal being postponed. It is reported that the Exiled Persian Princes (uncles and cousins of the king) have advanced pretensions to the throne of Persia, and meditate an attack on His Majesty. A person who visited the King's Camp states that confusion and disturbance prevail everywhere and that wherever the camp moves, it carried destruction in its path.

The South of Persia, however, is said to be at present in a quieter stater than it has lately been.

ADEN

The Government of Bombay have prepared a plan for an expedition to Aden for the purpose of attacking Lahedge, the capital of the Abdalees, a tribe of hostile and treacherous Arabs, should an absolute necessity arise for such a measure, which will, however, apparently not be the case.

29th August: The Bombay Government report that a further hostile attempt on the part of the Abdalee and Fauthelie tribes of Arabs had been made to attack Aden, and had been gallently repulsed and that the Naval and Military forces had behaved with great gallantry in defending the place.

TAJOURA AND ZEILAH

It is reported that the French Government have a desire to extend their influence to, and establish a position on some points of the Arabian Coast opposite to Aden. Their object is, it is believed, in the first instance, to have a post in the bay of Tejjorna and at Zeila, and thence to extend a commercial and Political influence in the direction of Zanzibars and Mocha. Some French vessels partially equipped as men of war, have been already in the neighbourhood of the Arabian Coast opposite to Aden and to Aden itself. These vessels are said to have taken to one or two points on the Arabian Coast opposite to Aden large quantities of stores and general munitions of war. It may be mentioned in this place that a British Cruizer of the Indian Navy has lately visited Tajjorna and by good management and concilatory tact the Commander purchased, for a small amount of German Crowns two Islands in the Bay of that place, and thus established some connection with it. The Sesostus steamer has likewise been in the neighbourhood indicated.

BUSHIRE

11th August: No one has yet been nominated to the Government of Bushire, but a person named Abdulla Khan who lately arrived there with sixty men for the protection of the place appears to be vested with general authority over the low country.

KARRACK

6th August: The Acting Assistant Resident in the Persian Gulf states that much sickness prevails among the European portion of the field force at Karrack.

MOCHA AND HODERDAH

The Government of Bombay states that a not very friendly disposition had been evinced towards the British Government by Sheriff Hussain, the Governor of Mocha and Hoderdah, subsequently to the evacuation of those places by the troops of the Pasha of Egypt.

CUTCH

4th August: The Bombay Government report the prevalence of female infanticide in Cutch, and bear testimony to the laudable exertions made by His Highness the Row of that place for suppressing this crime in his dominions.

RAMPORE

21st August: The Nawab of Rampore has solicited the permission of the British Government to be allowed to raise a corps of 600 men from among the inhabitants of his Jagir to be commanded by a British Officer, with a view to maintain order and tranquillity in the said Jagheer. The Governor-General has taken occasion to point out to the Nawab that further acquaintance with the resources of his territory will be requisite to form a mature opinion on the subject of the Nawab's liberal and zealous proposition.

RAJPUTANA

11th September: The Governor General's Agent reports that rain had fallen throughout Rajputana with interruption in such quantity as has not been known for some years past, and in consequence wheat at Jodhpore now sells at 12 seers per rupee, the rate before the rain being at 6. The people rejoice at this present comparative plenty and the prospect of a more abundant harvest, and are grateful to providence for the blessing.

12th September : The Governor General's Agent at Ajmer in a private letter writes as follows. Our conduct to all these Rajputana states during the last year has been of a character to inspire universal confidence. We are strong enough in every quarter. He adds that at Jaipore and Jodhpur we have troops sufficient to maintain peace in those countries and that the Rajputana states may be depended on more than almost any other states, or perhaps any people in India.

Nepal

The Resident in Nepal has addressed communications to the Magistrate of Gorukpur and to the authorities of Lucknow, Kumaon, Ambala and Benaras requesting them to raise every feasible measure for the arrest of a party furnished with five Khmutahs, two letters and a (separate) draft of a proposed treaty between Lahore and Nepal. This party left Katmandu for Palpa on the 6th September enroute to Gaya or Benares, and thence to Lahore.

4th September: The Collector of Saurun writes that the Nepalese have again visited our territories, and had congregated to the number of 210 persons in the villages of Bankattoon and Lachmipore Pooreyna.

The Political Agent at Subathoo, reports a small party of Gurkhas to be moving in the direction of Balhersir, towards Chinese territory.

The latest accounts from Imphal state that on the 21st September the Agents of the Court of Khatmandu waited upon the Resident with the Durbar's submission to the Right Hon'ble the Governor General's demands. The Resident accepted the documents tendered together with the deposit required by and yielded to, the Governor General; the whole proceedings being conditional on His Lordship's approval and confirmation.

Burmah

The last accounts from Rangoon mention that every thing is favourable to the British interests in the capital. There is a rumour of an embassy being on its way from Imphal to Ava.

24th August: The Commissioner in the Tenasserium Provinces states that everything continues perfectly quiet on the frontiers and that no reports have reached him in any way indicative of the slightest desire to disturb our present relations with the Burmese. He mentions however, that information had reached him from various sources, that a succession of bodies of troops have been marched from the capital of Ava in a northerly direction, the object of which appears to be utterly unknown and to have excited considerable curiosity among the people.

26th August: Orders have been issued to the Commissioner in the Tenasserium Provinces to relieve His Majestye's 62 Regiment now in the Provinces by a Battalion of Madras Native Infantry. The Tenasserium local authorities however seem to doubt the necessity for any further force even on the withdrawal of the 62nd.

27th August: The Commissioner in the Tenasserium provinces reports that owing to an unprecedented rise in the water of the rivers (a rise that has prevailed throughout all the rivers on the coast) and to the very inadequate means at command for keeping

the Merqui coal mine free from water the work has been very much impeded. The mine was full of water during the month of July, and it was not till the 8th August, that Lieut. Hutchinson was enabled to recommence bringing out the coal.

10th September: The death of the Myawoon of Rangoon has been reported. The brother-in-law of the late Myawoon, the Woon of Padawoon had been nominated his successor and was expected to arrive at Rangoon in a few days.

CHINA

22nd June: The Deputy Commissary General on the Eastern Expedition reports that the Commissariat supplies of provisions to the troops on board, had been found unexceptionable.

FINANCE

8th September: The Governor General's Agent in the North West Frontier reports having remitted seven (7) Lakhs of Rupees to Kandhar on the 2nd instant.

Fort William: J. W. BAYLEY,
1st October 1840. Asstt. Secretary to the Govt. of India.

No. 10.—FROM—J. W. BAYLEY, ASSISTANT SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

Fort William, 10th October 1840

NORTH WEST FRONTIER

Late letters from the Punjab contain the following items of news:—

1st. The Governor General's agent has received from the Sikh Durbar eight rebel Ghilzie Chiefs demanded by the British Government from it. They have been placed in custody in the fort of Loodhiana, and are allowed each a private servant to have access to them from sun rise to sun set. No stranger, however, is to have such indulgence; in other respects their surveillance is to be conducted in such a manner as to afford them every comfort compatible with their security.

2nd Sultan Peer Mohamed has arrived at Amritsar.

3rd. Sardar Mohamed Khan has arrived in the immediate neighbourhood of Loodhiana.

4th. The stoppage put upon business by the Dassarah and other circumstances having rendered the measure expedient, the Governor General's Agent has intimated to Fakir Azizudin who was deputed from the Court of Lahore to wait upon Mr. Clerk at Loodhinna, that he (the Fakir) was at liberty to return to the Durbar.

5th. Should the demands of the British Government upon the Lahore Durbar be in any way impeded, Mr. Clerk has resolved immediately to proceed to the Head Quaters of the Durbar.

6th. Maharaja Khurruck Singh's health is failing, and he is in a delicate state.

7th. Suwan Mull the Governor of Mooltan has received orders to repair and store 7 forts within his jurisdiction.

Another private letter mentions that small bodies of Goorkhas were moving in the direction of the frontiers of Chinese territory.

AFGHANISTAN

August 31st: The Political Agent at Bameean states that all the accounts he had received of the intentions of Mir Walee and Dost Mohamed were to the effect that they intended advancing through Kohistan.

September 3rd: The Envoy and Minister has forwarded an order from His Majesty Shah Shoojah-ool-Moolak to the Political Agent at Kandahar for 7,000 Kharwars of grain (2,000 being as Mehmanee or as an offering to the British Government) for which he has advanced to the Shah one lakh of rupees.

September 5th: The Major General Commanding the troops in Afghanistan reports that a combination of the Chiefs of Turkistan in favour of Dost Mohamed Khan has been brought to light, and that the valley of Kamard and Dushti Sutaid was occupied by Mohamed Ufzul Khan, the Mir Walle of Khoolum and his Minister, whilst Dost Mohamed himself was stated to be at Stybuck and the Chief of Koondooz to be advancing by the route of Ghoree with 2,000 men. Under these circumstances the authorities on the frontier resolved to concentrate their forces at Bameean, and at the repeated request of the Envoy and Minister, the Major General ordered the 35th N. I. with a Resallah of the Shah's horse to move from Kabul to their support. The Major General also directed Brigadier Dennie to proceed with this detachment and assume the Command of the whole of the troops on the Frontier.

Just as the present news letter was closing, accounts were received, express, from Kabul, from Sir Willoughby Cotton, announcing a most brilliant action on the 18th September at Bameean between a portion of the troops under Colonel Dennie stationed there, consisting of about 500 infantry with two guns and some cavalry on the one hand with 2 or 300 of the Shah's first Hindustani, and Afghan Ian Buz, Horse, and a combined and very superior force of the enemy, said to have been 6,000 in number under the Ex-Amir, Dost Mohamed and the Wullee of Khoolum on the other. The report of the action has been before the public in an extra Gazette, but one may here repeat that the discomfiture was most complete, 500 of the enemy were killed. Dost Mohamed was severely wounded, every tent, all the luggage,

stores, ammunition, etc., were taken and the only one gun (16 pr.) that Dost Mohamed brought into the action, was captured. All the troops engaged on our side, viz., a detachment of the 35th N. I. some of Captain Colly's escort, and the Afghan cavalry, who fought on our side behaved most gallantly. Capt. Hart and Lieutt. Legeyt are mentioned as having been wounded.

September 11th: The Envoy and Minister has come to the possession of an intercepted letter, purporting to be from Sultan Mohamed Khan son of Allahdad Khan to Dost Mohamed.

September 13th: Major M. Sherry reports having inspected the Goorkha levies of His Majesty Shah Shoojah under Captain Marshall's care at Hawal Baugh, and states that great progress had been made by the men in their drill, through the attention and efforts of Capt. Marshall and that he found the corps likely to do every credit to the service, on which, they may hereafter be engaged.

Private letters from Jellalabad mention that it was not considered advisable to send it to Kabul as was intended (vide news letter of 1st October).

The Envoy and Minister deems it unsafe to attempt any military operations in Bajore without the aid of another Brigade from Hindoostan.

The Envoy and Minister at the court of Shah Shoojah reports the pacification of the Ghilzie country and the circumstances of there being no longer any necessity for the maintenance of the troops stationed there.

KHOOLUM

30th August: In a private letter from Kabul, it is stated that Dost Mohamed Khan stopped the caravan from Kabul and caused it to pay him three tillas on each load on pretence that he was going on a religious war, that he did the same in regard to sixty loads of silk coming from Bokhara which belonged to the Lahanee and Punjabi merchants; that the Walee of Khoolum had also raised money for Dost Mohamed by the capitation tax, which when collected Dost Mohamed distributed among the new men. The letter goes on to say that the Wallee had visited the celebrated Priest of Morad Beg named Khwajah Qasim Jan, and asked him to assist Dost Mohamed, and that the latter answered that when they were really going to a religious war he would give them money. It is also said that the Agents from Kabul going to Bokhara, were plundered by Dost Mohamed, as well as some of the pilgrims from Bokhara, and that the King of Bokhara talked of sending troops to Khulum. The Wallee, it is further stated, had collected about 6 or 700 men and sent a circular throughout the country that he was going with Dost Mohamed on the religious war (Jehad).

Herat

August 5th: The Envoy at Herat states the following regarding Yar Mohamed Khan, viz., that the oppurtunity of greatly distinguishing himself had lately presented itself to him. An enterprize, viz., the capture of Ghorian which he has ever professed himself ardently desirous of achieving and in the success of which, he might have been supposed to be deeply interested was entrusted to him by Shah Kamran his master. There appeared to be a fair and reasonable hope that success would crown the attempt. On the eve of the undertaking, Yar Mohamed Khan influenced by unmanly fears on his own part, or by groundless suspicions and apprehensions, evinced disinclination to perform the part he had chosen; endeavoured to palliate his vacillation of purpose by the most paltry excuses and finally abandoned the enterprize.

August 5th: Her Britannic Majesty's Charge d' Affairs at Erzroom had lately forwarded to the Envoy at Herat copy of an old letter addressed by Sah Kamran to the Shah of Persia, professing the greatest anxiety to throw off, what he termed, the yoke of the English, and to ally himself with Persia.

August 5th: The Envoy at Herat writes that the harvest at Herat has been reaped, but in consequence of partial blight the crops have not been so abundant as might reasonably have been expected from their fine appearence some months ago,- and in some parts of the country, they entirely failed. Up to the 5th August, the price of wheat at Herat was about 10½ Bengal seers per Company's rupee, the usual rate in former years having been generally upwards of 40.

The Envoy at Herat is continuing the repair of the Herat fortifications.

Sinde

August 16th: The Colonel Commanding in Lower Sinde reports that 7 boats were ready at the mouth of the Indus up to the 16th August for the conveyance of troops expected from Bombay and that he had given the most particular instructions to see the preparations of others expedited, and that in 6 or 7 days 20 at least would have been ready for the purpose specified. By the end of August last the officer referred to, hoped to be able to purchase or hire camels in sufficient number for the conveyance as far as Sehwan of one Regiment at a time.

September 18th: The Bombay Government report the march from Kurachee to Sukkar via Sehwan on the 4th of September of the left wing 25th Regiment N. I. under the command of Capt. Rebeneck.

Mr. Ross Bell had arrived at Sukkar with the 38th N. I. after a very rapid voyage from Ferozepur.

The Political Agent in Lower Sinde reports, that Mir Noor Mohamed, who had been very seriously ill, has been restored to comparative health and strength

The Lower Sinde diaries show the Hyderabad Government generally and Amir Noor Mohamed particularly, to be giving every aid in facilitating the passage of the British troops from Lower Sinde to Upper Sinde.*

KELAT

September 3rd The Envoy and Minister and the Major General Commanding the troops in Afgnanistan have jointly instructed Major General Nott, Commanding at Kandahar, immediately to proceed towards Quetta with the 18 pounder now in Kandahar and a sufficient escort, to aid in such service against the Kelat Usurper, as might be necessary, and to assume the command of the expedition for the recapture of that place if he should be instructed eventually to adopt that measure.

ADEN

22nd June With a view to secure Aden the admiralty intend ordering a man-of war to that place.

PERSIA

June 22nd The Resident in the Persian Gulf states that reports are again current regarding the intention of the Shah to march upon Sheraz in a short time. As extensive supplies for the use of his troops will, in this case have to be collected from all quarters, and as there will be much difficulty in procuring from the Persian coast as usual, the provender required for the numerous public cattle on the Island of Karrak the Resident has taken every precaution to lay in a supply of provender for the period of a twelve month

INDUS STEAM NAVIGATION

August 7th The Commander of the steam Flotilla on the Indus reports the arrival of the "Meteor' steam vessel at Bukkar on the 3rd inst, with a detachment of His Majesty's 40th Regiment The "Meteor" was despatched from Bukkar on the 7th ultimo and reached Tatta on the 12th having been detained two days and a half at Hyderabad to receive on board three Lacs of rupees for the latter place, which brought her draught to 2 feet 5 inches aft, and 2 feet 2 inches forward She steamed down at

*Major General Brook of the Bombay Army has been selected by Government for the Command of the forces in Upper Sinde.

§Major Outram will serve as an extra Aide-de-Camp to the Major General, leaving the Hyderabad Residency in charge of one of his assistants, who will conduct its duties in direct communication with Major Outram. Should Mr Ross Bell's health fail, Major Outram will take upon himself the Political charge of Upper Sinde

full power the whole distance, without difficulty or accident, and was 28 hours 10 minutes under weigh proceeding at the rate of 12 miles per hour nearly. At Tatta she received on board a detachment of His Majesty's 40 Regiment consisting of one officer and 95 men. and followers with their baggage, which increased her draught to 2 feet 9 inches and on the 21st started from that place in company with the "Planet" for the upward voyage. The voyage to Bukkur was performed in 14 days during which time she was under weigh, and advanced at the average rate of 2¼ miles per hour. The "Meteor" met with a slight accident in making the voyage alluded to and after this service returned to bring up the remainder of His Majesty's 40th from Tatta.

August 18th: The Officer Commanding the steam flotillah on the Indus reported the arrival of the "Planet" steam boat at Bukkur on the 1st instant with a detachment of His Majesty's 40th Regiment. The "Planet" left Bukkur on the 9th ultimo and performed the downward voyage to Tatta at the rate of 12 1/4 miles per hour. At Tatta she received 2 officers and 136 men and followers of His Majesty's 40th Regiment with their baggage, arms, ammunitions and provisions which brought her draft to 3 feet 1½ inches aft and on the 21st started for Bukkur in company with the "Meteor". A short distance below Sehwan 22 men and followers were transferred to her from the "Meteor". She had then 164 individuals on board, besides 6 or 7 private followers, not included in the return, in addition to her own crew. Her upward voyage gives nearly the same result as her former one, as she reached Bukkur in 12 days, was 130¼ hours under steam and ascended the river at the average of 2½ miles per hour. At the request of the Assistant Political Agent in charge, Upper Sinde, the "Planet" also was, after the above service dispatched to Tatta to assist in bringing up the remaining Detachments of His Majesty's 40th Regiment.

Nepal

The Durbar in compliance with one of the Governor General's demands have delivered up 55 of the Oudh refugee dacoits and amongst them the notorious leaders Mungal Singh (by whose name the gang went) and Beneeram.

Finance

September 1st: Captain Bygrave's statement of cash balance shows that up to the 1st September the total amount in the Military chest was 13,90,875-14-1¾.

Fort William : J. W. BAYLEY,

The 10th October 1840. Assistant Secretary to the Govt. of India

No 11.—From—J W BAYLEY, ASSISTANT SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

Fort William, the 21st October 1840.

17th September The following items of intelligence are extracted from the Lahore Akhbar —

1st. General Court reported that he would arrive at Amritsar with 6 guns and 2 Battalions before the Dashera.

2nd. Sardar Sultan Mohammed Khan was ordered to proceed to Ludhiana with the Ghilzies without delay The Sardar besought, he might not be sent to Calcutta, he declared he had never done the English harm, but every good in his power After much discussion Colonel Chait Singh was ordered to set out with the Ghilzies, and Noor Mohammed Khan, the son of Sardar Sultan Mohammed Khan, in charge of Bhare Ram Singh informed the Kunwar, that Sultan Mohd Khan was unable to march owing to rheumatism. His son Noor Mohammed Khan was therefore ordered to go instead and to surrender up the Ghilzies to Mr Clerk. Sultan Mohammed Khan begged that his son and his uncle the principal Ghilzie chief might receive Khillats on departing The Kunwar told him that if anything were given to him Mr Clerk would come to the knowledge of it, and be as much displeased as he was when Khillats were before given him, and a ring to his child. Sultan Mohammed Khan observed to Mr Clerk's news writer that he would in four months settle everything with the British Government leaving his Children with them, and gratefully accept whatever Jagheer the Government would confer on him.

3rd. Raja Dhyan Singh was told to make proper arrangements for levying duties on merchandize at only one post in the Khalsa territory, from the next Ausoug, and that the duties being levied as now at all places in its transit through the district of the Sirdar's is detrimental to the revenue.

Ludhiana

28th September As it seemed inexpedient that the servants attending on the Ghilzie Chiefs should be allowed constantly to go in and out of the fort, inasmuch as it might afford a temptation to facility for correspondence of a mischievous tendency, the Governor General's Agent has requested the Colonel Commanding at Ludhiana to withdraw this freedom granted to the servants of the Ghilzies. He has appointed a Munshi named Ukkoo Khan, who will procure for them anything which they may require from the town, with the permission of the officer in charge of them. He has also instructed Lt Cunningham to hold the Munshi responsible that no letter should be written by, or for the prisoners, but such as he may write for them after Lt. C.'s permission has been first obtained, and that no such letter be dispatched until Lieutenant Cunningham has read and approved of it.

LADAK INTELLIGENCE

29th August: Vazeer Zorawar Singh dispatched letters to the Officers at Garrao and the Thakurs of the Goorduck districts requesting their friendship and alliance. In reply he was informed, that as dependants of the Emperor of China they could not without H. M.'s permission form any such connection with any one.

PESHAWAR

3rd to 8th September: General Avitabile has received orders to resume the Jagheers of all people whatsoever in the Peshawar territory. The General has done so, and all men are much surprized and grieved but there appears to be no remedy.

AFGHANISTAN

14th September: In order to check any possible mischief from the imflammatory letters which Dost Mohammed Khan has circulated throughout the country, the Envoy and Minister has requested the Chiefs of unquestionable loyalty to summon their followers and appear in the defence of the royal cause.

KUDJAH

27th August: The Envoy and Minister reports that the Wuziree Chiefs, Buland Khan and Mohammed Khan have both agreed to all the terms which the Governor of Jellalabad and the Political Agent at Jellalabad deemed necessary to exact from time. The last mentioned officer also reports that the assemblies of the Chiefs alluded to have dispersed; that confidence has been restored among the people; that supplies are pouring forth into Camp, and that there is every prospect of the advantages which have arisen from the engagements of the British troops on the 19th instant being of a permanent nature.

BAMEEAN

21st September: A private letter states that after the action at Bameean of the 18th September, Dost Mohammed rallied at Syghan and that 6 guns, 6 companies of the 35th and 6 of Lieutenant Codrington's Corps expected to start early on the 22nd idem, to beat up the Ex-Ameer's quarters. Lieutenant Codrington is to remain at Bameean during the winter.

KHIVA—RUSSIA

31st July: A private communication from Erzerooom states as a rumour that the French officers at Tehran talk of going to Khiva to offer their services to the Khan Hazrat against the Russians.

Captain Abbott has arrived in England. General Petrostskye will be at the head of the expedition, which by the last accounts the Rassian Government at present contemplate directing against Khiva in the ensuing year.

KERMAN

The Governor of Bombay received a letter from Syed Mohammed Hussain *alias* Agah Khan, Governor of Kerman, containing the most sincere assurances of friendship for the British Government.

BAGHDAD

18th August: The Political Agent in Turkish Arabia states that there have been many deaths among our European Seamen and one in the Artillery; that most of the survivors are ill of the marsh fever of Bussorah, and that the post for August was expected to be brought up by horsemen in consequence. A plan was in agitation to move the Vessels down the river to an open and healthy spot till a decided change took place in the health of the men. As regards steam navigation, the Political Agent states that the feelings of the townsmen and sedantary people are far from favourable to it, but that the Arabs encourage it as also the Pacha and his retainers. The new ordinances of the Porte per cent continues this officer are officially sent here, but the Government do not publicly notify them, and affairs proceed on the old system. Russian is said to be no favourite of the Pachalic of Baghdad, and all were delighted to hear of her defeat in her expedition against Khyva.

BAGHDAD—PERSIA

31st July: A private letter from Erzeroom states that the Shah of Persia, is determined on his expedition to Baghdad. H. M's. troops are said to be indeed inferior in parade movements to the Turkish, but they far excel them in physical strength, and in energy of mind. The Persian Artillery is immeasurably superior to any of the kind in Turkey.

Another private communication states that the Shah is gone to Cazween but still continues his threats to attack Baghdad. The communication goes on to say that H. M. has so rudely rejected the demands of Turkey that the Envoy daily expects his recall. The Shah's treatment of the Pacha's Agent has not been better, his presents have been refused and strong demands for indemnity of the loss at Moohamar are made. Preparations are making for giving strength to the frontier of the Paschalic against Persia. One of the great objects of the Shah at present is to gain possession of the country at the mouths of the Eupharates, the greater portion of which is in the hands of the Chaat Arabs; but as these Arabs also pay tribute to Persia for a portion of territory they hold in the district of Bebehan, His Majesty wishes to render them useful in getting possession of the delta of the Euphrates, and with it the key of the river into the Persian Gulf. Persia has accordingly furnished the Shaikh with Artillery and instructions, and he is doing all he can to organize a force and ammunition to rise in revolt against Turkey,

PERSIA

31st July: General De *mamus*, who was engaged for the service of the Shah by Hussain Khan, has left Erzeroom and has gone to Persia, where he seems to propose to himself a permanent residence. The other French officers are still in Tehran.

BAGDAD—EGYPT

31st August: The political Agent in Turkish Arabia mentions that great suspicions had been entertained of an Afghan nobleman of Bagdad as an Egyptian spy. He is said to be of the Jomanshir tribe of Kabul, and he assured the Political Agent he was returning to Kabul delighted at our success, but he has returned to Egypt. *His name is Hussain Ali Khan.*

EGYPT

18th August: The political Agent in Turkish Arabia reports that the Egyptians are continuing their intrigues on the Eupharates, in the vicinity of Anah, to shake the loyalty of the Arabs and are partially successful.

Letters by this day's express portion of the *overland mail* mention that on the Consul General Colonel Hodge's asking for a guarantee for the safe conduct of the English mails brought to Alexandria by the "Oriental", Ali Pasha said, "they may go this time only". A letter of subsequent date, however, from the Company's Agent Captain Lyons states that the Pasha in an interview with Captain L. mentioned to that officer that although he had declared to the Consul General that only the present English mail should have free transit, he had no intention to impede the Company's mail to India.

. FRANCE—EGYPT—ADEN

25th September: The Bombay Government have left it to the discretion of the Political Agent at Aden to detain the H. G's vessels of war "Clive and Elphinstone" in the event of the state of affairs in the Red Sea rendering such a measure absolutely necessary. The Bombay Government have also positive and certain intelligence of war having been declared against Egypt or the blockade of Alexandria established, to adopt similar measures as far as may be within his power, against the Egyptain Ports in the Red Sea, to detain all vessels belonging to nations against whom war may have been declared; and to take possession of the Pascha's steamer at Suez, on the occurrence of the contingency adverted to. In all the measures which he may adopt in order to carry into effect the above instructions, the Political Agent is so to arrange matters as not to leave Aden unprotected.

The Bombay Government have also desired the Superintendent of the Indian Navy to communicate to the Comdr. of the the H G's steamer "Berenice", that in the event of that officer on his arrival at Aden finding that the transit of the overland mall

through Egypt is stopped, he should return to Bombay with the packet on board, unless Captain Haines, the Political Agent at Aden, may from other information which he may possess, direct him to proceed on to Suez. If the Comdr. of the "Berenice" receive the above intelligence at Suez and be unable to have the mail passed through Egypt he should return to Aden and thence to Bombay, but he must in the first instance endeavour by all possible means to communicate with any British authorities, who may be in Egypt, and in such case to be guided by the information which they may impart to him.

Fort St. George

It is probable that a Wing of H. M's. 4th Foot from Bellary one of the strongest regiments on the Madras Establishment may be ordered to Belgaon in the place of the 94th Foot, to stand fast at Cannanore.

Nepal

11th to 24th September: The following items of news are extracted from the Diary of the Nepal Residency of dates noted in the margin:—

1st. Rajah asked, in General Council, if Someshwar should be given up. Most answered yes. Raja rejoined "but it is land and land should never be relinquished". Raja then proposed to give Someshwar up and ask it as a boon from the British Government. Rugnath said such a proceeding was unworthy and would raise suspicion. The Raja asked if the Resident would relinquish the Collections made since 1792 in the districts close to Someshwar, "possibly" was the general reply.

2nd. Dalbhanjan said he was a Gooro Pande always averse to causeless rupture with the British Government and that the Kala Pandeys who were the sole advisers of whatever had been done ought to be solely accountable.

3rd. It is rumoured that the Minister's nephew is to be dispatched forthwith to Lahore.

4th. Prabhoo Chand advised the protecting and arming of the Oudh dacoits. Kashinath hotly abused him and observed that whoever spoke some sense or truth was set down as an ally of the British. How then could the Raj be saved?

5th. The Chiefs of the Ramnagar aggression have been publicly punished.

28th September: It is reported that a considerable body of Gurkhas have appeared in Eastern Thibet from Joomla for the alleged purpose of opening a communication with the Sikhs.

9th October: The Resident reports that the Raja in open Durbar made an amends to the Resident in regard to the conduct of mutinous Nepalese soldiery, and by a direct verbal communication

commanded the Chiefs Futteh Jung and Dulbhanjan to repair to the lines and intimate to the troops that the Resident had not had, nor could have any concern with their grievances in point of pay or otherwise, which was done by those chiefs accordingly.

BURMAH

7th September: The following is the return of the troops serving on the coast of Tennassarium up to the 1st of September 1840:—

Commissioned and Non-Commissioned officers	.. ..	402
Rank and file	.. ..	2756
	Total ..	3158

20th July: The following is the return from the Head Quarters of the Brigadier Commanding (Burrell) of the amount of the force, both Naval and Military, employed with him in the Eastern Expedition:—

Total number of officers, non-commissioned officers and men.	..	4041
Total number of officers and Companies of H.M's ships and vessels forming the Naval force.	..	4268
Total	..	8309

16th October: The Military Board state with reference to the four months' supply of provisions already in store with the expedition on the 1st July, that a further supply of six months' provisions have been sent in July and August for the whole force both Naval and Military.

INDUS STEAM NAVIGATION

27th August: Captain Carless reports that the Planet Steamer, made the downward voyage to Tatta in 24½ hours nearly and proceeded at the average rate of 13¾ miles per hour. Between Bukhur and Sewan where the current runs with the greater strength and the winds are more moderate than in the lower part of the river, her performance was still better having run the distance of 160 miles in 10 hours, 10 minutes at the rate of nearly 15¾ miles per hour.

MISCELLANEOUS

The Government of Bombay has made rules, regulations and a scale of passage money proposed by Commander Carless for passengers and Packages conveyed by the Vessels of the Flotilla on the Indus, which have been sanctioned by the Governor General. They will be shortly published at Bombay.

Fort William: J. W. BAYLEY,

The 21st October 1840. Asstt. Secy. to the Govt. of India.

No. 12.—From—J. W. BAYLEY, ASSISTANT SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

Fort William, the 1st November 1840.

North West Frontier

Official intelligence has been received from the Governor General's Agent in the N. W. F. to the effect that the Sikh Durbar has acceded to the requisition of the Governor General to allow the British troops a passage through the Punjab.

20th October: The Governor General's Agent states that the conduct of the Lahore Durbar does not seem to betray any feelings of opposition to the measures which are in progress on the N. W. F. for the relief of the British Troops in H. M. Shah Shuja's territories. The Sikh troops, the Governor General's Agent further states, have at length laid siege to the fort of Kumlah, and the Durbar feels confident as to the successful result of their operations against it.

North West Frontier—Nepal

General Ventura in a letter to the Sikh Durbar, states, his having heard that some Nepal troops had arrived at Mutulaee and that agreeably to the requisition of the Court of Lahore he has written to Vazir Kuppoorchand the Sookeit Raja to let no one cross the Sutlej from Nepal.

Peshawar

27th September: The Peshawar Diary states that Saadut Khan the Ex-Momund chief has at length been prevailed on to renounce his enmity to Shah Shuja and the English. Private intelligence from Kujja of the 11th November mentions that he was about to proceed to join the Political Agent at that place.

The Governor General's Agent in the Punjab states that Maharaja Khurruck Singh has issued orders to General Avitabile to hold the Sikh troops in readiness to assist Capt. Mackeson with a view to punish the head-strong Afghans of the Khyber and its neighbourhood.

Bajore

21st September: With reference to the unsettled state of the Bajore country the Envoy and Minister at the Court of Shah Shujaul Mulk states it as his opinion that the difficulties which oppose themselve to an amicable adjustment appears to have been chiefly owing to the intrigues of Peer Mohammed Khan, but his permanent location at Lahore and the intelligence of Dost Mohammed Khan's recent discomfiture may dispose Ameer Khan to accede to terms more reasonable than those which he has hoped to obtain.

Afghanistan

26th September: Doctor Lord in a letter from Syghan states that the Meer Wallee of Khooloom and Dost Mohammed Khan have separated and that the latter has fled to Ghoree.

The Major General commanding the troops in Afghanistan reports the assault and capture of the fort and town of Tootumdarra by the detachment under the command of Sir Robert Sale.

6th October: A private communication from Kabul of date noted in the margins states that the Victory at Bameean has been productive of the most beneficial consequences. It has filled the Wulee of Khoolum with dismay, has contributed to procure the release of two of the envoy and Minister's Agents at Bokhara, and is likely to facilitate their negotiations for the release of Colonel Stoddart :—

"Our Jaubuz system," continues the same communication, "succeeds admirably." The troops serve with fidelity and zeal, and one of the most gratifying circumstances connected with our recent operations is the ardour and alacrity with which the chiefs and their followers who attended the Shahzada showed their devotion to the royal cause. The exhibition of such a feeling at this time was highly salutary.

His Majesty Shah Shujaul Mulk is about to confer the 1st class of the Dooranee order on General Sale and the 2nd on Brigadiers Dennie and Wheeler.

KHIVA

17th September: The Envoy and Minister in a letter, dated as per margin states that Lieutenant Shakespear who had been deputed on special duty to Khiva had left that place in charge of the Russian prisoners in the Khan's dominions with a view to restore them to the nearest authority.

Lieut. Shakespear will, after having thus delivered the Russian Captives, use his best endeavours with the Russian Government for the restoration on its part of the Khivan Kaffilahs.

The Khan Hazrat at the representation and request of Lieutenant Shakespear has issued a ferman strictly prohibiting for the future the purchase as slaves of the subjects of Russia or of Herat, throughout the Khiva territory.

SCINDE—TEHRAN

The Political Agent in Turkish Arabia states that he has taken steps secretly to procure information regarding a Scinde Agent already sent to Tehran.'

SCINDE—MUSCAT—PERSIA

28th September: The Political Agent Lower Sinde writes that a special Agent is preparing for despatch to Muscat on the part of the Ameers, who is destined it is rumoured to proceed to the court of Persia.

SCINDE-UPPER

23rd September: The Quarter Master General of the Bombay Army intimates that orders have been sent for the march of the 3rd Regiment Light Cavalry to Upper Scinde as soon as coinage can be procured.

2nd October: The Bombay Government report the arrival at Sukkur on the 14th ultimo from Karachi of a detachment of His Majesty's 40 Regiment under the command of Brevet Capt. Adamson, strength as follows:—

6 Subaltens, 1 Assistant Surgeon, 5 Sergeants, 2 Drummers and 131 Rank and File.

3rd October: The Quarter Master General of the Army of Bombay reports the arrival at Verion on the 16th ultimo of the 6th Regiment N. I. enroute to Upper Sinde.

5th October: The Brigadier commanding in Lower Sinde reports the despatch of various detachments of troops and 2 lakhs and 10,000 Rupees to Upper Sinde.

SINDE-LOWER

5th October: The Extracts from letters from the Officers Commanding and conducting the 6th Regiment proceeding from Deossa to Sukkur it appears that the conduct of the officers of the Ameers of Sinde and the demeanour of the people towards the Regiment has been most civil.

EGYPT

17th August: Her Majesty's Consul General at Alexandria states that in consequence of a convention for the pacification of the Levant signed on the 15th July by Great Britain, Austria, Prussia and Russia, a special Envoy has been sent from the Sublime Porte charged with demands from the Sultan to Mehmet Ali. These terms were rejected and it is probable that coercive measures may be adopted against the rebellious Pasha, and as a preliminary step general communications between Egypt, Syria and Candia is already cut off by the British fleet.

PERSIA

25th June: The Marquis de la Vallette with M. Desgranges Secretaries to the Count de Oercey's mission and subsequently M. M. D'Arshiae and Gerard attaches to the same mission having arrived at Tabreez from Ispahan proceeded thence to Tiflis on their way back to Europe. M. M. de Beaufort and Darn also attaches of the French Mission are gone by way of Shiraz, Busheer, and Bussorah to Bagdad. Mons De Oercey himself with the remaining members of the mission quitted Ispahan on the 1st June proceeding by Kermanshah either to Bagdad, or by Mosul to Aleppo, being guided in his choice according to the tranquillity of the roads. The French Officers, who arrived with Hussain Khan have been appointed to the Shah's service with 350 Tomans per annum and have been sent up to Tehran to await the Shah's arrival.

The Seresker Hafiz Pasha has succeeded in his expedition against the refractory Laz Chief Koor Hussain Beg who after a short skirmish, in which he was severely wounded, was taken prisoner.

PERSIA—BAGDAD

31st *July*: The Governor of Tabreez is rumoured to have said that the Russians will not let the Shah attack Bagdad, and that all the demonstration against it and collecting of troops on that frontier is with the view of frightening the Turks and obtaining as large an indemnity as he can for the plunder of Mahammora, but not for the purpose of crossing the frontier. Her Majesty's charge d' Affairs at Erzeroom states with reference to the above military demonstrations that it is a frequent practice of the Persian Government to assemble troops from various quarters at the season of the year, indicated (July to August) without having any fixed intention in view.

NEPAL

27*th September to* 10*th October*: The following items of news are extracted from the Diary of the Nepal Residency of dates noted in the margin :—

1st. It is said that Futeh Jung is to have charge of Residency affairs and of Adalats, and Juggutbani Pandey and Singbeer Pandey of the Army.

2nd. The Maharani it is said, had demanded the Guddee for her son.

3rd. Raja said "The Resident is the cause of all troubles." Many speakers in Resident's defence and the Kala Pandeys were openly taxed with ruining all a general falling off from them, and refusal to serve with, or under them.

4th. It is very generally said Futteh Jung is to have the Premiership after the Dusserah. His family, rank and character unite to give him weight and he is favourably disposed towards the British. All will rally under him, save the Kala Pandays. The opinion of the utter incapacity of the Kala Pandeys and the certain ruin of Nepal under their guidance is gathering force.

19*th October*: The Political Agent at Subathao mentions his having learnt that besides a party of 200 men or thereabouts sent by the Governor of Joomla from that place to Munsurma, in W. Tibet for the purpose of communication with the Sikhs, a larger body amounting to from 2 to 3,000 some time back took a nearly similar route. It is alleged and not without some reason that these movements are without the sanction of the Durbar and upon a private adventure merely in search of Military service with the Ruler of the Punjab or some of his great feudatories.

CHINA

12th September : The Resident Counsellor of the Straits Settlements reports that the four transports as noted in margin on board of which the 37th Regiment Madras Native Infantry was embarked, have departed thence in prosecution of their voyage to China.

Golkunda
Minegoa
Sophia
Thetis

6th October: The Commander of the Iron armed Steamer "Nemesis" has reported his arrival at Galle and his intention to proceed as soon as possible to the Canton river and to place the services of the Vessel at the disposal of His Excellency the Naval Commander-in-Chief.

INDUS STEAM NAVIGATION

7th September: The Indus Steamer was despatched from Bukkur on the 19th July and arrived Tatta on the 22nd having been 27 hours under steam and proceeded with the Engines going at half power at the rate of 12 1/3 miles per hour. She left Tatta on the afternoon of the 10th ultimo with a detachment of H. M. 40th Regiment consisting of 4 officers, 58 privates and 14 followers with their arms, tents, baggage and provisions, the total weight of the whole being estimated at 11 1/4 tons which brought her draft to 3 feet 9½ inches aft and 3 feet 2½ inches forward; although deeply loaded, her performance during the upward voyage was better than it has ever been before as she accomplished it in 11 days during which time she was 135 hours under steam and ascended the river at the average rate of 2½ miles per hour nearly, her greatest speed at any one time being from 7¼ to 7½ knots. The "Meteor" left Thikkur on the 7th ultimo and ran down to Tatta with the Engines going at full power in 26 hours, at the average rate of nearly 13 miles per hour without meeting with either difficulty or accident. At the latter place she received on board a Detachment of two officers, 32 privates and 9 followers, at H. M.'s 40 Regt. with their arms, tents, baggage, and provisions, the weight of which was estimated at about 7 tons, and commenced her upward voyage on the same day as the "Indus" drawing 2 ft. 7½ inches aft and 2 ft. 2 inches forward. She performed it in nearly the same time as that vessel, having been 136¼ hours under steam, and advanced at the average rate of rather more than 2⅓ miles per hour.

FINANCE

1st October: Captain Bygrave's statement shows that on the 1st October Cash balance in the Military Chest amounted to Company's Rupees 1,169,958-2-8¾.

MISCELLANEOUS

21st September: The Commissioner in the Tenasserium Provinces has taken occasion to express, on the departure of H. M.'s 62nd, the very high sense he entertains of the conduct of that Regiment during the long period of 6 years that it has been serving on those provinces.

Fort William: J. W. BAYLEY,
1st November 1840. Asstt. Secy. to the Govt. of India.

No. 13.—From—J. W. BAYLEY, ASSISTANT SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

Fort William, 10th November 1840.

North-West Frontier Provinces

7th to 16th October: The following items of intelligence are extracted from the Lahore Ukhbar of dates noted in the margin :—

1st. Orders were issued to 2 Sikh Officers to be ready to attend to the requisition of Shah Shoojah Ool-Mulak for troops and to set out on His Majesty's orders with the troops under them.

2nd. Bhya Tulsah Singh was ordered to accompany Noor Mohamed Khan, son of Sultan Mohamed to Kohat and to bring in Barukzie and Ghilzie families immediately to Lahore.

3rd. Rajah Dhyan Singh was told to enquire if Vazier Zorawar Singh had any negotiations with Garoo on foot, or was sowing dissensions between Ahmed Shah of Iskardo and his son, for the friendship of the British Government was all the "Sirkar" desired.

4th. Bhaee Ram Singh and Rajah Dhayan Singh said that with regard to the passage of British Government through the Punjab, orders should be issued in accordance to the wishes of the English Government and that the straightest road across the country should be open for the passage of the troops.

5th. Orders were likewise issued to all the officers of the districts to assist the British Gomastas in collecting Camels from the Sikh territory and a Bhya (Dhumma) was appointed to superintend this business.

22nd October: With reference to the Lahore Durbar's compliance with the requisition of the British Government to allow its troops a passage through the Punjab to Afghanistan, noted in News Letter No. 10 of the 1st inst., the Governor General's Agents at Ludhiana states that the Durbar has adopted every friendly measure for facilitating the transit of the troops to their destination.

The undermentioned force is destined to cross the Punjab under the Command of Brigadier L Shelton, for the purpose of reinforcing the troops in Afghanistan :—

1st Troop, 1st Brigade horse artillery.

5th Regiment Light cavalry.

Her Majesty's 44th Regiment.

27th Regiment Native Infantry.

54th Regiment Native Infantry.

A detachment of H. Majesty's 13th Light Infantry.

KASHMERE INTELLIGENCE

The following table shows at what rates the articles therein indicated are sold in Kashmere :—

	Md.	Seer.	
Paddy	2.	6	per Rupee
Rice	1	13	,, ,,
Atta of wheat	1	18	,, ,,
Barley	2	18	,, ,,
Wheat	1	25	,, ,,
Green tea	2	2	,, ,,
Cotton Cloth	12 Yds.		,, ,,
Meat	10	Seers	per Rupee

AFGHANISTAN

14th October: Official intelligence has been received from the Major General Commanding the troops in Afghanistan that the Ex-Ruler Dost Mohamed Khan made a night march and passed by Tootin Durra into the Nijron country early in the evening of the 13th instant. On Sir Robert Sale having intelligence of this movement, a party was immediately detached for the apprehension of the Ex-Amir but the pursuit was fruitless. Letters from Sir Robert Sale of October 17th state that he had occupied unopposed the very strong fort of Durwesh Khan in Kohistan and was about to demolish.

26th October: Major M. Shevry reports that the Hindostani and Goorkha levies destined to form the first despatch to Kabul are now complete and organized into nine Divisions and one hundred men each, viz. three divisions of Goorkhas and six of Hindostanis. Major M. hopes to be able to move the levies from Kurnaul on the 10th November. The number of Goorkhas enlisted for the service of H. M. Shah Shoojah amounts to 812 men and every exertion was being made on the part of Major M. to bring that number up to 1000, the quota he was ordered to raise. The party of Goorkhas under Captain Marshall are reported in the highest spirits and very well conducted.

KHYVA

24th September: Her Majesty's Charge d' affairs at Erzeroom in one demi-official letter mentions that Count Nesselrade had informed H. M.'s ambassador at St. Petersburgh that the Russians had abandoned their intention of attacking Khyva this year.

SINDE-UPPER

2nd October: The political Agent at Kandahar reports the despatch from that place on the 3rd October of the 42 Regiment B. M. I. complete with two 18 pounders to Quetta.

22nd December: A private letter of date noted in the margin states that everything goes on well in Upper Sinde. The force under Major Boscawen, N. I. reached Kandahar on the 18th

and the 25th Bombay N I (nearly, 1000 Bayonets) with 2 guns reached full on the same date. On the 19th Major Boscawen heard of an advanced party of the Brahooees being close to him, he attacked and repulsed them, killing 50 of the enemy The loss on our side was 2 killed and 5 wounded. Major Boscawen and the 25th were to unite at Gundava and attack the Brahooes at Katrah. The 6th Bombay N I. arrived at Sukkar on the evening of the 22nd October, and it is mentioned that the Political Agent had a sufficient number of camels to push them on. The letter adds that the Regiment referred to is very strong both in men and officers, and quite healthy and serviceable.

27th October The 8th Regiment Bo No I. have arrived at Kurachi and considerable number of the Poona Auxiliary horse is under order for Sukkur, and two Squadrons of Dragoons have been ordered to proceed to Karachi

The Officiating Agent to the Governor General in Rajputana reports the equipment and despatch of 500 camels to Sukkur for service in Upper Sinde.

KURACHI

5th October Agreeably to the suggestion of the Superintendent of the Indian Navy, the Governor General has sanctioned the establishment of coal depot at Karachi.

EGYPT

20th October The Bombay Government have issued instructions to the Superintendent of the Indian Navy not to seize any Egyptian vessels in any case without learning of the most precise and authentic information that a declaration of war between England and Egypt had been proclaimed and that British subjects and property were not respected in Egypt.

PERSIAN GULF

18th September The Acting Assistant Resident in the Persian Gulf reports that the weather has begun to get cooler in the Gulf and that a decided improvement has taken place in the health of the European portion of the field force.

PERSIA

16th July Her Majesty's Charge 'd' affairs at Erzeroom states that the entire French Mission has left Persia and that no treaty of commerce has been formed between the two nations.

18th September The Acting Resident in the Persian Gulf states that the King of Persia after sending his army in detachments from Kermanshah to Casween, has returned to Tehran. The Acting Assistant Resident also states from a rumour that the sum of 1,00,000 Tomauns has been paid by the Pascha of Bagdad as a compensation for the injury inflicted by him in Mahomerah and that the dispute has been amicably settled. The prohibition

on the part of the Shah for the export of horses to India, has it appeared been removed for this year; the number of horses annually shipped from Persia for India is estimated at from 1500 to 1800.

PERSIA-BAGHDAD

16*th July*: Her Majesty's Charge d' Affairs at Erzeroom states that the Shah had left Ispahan for Hamadan. H. M. had sent pressing orders to Tabreez for troops to assemble at Sultaneah; their destination was not then known but it was supposed they would be kept ready for the purpose of watching the Baghdad Pascha who it was conjectured would make a demonstration on the Sulemaniah frontier in retaliation for the Persian troops having recently entered and plundered that district. The latter had returned within their own territory.

ADEN

19*th October*: The attack on Lahedge at Aden is for the present ordered to be postponed in consequence of the Government not deeming it expedient to equip a force of the strength considered necessary for the purpose.

BUSHIRE

18*th September*: It is stated that the family of Shaik Nasser had left Bushire to proceed to Shiraj; there to remain as security for his conduct, and it is in consequence expected that the Shaik will again soon return as Governor, but it is stated that he will be accompanied by a brother of the Governor of Tars who will reside at Bushire and be vested with general authority and control over the Chiefs in the low country.

BAHREIN

18*th September*: The Acting Assistant Resident in the Persian Gulf reports that between Shaik Abdullah ben Ahmed the Shaik of Bahrein and his nephew Shaik Mahamed ben Khalifa who claims half of the Island as a hereditary right, a rupture has for some time been threatened and that both parties were strengthening themselves to the utmost of their ability and appeared to be nearly balanced. Commander Brucks who lately visited Bahrein in a general cruise along the Arabian coast, said they could not long continue in their present state and Shaikh Mohamed has solicited assistance from, and appears desirous of cultivating the friendship of the British Government but all interference in the dispute has been declined. The Resident adds that notwithstanding the disturbed state of affairs in several places on the Arabian coast and their threatening aspect at Bahrein, tranquillity prevails throughout the Gulf, the people being quietly occupied in their traffic.

NEJD-LASHA

18th September: It is reported that Amir Khalid has been proclaimed Governor of Najd and Lahsa, avowedly connected with Mohamed Alli Pasha, and all the appointments to the different situations are now normally from him.

MUSCAT

18th September: The Imam of Muscat and his Kinsman Hameed Been Azam although apparently lately reconciled to each other are, it is said, not now on the most friendly terms. His Highness it is reported visited Bunder Abbass with the intention of soon returning to Muscat and thence to proceed to his possessions on the African coast, the French Corvette which not long since went from Zanzibar to Muscat, with the view it was supposed of obtaining His Highness's consent to establish a consulate at the former place had been joined by another French man-of-war or merchant-man with Guns put into her.

JALOUN

The Agent to the Lieutenant Governor of the N. W. province at Bandah reports the death on the 11th October of Govind Rao the minor chief of Jaloun. There is no heir to the state. The character of the youth himself is spoken of in high terms and his death deeply regretted by all who knew him. He was enjoying the greatest benefits from the English Education he was receiving. The Agent to the Lieutenant Governor has assured all the dependants of the family, that whatever may be the eventual disposal of the Jagheer, their rights will be fully respected. Similar assurances have been given to the residents and Jaghirdars of Ooraee.

JUBUA

15th October: The Resident at Indore reports the death of Maharajah Rattan Singh, Rajah of Jubua, by lightening on the 8th October. It has been arranged that the administration of the territory be, for the present, conducted under the Regency of the Majee Ranauutjee in communication with, and under the Superintendence of, the Political Agent.

NEPAL

Lieutenant Colonel T. Oliver Commanding of the 12th Regiment N. I. has been directed by Government to proceed to Bettiah, there to join the corps named below in Camp of observation under his order, upon the Nepal frontier:—

12th Regiment.

A Squadron 6th light Cavalry.

40 and 56 Regiment N. I.

Detail of Artillery and a Detachment of 5th Local Horse.

DARJEELING

25th October: The Superintendent at Darjeeling reports that the work of constructing a new line of road from Darjeeling is progressing rapidly, and that he shortly intends commencing the road leading from Silligori to Kumtabari. further that his means in work-men have been considerably increased lately.

BURMAH

19th October: A private letter from Rangoon contains the following items of intelligence:—

1st. The foreign merchants paid their devoirs to the new Governor of Rangoon and were well received.

2nd. The King intends visiting Rangoon.

3rd. Another disturbance is rumoured to have broken out among the Shans to the Eastward and Northward.

4th. A French Barque ("Coromandel") has arrived at Rangoon with a letter and presents said* to be from the King of the French to His Burmese Majesty. The bearer of the presents (Mons Sicre) is said to have met with a favourable reception from the Burmese authorities. The value of the presents is said to amount to 7000 Rupees. Mons. Sicre has also letters from the Governor of Bourbon to the King the purport of which is the wish of the French Governor to open a friendly commercial intercourse between the two countries. Some of the men of the Barque (all of whom it is said are drafted from Fench men-of-war) report that some French men-of-war are to follow them.

20th October: Another private communication from Rangoon mentions that the Governor has arrived at that place and that he professes to govern on liberal principles. The communication adds, "all is quiet, and every thing indicates a disposition on the part of the Court of Ava to be on friendly terms with us."

INDUS STEAM NAVIGATION

In reply to a reference made by the Bombay Government to the Superintendant of the Indian Navy on the subject of the Navigation of the Arsut and Nura rivers, that officer states that these rivers are only navigable for boats for about three months during the inundation and that they are dry in some parts from bank to bank as soon as it subsides. A further investigation will however be necessary before it can be fully ascertained if steam boats could navigate them during inundation. This point will be enquired into next season, by sending the smallest vessel to make the attempt.

Fort William: J. W. BAYLEY,
The 10th November 1840. Asstt. Secy. to the Govt. of India.

*It is most probable that the mission has been sent in the name of the King of tho French by the Government Bourbon.

No. 14.—From—G. H. MADDOCK, SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

Fort William, the 20th November 1840.

NORTH WEST FRONTIER

18th to 23rd October: The following items of intelligence are extracted from the Lahore Akhbar including dates noted in the margin :—

1st. On a discussion relative to the confiscation of the Jagheers of the Barakyzes, Raja Dhyan Singh observed that an alliance of so many years, as that which had subsisted between the English and the Sikhs, and one which the late Maharaja Ranjeet Singh had so long cultivated, might not to be risked on such an account, and that the proper course would be to give the Barakzyes in lieu of Kohat some Jagheer maintained in the territories now formed by Rajahs Gulab Singh and Socheit Singh. At another consultation it was determined to confiscate Hussainggur also, and a reply accordingly was directed to be written to the Governor General's Agent.

2nd. On the discovery of a fictitious letter purporting to be written by the Durbar to Dost Mohammed Khan, the Kunwar remarked that it is a sign of true friendship of the British Government to send a copy of the forgery in which his name has been abused.

26th October: The Governor General's Agent at Ludhiana states that he holds in readiness at the Ferozepore treasury six (6) Lakhs of Rupees for the use of the Military Chest of the Brigade about proceeding to Kabul under the command of Colonel Shelton. He also states that the Brigade will be provided with sufficient carriage to enable it to proceed to Afghanistan without at all crippling either of the convoys in the means which are being provided for their transit in due time, and that all the elephants provided from the protected Sikh states had been sent to Karnal for the use of the Brigade. The Governor General's Agent further states with regard to the two British Convoys alluded to with 2,000 Recruits which were to be despatched across the Punjab to Afghanisman in November and December that the Durbar has adopted every measure to facilitate their safe transport.

28th October: The Governor General's Agent in the North West Frontier mentions that the Sikh Durbar is attentive to the preparation and reinforcement of its troops at Peshawar, simultaneously with the reinforcement which the British Government is sending in that direction.

28th October: The Governor General's Agent at Ludhiana states that the Sikh Durbar has sent messengers to bring in all the sons and relatives of the Barukzyes from the frontier and that it has issued orders for the confiscation of Hussaingar as well as the other states of its Barakzye feudatories on the Peshawar frontier.

3rd November: From a private communication from Ferozepore it appears that Rajah Dhyan Singh had declared that Vezeer Zorawar Singh the Agent of Rajah Goolab Singh on the Ludakh frontier had held no friendly communications with any of the authorities in Chinese Territory.

A private letter from Ferozepore mentions that the Sikhs are prosecuting a very impolitic warfare in the hills. General Ventura has in a manner invested Kamlagarh, but he complains to the Durbar that the Rajpoots of Belaspore and Nalaghur are encouraging the rebels.

6th and 7th November: The Governor General's Agent at Ludhiana reported on the annexed dates that Maharaja Khurrack Singh, after a protracted illness expired on the 5th inst. aged 46. One of the late Maharaja's widow Rani Esur Kunwar the sister of Sardar Mangal Singh, with three of her female attendants, ascended the funeral pile and burnt themselves with the Corps. On retiring to perform the prescribed ablutions in the river Ravi, the Kunwar Naunihal Singh, the Ministers, and chiefs were passing under a portal, when, owing to the pressure of their many elephants, or to the crowd standing aloft, a beam fell and struck the Kunwar and Meean Oodeen Singh the son of Rajah Goolab Singh who was seated on the same elephant. The latter died in the course of an hour, and the Kunwar, who was severely wounded on the head and rendered senseless, died the same day. The Kunwar has left no children and the Ministers have summoned Kunwar Shersingh from Batala, to Lahore. Raja Dhyan Singh's influence at the Sikh Court is said to be great, and it is likely that he will hold office, under the present heir to the Guddee, on a more permanent tenure. With reference to the present juncture of affairs in the Punjab, the Governor General's Agent has reiterated the injunctions to the Durbar's local officers to facilitate the march of Colonel Shelton's Brigade destined for Afghanistan.

Peshawar

13th October: The Political Agent at Peshawar states that Dost Mohammed Khan has written letters to the Afridee and Amkzye chiefs, trying to drive them-to intrigue and sedition.

Bajore

9th October: The Peshawar Akhbar states that Amir Khan has since the receipt of a letter from Dost Mohammed Khan, been endeavouring to raise disturbances in all directions. He is not however gone to Bajore himself. "Ameer Khan" adds the Akhbar "is an evil disposed person, and thorough rebel".

Afghanistan

Private intelligence states that Sir Robert Sale got possession of the town and position of Kah Durra on the 21st October without firing a shot, as the enemy, on perceiving the Columns of attack advancing, evacuated the town and strong ground they held The

private letter adds that it is a subject of congratulation that Sir Robert Sale had been enabled to occupy this strong position without the necessity of assaulting it, as from every account it was formidable and would it was apprehended have cost many men to have carried it. In taking possession of Kah Durra, Sir Robert was most ably assisted by Sir Alexander Burnes who by his negotiations managed to distract the Councils of the Chiefs. The Town is reported to have been destroyed by the British troops. The same letter adds that Dost Mohammed is still in Nijrow.

4th October: The Political Agent at Jelalabad states that on his proceeding to Gundamuck to facilitate the negotiations with the inhabitants of Tootoo of the Sherzad Clan of Khoojeanees among whom originated the attack made on Colonel Orchard's Detachment at Soorkhah when en route to Kabul, the offenders commenced sending their women. children and property to the hills, and made some warlike preparations such as felling trees for breastworks, casting bullets, and inviting some of the other tribes to assist them. Finding that they were determined to oppose His Majesty's authority the Political Agent availed himself of the presence of Kamza Khan and the Ghilzye Chiefs who had been sent by His Majesty for the subjugation of some refractory Ghilzyes and proceeded with them against the inhabitants of Tootoo. He then sent his ultimatum to the inhabitants, offering the following terms to them, viz., to deliver up to him all plundered property; to furnish hostage to ensure no repetition of their insubordinate behaviour, and to pay a fine of 1,000 Rupees. All these terms were complied with. The Political Agent further states that the Nokur Kheel, a small tribe of Sherzad Khoojuanees had set at defiance the authority of the Governor of Jelalabad by maltreating some of his officers; they moreover refused to pay the Revenue and showed other symptoms of rebellion, but on perceiving that preparations were making for their punishment, the Nokul Khel evacuated their forts of which the Governor took possession.

6th October: The Political Agent at Kandhar, in conformity to instructions received to that effect from the Envoy at Herat, has forwarded to that place treasure in sovereigns as follows:—

Sovereigns—4150.

Half Sovereigns—190.

10th October: The Governor General has appointed Major General W. Nott, Commanding at Kandhar to conduct the Military operations which may be found necessary above the pass in Upper Scinde. This officer will exercise concurrent Political authority with Mr. Ross Bell in matters requiring adjustment above the Pass.

19th October: The envoy and Minister state that H. M. Shah Shujaul Moolk has expressed a desire, that the Royal family may not be moved from Ludhiana until the spring of the ensuing year.

20th October: Major McSherry states that he inspected the detachment of Goorkha Series under the charge of Lieut. Walsh at Deyrah, and that the condition in which he found them, reflect the highest credit on Lieutenant Walsh's exertions. The General management of the portion of the Depot committed to his charge by Lieutenant Walsh, Major MacSherry further reports, seems judicious and calculated to advance the interests of H. M. the Shah's service.

3rd November: A private communication from Ferozepore of date noted in the margin states that Colonel Shelton and his Brigade intended to reinforce the troops in Afghanistan were advancing satisfactorily and were to be on the banks of the Sutlej on the 7th November.

KHOOLUM

28th September: The following are the provisions of the agreement entered into between the Political Agent at Bameean and Meer Wullee of Khoolum, viz.

1st. Meer Wullee agrees to give up all connection with Dost Mohammed Khan, to refuse him permission to remain in his country in future, and to withdraw his brother Mohammed Yar Beg and 28 of his Sowars who are with Dost Mohd.

2nd. Kahmurd and the countries to the North are to remain in the possession of the Wullee, Syghan and the countries to the South are made over to the king.

3rd. Baba Beg is at liberty to seek an assylum at Kabul or Bokhara, or any where else he pleases.

4th. Meer Wullee is to withdraw his troops in the direction of Khoolum, and the British theirs in that of Bameean.

5th. Meer Wullee will not traffic in slaves inside the king's territories. These are defined to extend to all countries which pay the king taxes.

11th October: The Political Agent at Bameean states that Lieutenant Rattray who had been deputed to negotiate with Meer Wullee was treated with the greatest kindness by that chief and that the presence of Lieutenant Rattray greatly accelerated the departure of Dost Mohammed from Kohistan. Meer Wullee has sent a confidential man charged with an Arzee (representation of his wishes) to the king, and another it is said is to follow with presents. The Wullee promises that the frontier of Bameean shall be in perfect safety against the king of Bokhara and all other neighbouring states in that direction.

RAJPUTANA

31st October: The Governor General's Agent in Rajputana reports that he received intimation from the Nawab of Tonk that his brother Abdul Karim Khan with a party entered and commenced plundering the district of Chuppon. He was attacked and

repulsed by the Amil of that place and finally driven from his position. The Amil and nine men were killed in the affray and 6 wounded. Measures have been resorted to either for the expulsion of Abdul Karim Khan from the Kotah territory or for his apprehension.

KISHANGARH

2nd November: The officiating Agent to the Governor General in Rajputana reports that in consequence of the disaffection of most of his chiefs, the Maharaja of Kishangarh is about to resort to Military operations to be conducted against 2 of the rebellious chiefs, whose resources to resist the Maharaja's aims are not considered great, and if the rest of the Chiefs do not join them to make common cause against the Maharaja, the Political Agent thinks there will be no difficulty in reducing them. He adds that their thorough subjugation would be attended with good effects in the small principality of Kishangarh. In carrying on these measures of coercion against these chiefs the Political Agent has impressed upon the mind of the Maharaja that no injury will be suffered to be done to neighbouring states.

JAIPUR

The Raja of Jaipur has issued orders to the proper authorities for the arrest of all Thugs and Dacoits in his territory. His Highness has likewise issued orders against infanticide throughout all the pergunnahs of Jaipur, it having been reported that instances of the commission of this offence had lately, occurred in the Toorwattee tract.

CHINA

29th September: The Governor of the Eastern Settlements states that he had forwarded 330 tons of Coal for the use of the China expedition; that about 800 tons remained in the Depot and that there was little chance of his being able to forward more on reasonable terms.

EUPHRATES FLOTILLA, INDUS STEAM NAVIGATION

The Governor General is of opinion that so far as may be practicable with a view to efficiency it is on every account desirable to assimitate the establishments of the Euphrates flotilla with those in the river Indus, and the Government of Bombay will accordingly adopt the measures necessary to effect this assimilation of the establishments alluded to.

MISCELLANEOUS

21st October: The Government of Bombay report that Lieut. Ball of the Indian Navy has discovered different species of timber in the hills in the course of the Sutlej which would answer well for boat building, etc.

The young Nawab of Murshidabad is now on a visit to the Presidency and has taken up his residence in the Belvedere House at Alipore. His Highness had an audience of the Right Hon'ble the Governor General on the 16th October and received a return visit from His Lordship. He has likewise been visited by His Excellency the Commander in Chief; the members of Council, and the principal officers of Government. An officer has been instructed to be in attendance on His Highness to show him the principal edifices in the town. The fort, the Asiatic Society's Museum, the different Colleges and Schools, the Botanical Garden, the Shipping, the Races, etc. His Highness speaks English with tolerable fluency, and is an intelligent youth. He is to remain at the Residency for 2 or 3 months and will it is assumed from his habits and education, derive much pleasure and benefit from his visit.

Fort William: G. H. MADDOCK,
The 20th November 1840. Secy. to the Govt. of India.

No. 15—From—J. W. BAYLEY, ASSISTANT SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

Fort William, the 1st December 1840.

NORTH WEST FRONTIER

NEPAL

29th October: The Governor General's Agent on the N. W. F. states, that on conferring with the Agent of the Sikh Durbar, on the subject of Sirdar Uttar Singh's reported visit to Katmandu with designs inimical to the interests of the British Government, the Agent on the part of his Durbar denied the charge most unequivocally.

NORTH WEST FRONTIER

31st October: The Governor General's Agent on the No. W. F. reports that the Sikh Durbar has written to the Court of Nepal in reply to several communications from it, to the effect that the Nepalese should send Khurreetahs to the Durbar, only with the concurrence of the British Government.

1st to 9th November: The following items of intelligence are extracted from the Lahore Akhbar including dates noted in the margin.

1st. That one of the Kunwar's widows was rumoured to be pregnant, and that therefore the Rani Chand Kunwar wished that the Government of Lahore should for one year be under her charge. The Rani also asserted that a lawful son of Maharaja Khurruck Singh named Futteh Singh aged 3 years was alive, and she sent for him on the subject of her resigning the reins of Government into his hands. But Raja Dhyan Singh and the ministers wish to continue the administration of affairs on those of Sher Singh. In this resolution Rajah Dhyan Singh is particularly firm and upholds the Government of the Khalsa.

2nd. The orders to the state officers were issued as yet by the Seal of the late Maharaja Khurruck Singh, and the signature of Rajah Dhyan Singh It is reported that Sher Singh ascended the throne of the Punjab under a promise that he would act in concert with Rajah Dhyan Singh and other Chiefs.

3rd General Ventura reported that 4 forts and the entrance of Kamlaghur had been taken possession of by the Khalsa troops.

4th. The Durbar continues to afford every facility to the passage of the British Brigade through its territories.

10th November The Governor General s Agent in a private letter dated as per margin from Ferozepore states that Colonel Shelton s Brigade was reviewed on the morning of the 10th instant, and allowed by all the officers viewing the spectacle to be in first rate order He is about to despatch 5 Lakhs of Rupees to the Envoy and Minister at Kabul for the use of the Brigade and will endeavour to increase the sum to 10 Lakhs. The Governor General s Agent at Ludhiana states that Colonel Chait Singh has arrived at Ferozepore to escort Colonel Shelton's Brigade, enroute to Afghanistan and Adjutant Soorajban is also appointed with a party of 50 horse to assist him With reference to the measures taken at Lahore for the administration of public affairs all is reported at present to be quiet.

14th November The Governor General s Agent on the N W F states that Maharaja Sher Singh was alarmed on hearing of the pregnancy of one of Naunihal Singh's widows, and that he inclines to reconcile Ranee Chand Kunwar to his being her regent. The Agent further states that the report of the fall of Khumlaghur is not confirmed, that Fakeer Uzeezooddin the Agent of the Durbar is reported to be dangerously ill, and that Colonel Shelton's Brigade has crossed the Sutlej

HILL INTELLIGENCE

27th to 29th The Governor General s Agent on the N W F reports that several forts in the Mundee territory have surrendered to the Sikh troops, and that the Lahore Government have taken possession of the Kooloo districts.

BAJORE

23rd October The Envoy and minister has instructed the Political Agent, Peshawar, under the orders of the Governor General to endeavour to effect an amicable adjustment of the existing differences at Bajore in lieu of active operations in that country

AFGHANISTAN

28th October The Major General Commanding the troops in Afghanistan has ordered the establishment of extensive magazines at Jellalabad for the supply of the force under Colonel Shelton destined for Afghanistan which must necessarily remain at that station until the season shall admit of their moving to the North West which will not be before the month of April 1841

remained in that family's possession till the end of the fourteenth century.

Edward IV seized the estate after the Battle of Towton, and in 1464 granted it to his favourite, Sir William Hastings, who obtained a licence to crenellate in 1474. (This was actually the first definite record of any fortified castle on the site, the previous buildings having been reckoned as a manor.)

It was Hastings who built the high tower or keep which is such a prominent feature of the castle. The other buildings, including the kitchen tower, hall, and chapel, are mostly of the fourteenth century, and date from the period of the de la Zouch family, but some Norman masonry is incorporated in the hall, and the chapel windows were altered in the fifteenth century. Almost all the buildings were further altered in the sixteenth or early seventeenth century.

Mary Queen of Scots twice spent a night here, in 1569 and in 1586, and both James I and Charles I stayed there. It was held for the King during the Civil War, but surrendered after the Battle of Naseby, and was "slighted" by order of the Parliament.

Our latest built castle, all too little known by the general public, is Kirby Muxloe near Leicester (Plate 18). The history of this building is known in great detail from the invaluable and very complete building accounts that have survived. They cover the years 1480 to 1484 inclusive. The clerk of the works was one Richard Bowlett, and the castle was begun in October 1480 as a large moated house approached through a gatehouse and drawbridge. It is built of a beautiful red brick, stone being only used for doorways, windows, and string courses. The octagonal turrets of the Gate House, and the four corner towers rising out of the moat are very fine of their kind. The building was never completed owing to the tragic

end of its owner. This was the same Sir William (afterwards Lord) Hastings who built the tower at Ashby de la Zouch. He was born in 1430, and during the Wars of the Roses was a strong Yorkist. He became a great favourite of Edward IV and was made Chamberlain of the Royal Household, and Master of the Mint. In 1471 he became Lieutenant of Calais. He was Knight of the Garter and commanded the 3rd division at the decisive Battle of Barnet. At the death of his royal patron, the new King Richard III denounced him as a traitor at a Council Meeting held at the Tower of London on June 14th, 1483, and on his seizure he was summarily executed. He lies buried in St. George's Chapel, Windsor, in a chapel made for him in his lifetime. His widow Katherine, daughter of Ralph Neville, Earl of Salisbury, continued for a short time the work of building at Kirby Muxloe, the accounts closing in December 1484.

RENAISSANCE PERIOD

The Office of Works is fortunate in having recently obtained guardianship of two famous and beautiful country houses in the Midlands which were fast falling into decay. Thus they have been able to rescue the extant remains as monuments of English sixteenth and seventeenth-century architecture to which the public can have access. These are Kirby Hall near Corby, Northamptonshire (Plates 19 and 20), and Houghton House near Ampthill, Bedfordshire. The former was taken over in 1929 and the latter in 1935. We can see already the results of the work of conservation both of the house and ancient gardens at Kirby Hall, but, for the time being, Houghton, John Bunyan's "House Beautiful," is still in a sadly ruinous condition, though work has begun on its conservation.

The first architect of Kirby Hall is reputed to have been John Thorpe, the Elder, and the foundation-stone was laid by the owner, Sir Humphrey Stafford in 1570. Between 1638 and 1640 Kirby was added to and modernized by Inigo Jones for the then owner, Lord Hatton. Houghton, Bedfordshire, was begun by John Thorpe for Mary, Countess of Pembroke, in 1615, but [illegible] ne room, now preserved [illegible] Court of the Victoria and [illegible] by Inigo Jones about 1620. Both houses, therefore, are of special interest owing to their connection with the Thorpes and Inigo Jones, and are really admirable examples of essentially English design and decoration of their periods.

The founder of Kirby Hall died before the [illegible]pletion of the building in 1575, and the pr[illegible]

then purchased by Sir Christopher Hatton, Queen Elizabeth's Lord Chancellor. Tradition has it that Queen Elizabeth stayed there, but certainly King James I visited it in 1612, 1616, and 1619. The Lord Hatton who employed Inigo Jones to embellish Kirby was a Royalist and had to live in France during the Cromwellian period. Evelyn, who knew Hatton, visited Kirby in 1654. He thought the Avenue ungraceful, but called it a "very noble house" and particularly commended the garden. On Hatton's return in 1660 he further improved the house and orchard, but it was his son who, in 1686, laid out the great west garden, traces of whose stone curbing have been recovered and now restored. At the end of the seventeenth century the gardens at Kirby were famous throughout England. In 1764 the property passed by an heiress from the Hattons to the Finches, who thus became the Finch-Hattons and succeeded to the Earldom of Winchilsea and Nottingham in 1826. Unfortunately, the eleventh Earl, who was a famous gentleman rider and patron of the turf, cut down the Avenues and stripped the roof to pay his debts. By 1889 the rooms to the east of the great hall are described as in ruins. The whole of the kitchen quarters fell in in 1896. In 1919 the panelling and fittings in the fast decaying house were dispersed, and the place handed over to the Department in 1929. Happily the great hall and the south-western rooms with their magnificent semicircular bow windows remain, roofed with local stone slates. The west or garden front with its gables and twin chimneys of local Northamptonshire design is in fair order. Inigo Jones's magnificent work on the north front and his adaptation of Thorpe's earlier treatment of the rich central court remain. It will be some years before the Department has finished its necessarily patient work of

conservation, but there are few great English country houses of the date that possess more charm and beauty.

The "House Beautiful" at Houghton is in even sadder condition of neglect and ruin than was Kirby when we took it over. The house is built of red brick with stone architectural decorations. It was purchased in 1738 by John, fourth Duke of Bedford, but in 1767 his eldest son, Lord Tavistock, was killed by a fall from his horse in Houghton Park and the family abandoned it. In 1794 the roof was taken off and the fittings distributed. The staircase went to the Swan Hotel, Bedford, where it now stands, and the pine room designed by Inigo Jones from his notes on the Pantheon at Rome, was re-erected nearby in Haynes Grange. It was purchased for the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1928.

Certain rooms at Kensington Palace, the greater part of which is still occupied by members of the Royal Family, are periodically open to the public. Kensington Palace is on the site of a former Nottingham house, which was acquired in the summer of 1689 by King William III. Sir Christopher Wren was commissioned to proceed with the rebuilding forthwith, and it was soon occupied. Queen Mary II died in the new palace in 1694 and her husband in 1702. Queen Anne, George I, and George II all lived in it. On the 24th May, 1819, Queen Victoria was born there, and in the early hours of the morning of the 20th June, 1837, there received the Archbishop of Canterbury and Lord Conyngham who came to inform her of her accession to the throne.

The southern elevation and apartments, including the fine King's Gallery, were built by Wren, but most of the existing State Rooms visited by the public were transformed by William Kent between 1722 and 1726. In particular the cupola room is the finest extant

example of Kent's work as a decorator. The Orangery was built for Queen Anne in 1704 from the joint designs of Wren and Vanbrugh, the latter's hand being discernible in the rusticated brick arches and piers.

Perhaps the most important historic building in the region covered by this guide is the Royal Palace of Hampton Court (Plate 1). It is not strictly describable as an ancient monument, but as a "Royal Palace not in the personal occupation of the Sovereign," and the cost of its upkeep is borne on the Votes of the Office of Works under that heading. Both the palace and the gardens are visited by thousands in the course of the year, and it is, after Windsor, the most splendid and interesting possession of the Crown of England.

The palace was begun as his private residence by Cardinal Wolsey in 1514 on land obtained by him from a preceptory of the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem. On the fall of the Cardinal Minister in 1529, the palace, which had been given to King Henry VIII in 1525, was definitely taken over by him and he continued the works at Hampton Court until 1540, often residing there. Among his additions is the "King's Close Tennis Court," and Henry is recorded to have played in it frequently. It is the oldest tennis court remaining in Europe, and is still used for playing.

The west front is a fine example of Early Tudor brickwork, but has been much altered and restored since Wolsey's time. The moat was re-excavated and the bridge across it reconstructed in 1910. The first or base court was built almost entirely by Wolsey, with small and narrow bricks laid in the old English bond. On the east side of the court is Anne Boleyn's gateway, containing the ancient clock formerly at St. James's Palace and moved to its present site at Hampton Court by William IV. The second or "Clock Court" has



PLATE 14.—Goodrich Castle

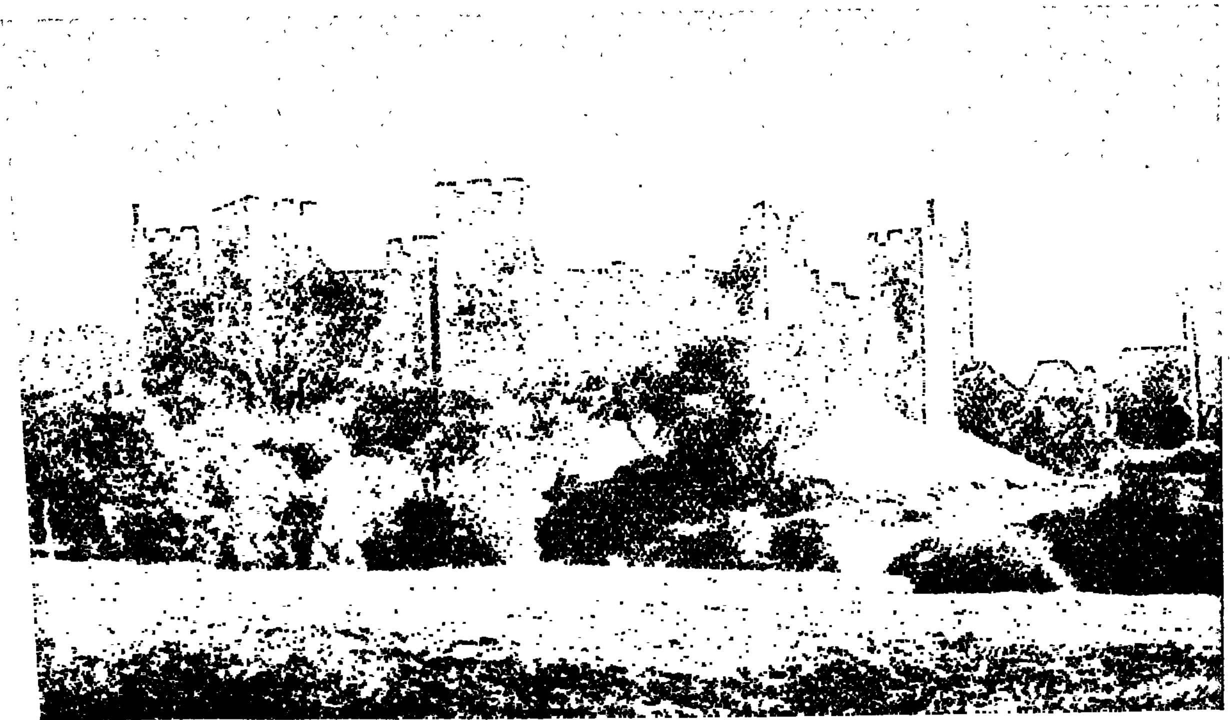


Plate 15.—Framlingham Castle.

another clock made for Henry VIII by a Frenchman named Nicholas Oursian. On the north side of this court is Henry VIII's great hall, and on the south the stone colonnade designed and erected by Sir Christopher Wren in the last decade of the seventeenth century. The east side of the court was remodelled by William Kent for George II in 1732. On the walls of the court we notice some very interesting terra-cotta roundels in Florentine style.

The east and south-east fronts of the palace and the court behind them were rebuilt entirely [illegible] William III by Sir Christopher Wren. This work [illegible] begun in 1689 and not completed until late in the [illegible] of Queen Anne.

The northern or Lion Gates, intended [illegible] main entrance to the new palace, were also [illegible] and built by Sir Christopher Wren.

The eastern part of the palace contains [illegible] and other rooms which can be visited by the [illegible] The grand staircase [illegible] leads to the [illegible] finely panelled rooms containing a notable [illegible] of pictures and furniture, the property of the [illegible] On the north side of the eastern court [illegible] rooms, including Cardinal Wolsey's [illegible] gallery (said to be haunted by the [illegible] Catherine Howard), and the Chapel Royal [illegible] was Wolsey's chapel, in which [illegible] the existing [illegible] chamber. [illegible] Anne. Edward VI was born in the palace and christened in the chapel. [illegible] occupied Hampton Court [illegible] his [illegible] Henry VIII's great [illegible] and the great hall are decorated with some [illegible] tapestries.

Outside the first or base court to the south is a large Orangery added for Queen Anne about 1720, and in it are now displayed the famous paintings of the Triumph of Cæsar by Andrea Mantegna, obtained by purchase by Charles I from the Duke of Mantua. Nearby is the celebrated vine said to be the largest in Europe, planted by order of George III in 1769.

Even the briefest historical and architectural survey of Hampton Court would be incomplete without reference to the superb screen of ironwork at the south end of the south gardens, made of wrought iron to the order of King William III by Jean Tijou, the greatest of French smiths, about 1694. *It is recorded that much* ironwork at Hampton Court was actually executed by an English craftsman named Huntingdon Shaw, who died and was buried at Hampton in 1710. It may well be that Shaw worked from Tijou's designs.

The famous maze dates from the reign of William III.

NOTES

At a number of monuments for which guide books are not yet available the Custodian has notes of the history of the building, and a plan is available for inspection.

Real photographic postcard views of monuments are also on sale, at buildings marked with an asterisk, at 1½*d.* each. Further views are in course of production.

Photographs may be taken by visitors without a permit except at buildings occupied by the military. In these cases the assent of the military must be obtained. The use of stand cameras is subject to the discretion of the Custodian.

Admission Fees. These are indicated under each monument.

Children under fourteen years of age are admitted at half price. Parties of eleven to twenty visitors are admitted for 5*s.* where the normal admission fee is 6*d.* per person, and, except where otherwise stated, for 2*s.* 6*d.* where it is 3*d.* Parties exceeding twenty, whether children or adults, are admitted at half the usual admission fee per person.

BEDFORDSHIRE

Houghton House, Ampthill

The remains of a Jacobean mansion built by John Thorpe about 1615 for Mary, Countess of Pembroke, and altered a few years later by Inigo Jones. Towards the end of the eighteenth century it fell into decay. Believed to be the original of the "House Beautiful" in Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress.*

Situation. 1 mile north of Ampthill.

Railway Station. Ampthill.

Admission. At any time without charge. The building is still under repair.

CHESHIRE

Chester Castle

The site was occupied by a Saxon stronghold, and then by a Norman castle, the timber defences of which were replaced in 1246 by stone walls, parts of which survive.

The so-called "Cæsar's" or "Agricola" tower contains a fine vaulted chapel of this period, and the top floor is the Regimental Museum of the Cheshire Regiment, who now occupy the castle as their depôt. The other buildings were much altered and rebuilt in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Situation. Overlooking the river between the Grosvenor and Dee Bridges.

Railway Station. Chester.

Hours of Admission.

Weekdays.	*Sundays.*
10.30 a.m. to 12 noon and 3 p.m. to 5 p.m.	Closed.

Admission Fee. 3*d.* to Regimental Museum, other parts free.

DERBYSHIRE

Arbor Low Stone Circle and Gib Hill Tumulus (Pl. 3)

Probably Early Bronze Age and consists of an oval ring of forty stones formerly standing but now recumbent with a group of similar stones in the centre. The ring is surrounded by a ditch with an earth bank on the outside through which there are entrances on the north-west and south-east, the ditch being crossed by causeways. A Bronze Age barrow cuts into the bank on one side, and another, known as Gib Hill, lies 250 yards to the south.

Situation. 2½ miles west of Youlgrave. About 1 mile east of the railway station.

Railway Station. Parsley Hay.

Admission. At any time on application to the Custodian at Upper Oldhams Farm, close to the Circle

Admission Fee. 3d

Guide Book (unofficial). 6d

Eyam Moor Stone Circle and Tumulus

A circle of sixteen stones, about 100 feet in diameter, surrounded by a low bank; on the north side of the circle is a cairn. Probably Early Bronze Age.

Situation. About 1½ miles north-west of Grindleford Bridge

Railway Station. Grindleford.

Admission. At any time without charge.

Hob Hurst's House, East Moor, Be ey

A rectangular prehistoric burial mound surrounded by a ditch with an outer bank. Excavated in 1853, when a stone cist containing two cremations was discovered in the centre of the mound

Situation 4½ miles east of Bakewell, 3 miles north-east of Little Rowsley.

Railway Station. Rowsley.

"Nine Ladies" Stone Circle, Stanton Moor

A circle of nine stones probably dating from the Bronze Age.

Situation 3½ miles north-west of Matlock; 1½ miles south of Little Rowsley.

Railway Station Rowsley or Darley Dale.

Admission At any time without charge.

Peveril Castle

In a picturesque and nearly impregnable position defended on two sides by precipitous rocks The curtain north side is of the late eleventh or early

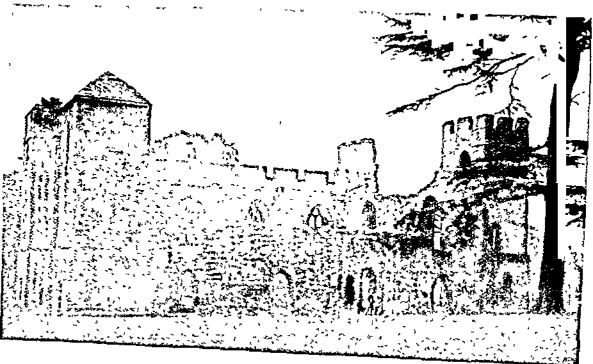


Plate 16 — Acton Burnell Castle

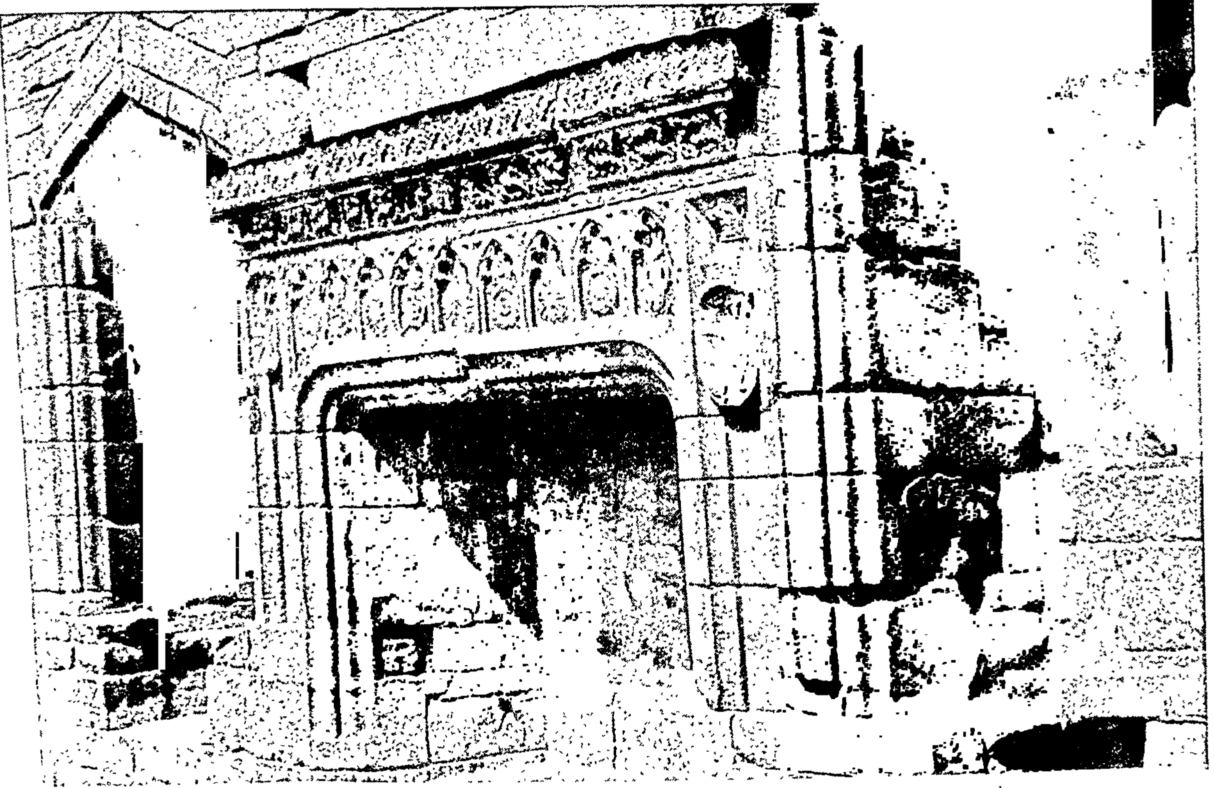


Plate 17.—Ashby de la Zouch Castle, fireplace in the Keep.

Hours of Admission

	Daily.
April–September	9.30 a.m.–6.30 p.m.
October–March	10 a.m.–Dusk.

Admission Fee. 3*d.*

Official Guide Book. 6*d.*

St. John's Abbey Gate, Colchester (Pl. 7)

A fine fifteenth-century gatehouse of the Benedictine Abbey of St. John. A good example of East Anglian flintwork.

Situation. Near St. Giles' Church on the south-east corner of St. John's Green.

Railway Station. Colchester.

Admission. At any time without charge.

Waltham Abbey Gatehouse and entrance to cloisters, and Harold's (or Stony) Bridge.

With the exception of the nave of the monastic church now [illegible]

300 yards north-north-east of the church, probably dates from the fourteenth century.

Situation. In Waltham Abbey.

Railway Station. Waltham Cross.

Admission. At any time without charge on application to L. Prior, Abbey Gardens.

GLOUCESTERSHIRE

Belas Knap long barrow, Charlton Abbots

A fine example of a prehistoric burial mound, 197 feet in length with a false portal at the north end There is no central passage, the burial chambers, four in number, being

entered from the sides of the barrow. The earthen mound is surrounded by a dry-built stone revetting wall.

Situation. 2 miles south of Winchcombe.

Railway Station. Winchcombe.

Admission. At any time without charge.

Uley Tumulus

A prehistoric burial mound about 180 feet in length containing a stone-built central passage with two chambers on either side and another at the end; the earthen mound is surrounded by a dry-built revetting wall. The barrow was excavated in 1821 and again in 1854, when several skeletons were found in the passage and in the chambers.

Situation. 2 miles south of Frocester; 1 mile north of Uley.

Railway Station. Frocester.

Admission. At any time on application to the Custodian at the farmhouse on the top of Uley Hill.

Admission Fee. 3*d.*

Witcombe Roman Villa

A large villa enclosing three sides of a courtyard. The western wing was occupied by a system of hot-air baths. The villa was excavated in 1818 and the only part now exposed consists of three rooms of the bath-system, which have mosaic floors and are now roofed over.

Situation. 5 miles south-east of Gloucester; ½ mile south of the reservoir in Witcombe Park.

Railway Station. Gloucester.

Admission. At any time on application to the Custodian at Cooper's Hill Farm, Brockworth.

HEREFORDSHIRE

Arthur's Stone, Dorstone (Pl. 2)

A prehistoric burial chamber and entrance passage formed of large blocks of stone formerly covered by an earthen mound.

Situation. 1 mile north of Dorstone.

Railway Station. Dorstone.

Admission. At any time without charge on application to the Custodian at Cae Perthy, Bredwardine.

* *Goodrich Castle (Pl. 14)*

Extensive remains of one of our most beautiful castles. It is mainly of late thirteenth and fourteenth century date, but earlier features are retained, including an interesting twelfth-century keep. The entrance is approached through a barbican and over a broad rock-cut ditch spanned by a bridge. The ditch extends round the south and east sides of the castle, which is defended elsewhere by a precipitous and rocky slope to the river below

Situation. 3 miles south-west of Ross, ½ mile north-east of Goodrich.

Railway Station Kerne Bridge.

Hours of Admission.

	Weekdays	*Sundays.*
March–May	10 a.m.–6 p.m.	11 a.m.–4 p.m.
June–September	10 a.m.–7 p.m.	11 a.m.–4 p.m.
October–February	10 a.m.–4 p.m.	11 a.m.–3 p.m.

Admission Fee. 6*d.*

Official Guide Book. 6*d.*

Rotherwas Chapel

A small chapel originally of fourteenth-century date, but rebuilt in the sixteenth century. It has a roof dating from the rebuilding of the structure.

Situation. 1½ miles south-east of Hereford.

Railway Station. Hereford.

Admission At any time without charge on application to the Custodian at the farmhouse.

HERTFORDSHIRE

* *Berkhampstead Castle*

Extensive remains of a large motte and bailey castle dating from the eleventh century. A circular keep stood on the motte, but little masonry now exists. A curtain wall and towers were added to the earth ramparts of the bailey and there are remains of what appears to have been the chapel. The castle was besieged and taken by storm in the thirteenth century by King Louis of France and the barons. It came into the possession of the Duchy of Cornwall in the middle of the fourteenth century and still forms part of the Duchy's possessions.

Situation. In Berkhampstead, close to the station.

Railway Station. Berkhampstead.

Hours of Admission.

	Weekdays.	*Sundays.*
April 22nd–September 30th	9 a.m.–9 p.m.	11 a.m.–4 p.m.
October 1st–April 21st	9 a.m.–Sunset.	11 a.m.–3 p.m.

Admission Fee. 3*d.*

Official Guide Pamphlet. 2*d.*

Verulamium Roman City Wall, St. Alban's

The Roman City developed out of a British township and was already a self-governing municipium in A.D. 61. It was enlarged in the middle of the second century. The wall, which dates from that time, was backed by a mound of earth and at intervals had projecting towers with solid semi-circular fronts and hollow rectangular backs, all of the same date. Only the south stretch of wall and the south-west angle, with its ditches, are in the guardianship of the Commissioners.

Situation. On the western outskirts of St. Alban's.

Railway Station. St. Alban's.

Admission. At any time without charge. Admission to the angle tower on application to the Custodian between 10 a.m. and dusk daily.

LEICESTERSHIRE

* *Ashby de la Zouch Castle* (*Pl.* 17)

There are considerable and interesting remains of the castle The first building on the site was a Norman manor house built about the middle of the twelfth century It was enlarged 200 years later when a new chapel and kitchen were built. In 1474 William, Lord Hastings obtained a licence to fortify the house and built the Great Keep or Hastings Tower. The castle sustained a long siege in the Civil War and after the surrender to the Parliamentary forces was partially destroyed.

Situation. On the east side of Ashby de la Zouch

Railway Station. Ashby de la Zouch.

Hours of Admission.

	Weekdays.	*Sundays*
		April–September
March–May	10 a.m –6 p m.	11 a m –4 p m
June–September	10 a m –7 p.m	October–March
October–February	10 a m.–4 p m	11 a m –3 p m

Admission Fee 6*d*

* *Kirby Muxloe Castle* (*Pl.* 18)

A very attractive brick-built fortified house, rectangular in plan with towers at each corner and a gatehouse on the north-west side ; the whole surrounded by a moat Built on the site of an earlier manor house by William, Lord Hastings towards the end of the fifteenth century, but never completed

Situation. 4 miles west of Leicester , on the south side of Kirby Muxloe.

Railway Station Kirby Muxloe

Hours of Admission.

	Weekdays.	*Sundays.*
April–September	9 30 a.m –6 30 p.m	Closed
October–March	10 a m –dusk	

Admission Fee. 6*d*

Official Guide Book 6*d*

The Jewry Wall, Leicester

This Roman wall is 35 feet high, 75 feet long, with a maximum thickness of 8 feet and has four arched recesses, two of which are pierced by openings. It formed part of a public building on the east side of a square.

Situation. In St. Nicholas Street to the west of St. Nicholas Church.

Railway Station. Leicester.

LONDON

Banqueting Hall, Whitehall

This was built at the beginning of the seventeenth century from the design of Inigo Jones and is the only existing portion of the Royal Palace of Whitehall standing above ground. It was from a window on the first floor of this building that Charles I stepped on to the scaffold at his execution. It now contains the museum of the Royal United Services Institution and has a notable painted ceiling by Rubens.

Situation. In Whitehall, opposite the Horse Guards.

Railway Station. Charing Cross, Westminster, or Trafalgar Square (Underground).

Admission. On weekdays only: 10 a.m.–5 p.m.

Admission Fee. 1*s.*
(Wednesdays and Saturdays after 12 noon—6*d.*, members of H.M. forces in uniform half-price at all times.)

* *The Chapter House and Pyx Chamber, Westminster Abbey*

The Chapter House of the Abbey was built about 1250, but the vault is a modern restoration. There is a fine series of mediæval wall paintings and also a contemporary tiled floor. From the fourteenth to the sixteenth century it was used as the House of Commons and later as a Record Office. The Pyx Chamber, formerly a Royal Treasury, is in the undercroft of the eastern range of the cloister built in the latter

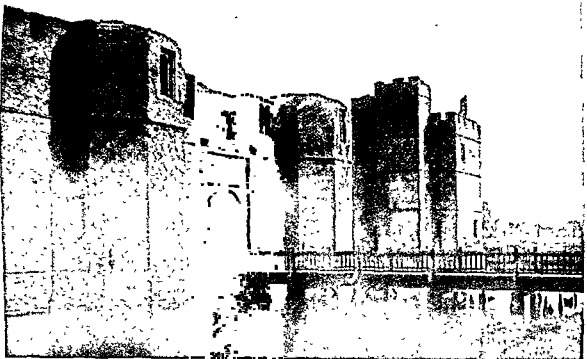


PLATE 18.—Kirby Muxloe Castle



Plate 19.—Kirby Hall, the house from the south-west.

part of the eleventh century and is one of the oldest parts of the Abbey.

Situation. On the east side of the Abbey cloister.

Railway Station. Westminster (Underground).

Hours of Admission.

	Weekdays.	
Chapter House.		
December–February	10.30 a.m.–3 p.m.	Except during hours of Divine service
March, April, and October	10.30 a.m.–5 p.m.	
May–September	10 30 a m.–5 30 p.m.	

Pyx Chamber.
On Tuesdays and Saturdays only as above.

Admission. Free

Official Guide Book. 6d

The Royal Hospital, Chelsea

A hospital for old soldiers founded by Charles II in 1682. The buildings were completed in 1690, the architect being Sir Christopher Wren.

Situation. Facing the river on Chelsea Embankment.

Railway Station Sloane Square (Underground).

Admission Free from 10 a m. to 12 noon and from 2 p m. to dusk on weekdays only.

* *Kensington Palace*

Not[illegible] site, was bought by [illegible] t was rebuilt from the [illegible] and later interior dec[illegible] Kent in the first half of the eighteenth century. Several reigning sovereigns have made it their residence, but it is now divided into apartments for members of the Royal Family. Queen Victoria and Queen Mary were born in the Palace. The rooms open to the public contain interesting panelling, painted ceilings, pictures, and relics of Queen Victoria.

Situation On the western side of Kensington Gardens.

Railway Station. Notting Hill Gate or High Street, Kensington (Underground).

Hours of Admission to State Apartments.

	Saturdays and Sundays only.
March–September	2 p.m.–6 p.m.
October	2 p.m.–5 p.m.
November–February	Closed.

Admission Fee. 6*d*.

Official Guide Book. 6*d*.

* *Tower of London (Pl.* 13)

Begun by William the Conqueror in the eleventh century in the south-east angle of the Roman Wall of Londinium. The Keep or White Tower, which now contains the collection of the Royal Armouries, was built soon after the Conquest. Henry III was responsible for the Wakefield Tower, where the Crown Jewels are shown; extensive additions were made by Edward I and Edward III, and Henry VIII strengthened the outer defences. Many notable men and women are buried in the Chapel of St. Peter ad Vincula.

Situation. On the north side of the river by Tower Bridge.

Railway Station. Mark Lane (Underground).

Hours of Admission.

	Weekdays.	*Sundays.*
October–April	10 a.m.–5 p.m.	Closed, except for services in the Chapel of St. Peter ad Vincula.
May–September	10 a.m.–6 p.m.	

Admission Fees.

Admission to the precincts and to – – – – { The White Tower, 6*d*. The Bloody Tower, 6*d*. The Wakefield Tower, 6*d*.

Children between 3 and 14—half price.
,, under 3 —free.

Saturdays and Bank Holidays, admission to the precincts and to the White Tower by ticket issued free.

Official Guide Pamphlet. 2*d*.

MIDDLESEX

* *Hampton Court Palace (Pl. 1)*

The palace was originally built as a [illegible] [illegible] Cardinal Wolsey at the beginning of the [illegible] [illegible]. The Cardinal presented it to Henry VIII, [illegible] the Great Hall and other parts of the [illegible]. [illegible] the whole of the southern portion of the [illegible] was rebuilt from the designs of Sir Christopher [illegible] William III. Several Sovereigns used the palace as a residence, the last being George II.

Situation. On the north side of the [illegible] by [illegible] Bridge.

Railway Station. Hampton Court.

Hours of Opening.

State Apartments, Kitchen and Cellars, [illegible]

	[illegible]	[illegible]
November–February	10 a.m.–4 p.m.	[illegible]
March–April	10 a.m.–5 p.m.	[illegible]
May–September	10 a.m.–6 p.m.	[illegible]
October	10 a.m.–5 p.m.	[illegible]

Vine and Maze.

Daily	11 a.m.–Dusk	[illegible]

(Closed on Christmas Day and Good [illegible])

Admission Fees.

State Apartments.	1s. [illegible]
Kitchen and Cellars.	2d.
Orangery.	2d.
Vine.	1d.
Maze.	1d.

[illegible] (applies to Kitchen and Cellars, Orangery, Vine and Maze)

Official Guide Book. 1s.

NORFOLK

Binham Priory (Pl. 6)

The remains of an [illegible] the ruined portions of [illegible] by the Commissioners [illegible]

church is in use as a parish church. The crossing, chancel, and part of the eastern range have recently been cleared of debris.

Situation. 3½ miles north-east of Little Walsingham; on the western side of Binham.

Ralway Station. Walsingham.

Admission. At any time without charge.

* *Castle Acre Priory (Pl. 4 and 5)*

Extensive and picturesque remains of a Cluniac prior The twelfth-century church with its elaborate west fro and the monastic buildings stand to a considerable heigh The western range has the prior's lodging and chapel o the first floor; there are remains of a fine wooden ceilin of about 1500, also traces of mural paintings of the fourteent century. The gatehouse is a good example of late fifteent century work.

Situation. 3½ miles north of Swaffham; on the south western side of Castle Acre.

Railway Station. Swaffham.

Hours of Admission.

	Weekdays.	*Sundays.*
April 22nd–September 30th	9 a.m.–9 p.m.	11 a.m.–4 p.m
October 1st–April 21st	9 a.m.–Sunset.	11 a.m.–3 p.m

Admission Fee. *6d.*

Official Guide Book. *6d.*

Grime's Graves, Weeting

An extensive group of flint mines dating from the Stone Age. The earliest mining operations were carried out on the exposed strata in the sides of the valley. Later in the neolithic period shallow pits were sunk, but deeper and more elaborate shafts, with radiating galleries following the seams of flint, were finally adopted. A specimen shaft has been left open and can be inspected.

Situation. 5½ miles north-west of Thetford; 2¾ miles north-east of Brandon.

Railway Station. Brandon (Suffolk).

Hours of Admission.
10 a m.–dusk throughout the year.

Admission Fee. 6*d.*

Official Guide Book. 6*d.*

Thetford Priory

The remains of a Cluniac monastery founded at the beginning of the twelfth century. The chancel of the Norman church was extended in the thirteenth century and a large chapel was erected on its northern side to contain a miraculous image of the Virgin Mary. The church has been recently excavated and the monastic buildings are now being uncovered.

Situation. In Thetford.

Railway Station. Thetford.

Hours of Admission.

	Weekdays	*Sundays.*
March–September.	10 a m –6 p m.	11 a.m.–4 p.m.
October–February	10 a.m.–4 p m	11 a m –3 p.m.

Admission Fee. 3*d.*

Official Guide Pamphlet. 2*d*

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

The Eleanor Cross, Geddington (Pl. 12)

This is one of a series of beautiful crosses erected by Edward I to mark the resting places of the body of his wife, Eleanor of Castile, when it was being brought from Hardby in Nottinghamshire to Westminster for burial.

Situation. In Geddington, by the church.

Railway Station. Geddington.

* *Kirby Hall (Pl.* 19 *and* 20)

An outstanding example of a large Eliz [illegible] stone mansion with exceptionally fine [illegible] consists of four wings arranged round a projecting wing to the south It was bu[illegible]

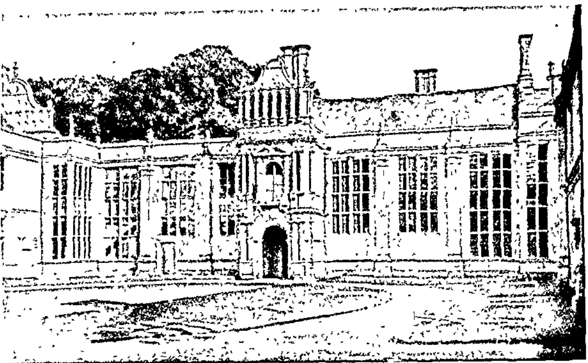


PLATE 20 —Kirby Hall, south side of courtyard

side. The buildings were arranged round a quadrangle, and in the south range is a tower overlooking the river.

Situation. By the church on the eastern outskirts of Minster Lovell, 2½ miles north-west of Witney.

Railway Station. Witney.

Admission. At any time without charge

The Rollright Stones

A circle of seventy-seven stones roughly 100 feet in diameter To the east of the circle are the remains of a dolmen or prehistoric burial chamber consisting of four uprights and a fallen cap-stone. On the opposite side of the road is a solitary upright stone 8½ feet high called the King's Stone. The circle is known as the King's Men and the dolmen as the Whispering Knights

Situation. 2½ miles north of Chipping Norton, ¾ mile north of Little Rollright.

Railway Station. Chipping Norton

Admission. At any time without charge on application to the Custodian at White House, Little Rollright

SHROPSHIRE

Acton Burnell Castle (Pl. 16)

An early example of a fortified manor house, rectangular in plan but having no defensive ditch, built by Robert Burnell, Bishop of Bath and Wells, towards the end of the thirteenth century. Parliament sat here in 1283, but as the present castle was apparently not begun before the following year an earlier building, of which all trace has disappeared, must have existed on the site.

Situation. On the eastern side of Acton Burnell.

Railway Station. Berrington (Salop) or Cressage.

Hours of Admission.

	Weekdays.	*Sundays.*
March–May	10 a.m.–6 p.m.	11 a.m.–4 p.m.
June–September	10 a.m.–7 p.m.	
October–February	10 a.m.–4 p.m.	11 a.m.–3 p.m.

Admission Fee. 3*d.*

Acton Burnell, Langley Chapel

A small rectangular chapel built at the end of the thirteenth century. It fell into decay and was repaired in 1601 by Sir Humphrey Lee, who was responsible for fittings and roof belonging to that period.

Situation. 1½ miles south of Acton Burnell.

Railway Station. Berrington (Salop) or Cressage.

Admission. At any time on application to the Custodian at the farm close by.

Admission Fee. 3*d.*

* *Buildwas Abbey* (*Pl.* 9)

The Savignac abbey founded in 1135 which shortly after became Cistercian. The buildings are mostly of twelfth-century date, but the vaulted chapter house belongs to the end of that century or the beginning of the thirteenth. A beautiful ruin standing in a picturesque setting.

Situation. In Buildwas.

Railway Station. Buildwas Junction.

Hours of Admission.

	Weekdays.	*Sundays.*
March–May	10 a.m.–6 p.m.	11 a.m.–4 p.m.
June–September	10 a.m.–7 p.m.	
October–February	10 a.m.–4 p.m.	11 a.m.–3 p.m.

Admission Fee. 6*d.*

* *Haughmond Abbey (Pl. 10 and 11)*

Extensive remains of a house for Augustinian canons founded about 1135. The chapter house has a fine Norman doorway and the later Infirmary Hall with the abbots' lodging at its east end is exceptionally well preserved. After the Suppression the abbey was granted to Sir Edward Littleton and thence to the Barker family, who converted part of the monastic buildings into a dwelling house.

Situation. 3 miles north-east of Shrewsbury, 1¼ miles north-east of Uffington.

Railway Station. Upton Magna or Shrewsbury.

Hours of Admission

	Weekdays	*Sundays.*
April 22nd–September 30th	9 a.m.–9 p m	2 p m –9 p m
October 1st–April 21st	9 a.m –Sunset	2 p m –Sunset.

Admission Fee. 6*d.*

Mitchell's Fold, stone circle

A prehistoric stone circle, 85 feet in diameter. There are fifteen stones visible, the largest of which is about 6 feet high, but originally there may have been double this number About 100 yards due south of the circle is a single standing stone and the remains of another circle perhaps originally surrounding a tumulus.

Situation 2½ miles west of Chirbury, 6 miles north of Bishop's Castle

Railway Station. Montgomery

Admission At any time without charge.

SUFFOLK

Burgh Castle

Extensive remains of a Roman fort of the "Saxon shore" series, built at the end of the third or in the early fourth century to defend the coast against Saxon raiders It is rectangular with semicircular bastions at intervals.

St. Olave's Priory, Herringfleet

The remains of a small Augustinian priory consisting of a single-aisled church, cloister garth, and south range, the undercroft of which is an exceptionally early example of brickwork dating from the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century.

Situation At St. Olave's station, 6 miles south-west of Great Yarmouth.

Railway Station St. Olave's.

Admission At any time on application to the caretaker at 4 Bridge Cottage.

Admission Fee. 3*d*

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REFERENCE

ANCIENT MONUMENTS
MAIN ROADS
OTHER ROADS

10 5 0 10 20 30 40 50
Scale of Miles

Cromer
BINHAM PRIORY
Walsingham
Fakenham
King's Lynn
CASTLE ACRE PRIORY
Swaffham
Norwich
Great Yarmouth
BURGH CASTLE
ST OLAVES PRIORY
GRIMES GRAVES
Weeting
THETFORD PRIORY
Beccles
Scole
Yoxford
Saxmundham
Bury St Edmunds
FRAMLINGHAM CASTLE
Lindsey
ST JAMES'S CHAPEL
Ipswich
Colchester
ST BOTOLPHS PRIORY
ST JOHNS ABBEY GATE
LEXDEN STRAIGHT ROAD
EARTHWORKS
Stortford
Chelmsford
ABBEY
TEHALL
HAPTER HOUSE AND PYX CHAMBER

Shrewsbury
Welshpool
ACTON BURNELL
CASTLE
Chirbury
MITCHELLS
STONE CIRC
Bishops Castle
dge
ARTHURS
Hay
Dorstone
GOODRICH CAST
Monmouth

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